GUIDE TO THE AB6 AINU FILE

[The Ainu (Ezo) are thought to be the aboriginal non-Mongoloid inhabitants of the Japanese, Sakhalin and the Kurile islands. Today they are located principally on Hokkaido, with much smaller numbers on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. The geographic co-ordinates of this area are 140° - 145° 30' East longitude and 41° 30' - 45° 30' North latitude for Hokkaido. Sakhalin reaches from the northern tip of Hokkaido to 54° 30' North latitude and is between 141° 30' and 144° 30' East longitude. The Kuriles extend northeastward from Hokkaido's eastern coast out to about 157° East longitude and up to 51° North latitude. The Ainu share Sakhalin with a group of unrelated aboriginal people, the Gilyak (RX2).

Presently about 12,000 of Hokkaido's five million residents are classed as Ainu, but probably only about 200 are "pure-blooded." Current figures for Sakhalin are under 2,000, but no breakdown of mixed and pure-bloods is given. There are fewer than 100 on the Kuriles. The population in 1891 was only between 15,000 and 17,000, but at that time nearly half were full-blooded. The mixture with the Japanese has reduced not only the traditional culture, but the absolute numbers of pure Ainus as well. Although 7: Munro states that the 1939 Ainu population was approximately 160,000 (P. 1), this must certainly be a mistake (by a factor of ten) since every other source clusters around the earlier figures.

The Ainu language, while well studied, is not closely related to any other language stock. Nineteen Ainu dialects were

differentiated in 1961. Thirteen are found on Hokkaido and six on Sakhalin. Nearly all young Ainu speak Japanese, many as a first language, and even the language of the older people is heavily salted with Japanese loanwords.

The Ainu traditionally subsisted by hunting, gathering, and especially fishing. Settlements, of from four to 1,600 people, were usually located along streams, near salmon spawning grounds if possible. Villages were politically and economically independent. The Ainu of Hokkaido were left virtually alone by the Japanese from the twelfth century, when they drove the Ainu from Honshu, until the sixteenth century when they became politically and economically interested in the area. In the last half of the nineteenth century, as social and economic consequences of the Meiji Restoration, there was a very large influx of Japanese onto Hokkaido. According to most sources, the traditional Ainu culture is essentially extinct.

There are eleven sources in the Ainu file. Eight are in English, two are translated from the German (8: Pilsudski and 10: Pilsudski), and one is translated from the Russian (9: Lavrov). 1: Takakura is the most general source, but it is principally historical. It discusses conquest by and acculturation to the Japanese. Sources 2, 3, and 4 all have some general ethnographic material on the traditional culture. 2: Batchelor is by an English missionary who spent fifty years among the Ainu (1877-1924). As well as general ethnographic data, it contains specific information on lore, religion, and ethnopsychology. 3: Hitchcock emphasizes Japanese-Ainu relations. It also discusses diet, physical characteristics, mythology, religion, and the Bear Cult. It also contains a number of good photographs. 4: Landor is by a nineteenth century traveler and artist and concentrates more on description of the topography with less information on material culture, and religion.

5: Sternberg is an article which studies Ainu religion and the role of inau (offertory) objects in particular. 6: Sugiura and Befu is a study of kinship organization in the Saru River Valley, on Hokkaido. 7: Munro is by a Scottish physician of forty years residence among the Ainu (1900-1942), who was married to a Japanese woman. His account is mainly concerned with religion, but also covers the home, house building and related ceremonies, exorcism, and social organization. 8: Pilsudski is a comprehensive study of Ainu and Gilyak reproductive practices, ranging from beliefs about menstruation, sterility and menopause to female status, childbirth, and care of the mother and infant. The section on the Gilyak has not been translated for this file, but may be found in the RX2 Gilyak file. 9: Lavrov describes basic motifs in Gilyak and Ainu ornamental carvings in order to derive information on the origin of the Gilyak bear vessels and band and string ornamentation in the Ainu bear sculpture. 10: Pilsudski traces the relationship between the Tonchi, original inhabitants of the Sakhalin islands, and the Ainu. The study is based on archeological records and on Ainu oral traditions. 11: Watanabe attempts to reconstruct Ainu society as it existed immediately prior to the 1880's, before the Japanese had introduced extensive agricultural reforms. The author's objective was to study the effect of the ecological system on subsistence activities, group structure, beliefs, and rituals. Seven of the sources are partially or completely by ethnologists (5-11). The fieldwork for the file covers eighty-two years, from 1877 (Source 2) - 1959 (Source 11). With the historical information, the file has a good time depth.

The Ainu file is a good general file, with detailed information on religion and Ainu-Japanese relations. Unfortunately there is a large body of material on the Ainu which has not yet been translated from the Japanese. This is especially true for the linguistic studies from the 1920's to the 1950's. The file was processed in 1954 and between 1962 and 1975.]

113

● 101

102

103

131

133

Southeast Siberia RX1

Ainu AB6 ●

Tungus RU5

- Birar
- Orochon
- Daur
- Solon
- Manegr

Goldi RX3

- Orok
- Orochi
- Olcha
- Negidal
- Kile
- Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

Translator's preface 3
Author's preface 6
Part One: The early period of clan government 10
Introduction 10
I. Ainu society 12
1. Economic life 13
2. Social organization 16
3. Social regulation 19
4. Summary 22
II. The war of 1669 23
1. The development of Japanese-Ezo relations 23
2. Cause of the war of 1669 27
III. The revolt of 1789 30
1. Growth of the *Basho* contract system and the change in Ezo economic relations 30
2. The growth of Japanese controls in Hokkaidō 34
3. The abuses of the *Basho* contracting system and the "incident" of 1789 38
4. The disposition of the revolt of 1789 44
5. Summary 46

Part Two: The early period of direct control by the Japanese Government 48
I. The reasons for the assumption of direct control 48

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

114

Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

101●

Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[Text continues bottom of P. 3(B)-analyst]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

1. The development of Russian colonization 48
2. The development of Japanese national interests in the Ezo area 49

II. The growth of a government policy in Ezo 51
1. The importance of a native policy 51
2. The attitudes of the government toward Ezo 55
3. Government organization in Ezo 56
4. Appendix 57

III. The colonial policy of the Japanese Government 58
1. Improvements in the trade 59
2. Encouragement of industry 62
3. The management of the Kuriles 63
4. The management of Karafuto 64

IV. The native policy of the Japanese Government 67
1. Ceremonial arrangements and protocol 67
2. Relief measures and policy 69
3. Medical treatment 70
4. Guidance 71
5. Education 72
6. Law 76
7. The alteration of customs 77
8. Summary 80

Bibliography 82

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

●101

101
133

175

then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.4(B)--ANALYST]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho, Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101 ●

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--ANALYSIS]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 6(B)--ANALYSIS]

[P. 6(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

101

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver):

804
436

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

121

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value.

[804]
[436]

[P. 6(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3

J 121 The arrangement and critique of these valuable experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

E 101 114

shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau work *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

J A 101 114

The term *Ezo* is somewhat easier for identification. *Ezo*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emush*" and "*Yumasu*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi no Emishi* or "fighting Koshi" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchû, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidô, or all of Japan north of the Tôkyô area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shô*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu*; yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai* a designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Ezo* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*na*" was added to *Kai* and these *Ezo* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aina*, *Ainu*, *Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai—Kaina—Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidô and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidô are indeed related to the Ezo of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyû* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
A
J
121

basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

E
F
175
648
636

The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

E
F
121
636
J
A
[10]
[114]

---

realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso, Hayato, Ezo,* and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

[P 8(B)]

A
E
175
648

the government[a] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways[8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Sutwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

A
[172]

[a] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A
[162]
[101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Kaim* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
A E 175 C48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidô, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ôu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ôu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidô. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andô clan of Tsugaru. The Andô were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushû*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

E A [221]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of
181 Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen
[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse
177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth
[291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes.*

[a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the
[101] continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shimu* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shusei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

[P. 14 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A F
*648
177
*175

It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki*;

A [101]

The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

---

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

A [241]

1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry out new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	Koku.*	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5,928,489	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110,729,265	Do.
Beche de mer, *Iriko*	1,027,589	187,311 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, *Kombu*	186,373,249	29,050,587 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4,773,840	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572,374,301	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15,511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostrata*)	22,230,309	Do.
Other kinds	14,895,711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7,096,995	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	665,609	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 184 Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we 184 have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the 361 Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and 162 Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

114 Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

142 I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call them- [101] selves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and 114 Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek 184 and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [192] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

192 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

193 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

194 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

151 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[6], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i.e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,
127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[10]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

[p.90]

II

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487; for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Russian Islands R21
AINU A86

RI
208
212
177
798
[65]
177
[191]
[204]
871
362
A
101
131
161
208

brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.[40] Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half-Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.[41] Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'[42]

In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools – only two schools had existed before the war – and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.[43]

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 186

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tungus, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

538

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

167 578 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tungus and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus R45
Ainu A86
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AIG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611] [614]

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
101 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
162 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
361 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
103 again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
G
103
361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A
G
[114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
A
G
[113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 437

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G Gi A 101 361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G Gi A [113]

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
G
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
174
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A Gi /17 cont./
101 dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A [101] over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A 361 people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A [131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A [113] [114] [103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

Gi 174 167 /21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

G Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G Gi [487]

2: Schrenck--156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ /76 cont./
175
636
36
[113]

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

FJ
[226]
[251]

A
[361]
[10]
[161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

A
G
SS. /91 cont./
114
128
101

Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

000 /92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

SS.
101
121

If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu ABG

GJ.
A
101

/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A
G
[197]

A
G
[113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A
G
[113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A
G
101
439

so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont. /

buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] 113 [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Aini and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J.
A
114
103
113
6i
175
131
F.J.
175
114
A
F.J.
61
101

/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

A
Gi
Gi
101
174
G
A
[439]

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
G
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J.
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

FJ. 175 654 [113]

/123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175 The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys A [177] Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on A [101] the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

A [113] [114]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/124 cont./

175
[113]
[114]

2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

175
●101
[113]
[114]

in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

175
101
113

4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

/124 cont./

4. (cont.)

175 themselves are said to call this island (A
●101 Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp.
113 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

/124 cont./

175
101
113

4. (cont.)
Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaĭ, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

175
101
Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

[113]

1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

/125 cont./

175
•10
[113]

1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

175
103

Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

175
103
114

3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

[113]

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

A
K
175
563
484

/127 cont./

with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Aimu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

A K 114 101 175

/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K 103 175

And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A 101 175 114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A 175 114 101 103 113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

A
175
114
113
101
103

/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A
K
101
175

Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A
K
[114]

He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP CIT., P. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

2: Schrenck--273 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
FJ.
103
114
175

/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A
175
101
G
[101]

/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

A
175
114
101

1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

/129 cont./

A 175 114 101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [64]

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuā" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A [113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A [113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A [113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,

G [103] [101]

among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G [113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A
101
175
G
101
103
113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak
G designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-
A
101 kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G
A
[101]
[103]
[114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and
A Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later,
G
[439] along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

2: Schrenck--409 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

000 /192 cont./
"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 F.J. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S. [113]

K SS. FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

A
FJ.
101
175
[113]

/193 cont./

1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A
F.J.
[113]
[114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A
F.J.
[113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krascheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

A
F.J.
101
A
F.J.
[114]

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

A
FJ. /193 cont./
101 with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same
114 "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

A
FJ.
[113]

6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) abovementioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

A
FJ.
[113]

1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

A
FJ
101
114
[113]

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)
Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

FJ
101
114
K
101
192

K
[181]

2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S.
101

In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

2: Schrenck--695 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu ABL

/452 cont./

A
172
173
323
192
114

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

113

101

102

103

131

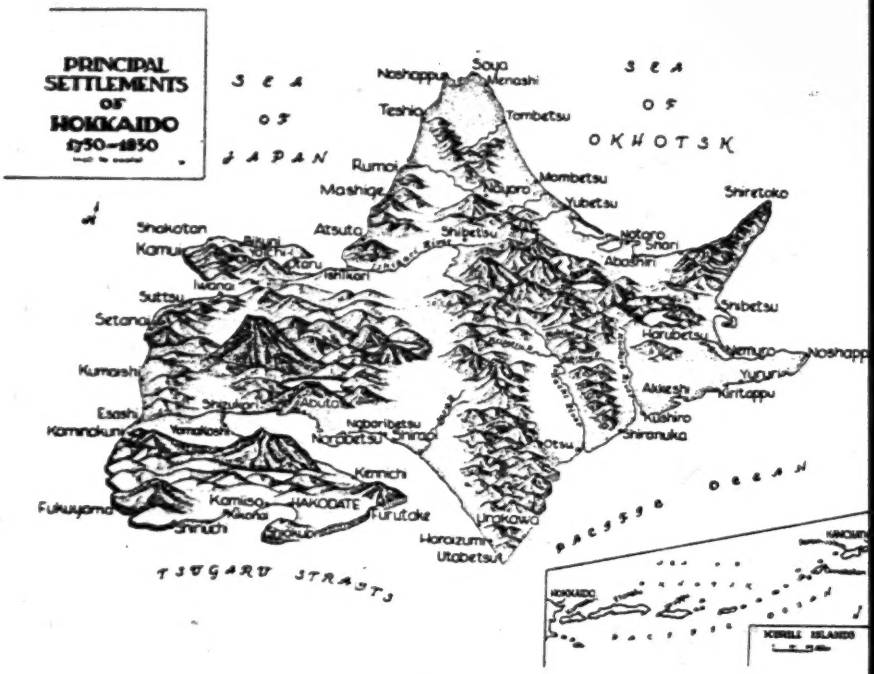
133

Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5
  Birar
  Orochon
  Daur
  Solon
  Manegir
Goldi RX3
  Orok
  Orochi
  Olcha
  Negidal
  Kile
  Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
133



MAP 1

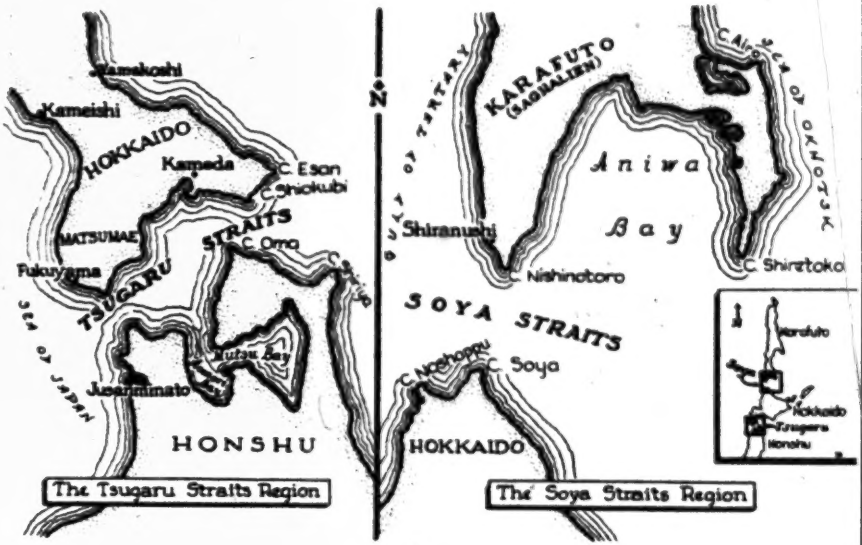
[Frontispiece, facing P.1]

102
131

MAP 2

[P. 4(A)]

102
103
131



MAP 3

[p.24 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF
102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF
*175
*648
628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF
*175
669
*648
628
A
[411]
AF
*175
669
*648
628

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

[P.29(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

600 bushels) and of other grains, wheat, barley, and rye, 15,369 koku (79,000 bushels). These quantities are quite insufficient to sustain the population, which draws its principal supplies from the main island of Japan.

137 The island is well wooded. The spruce, chestnut, walnut, mountain ash, beech, birch, elm, maples, and pines are the most common trees. The maples in the north belong to the large-leaved variety, and are not the same as those of the main island of Japan, the leaves of which are very small. In many parts there is a thick, almost impenetrable undergrowth of scrub bamboo, scarcely exceeding 3 to 4 feet in height, but very unpleasant for the traveler. In the forests, one passes through mile after mile of this luxuriant growth, along narrow trails which can be followed only by an almost imperceptible depression in the general level of the green tops.

102
103

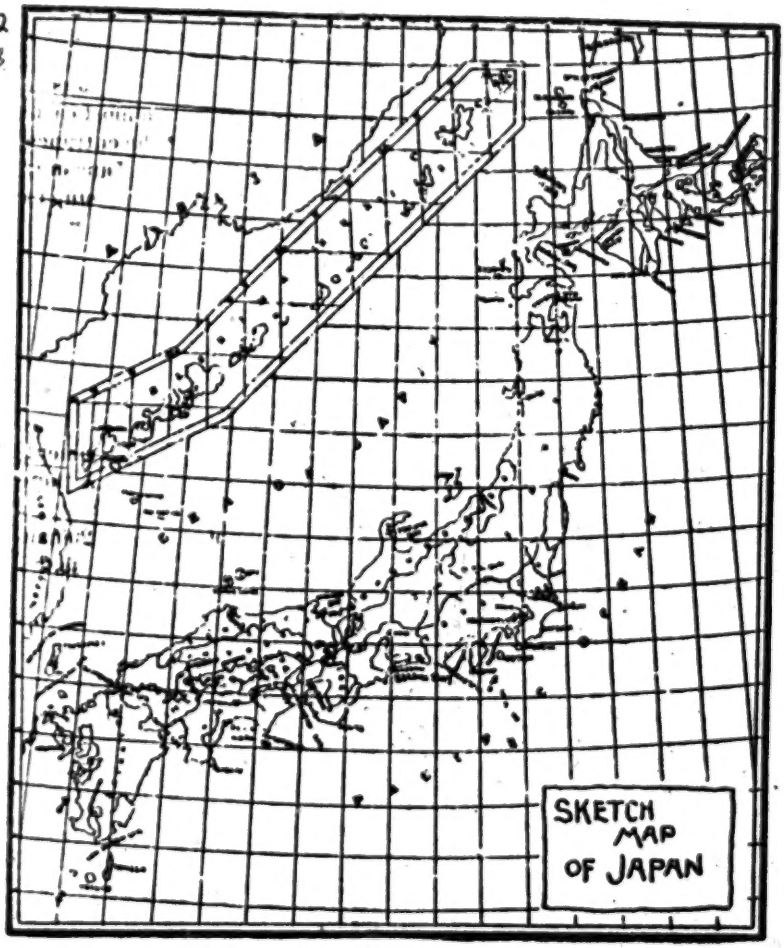


Fig. 63.

11: Watanabe

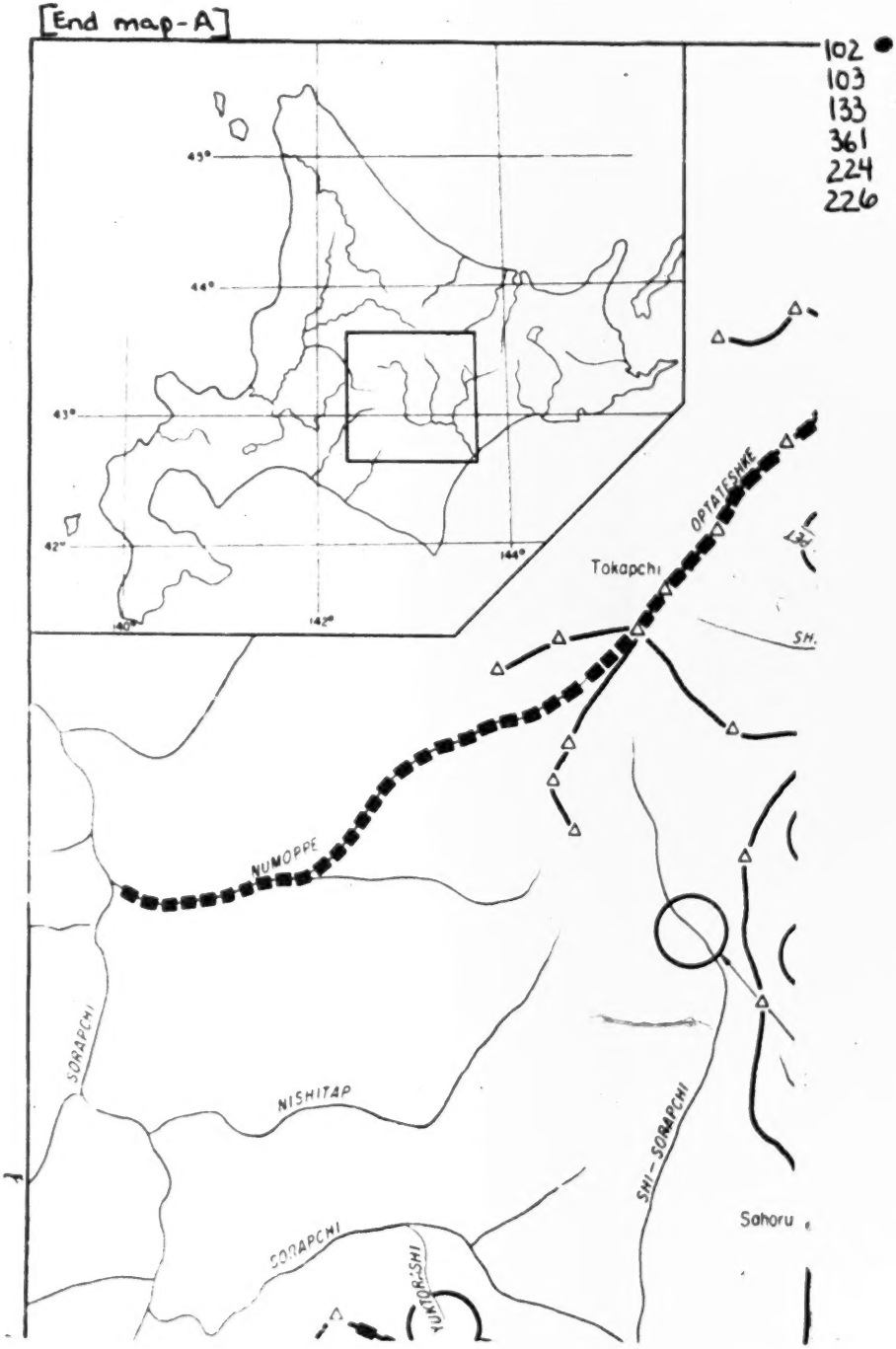
AB6 Ainu AB6

- 102
  103
  133
  361
  224
  226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A]

102
133
631

Map. 1. Rivers of Hokkaido

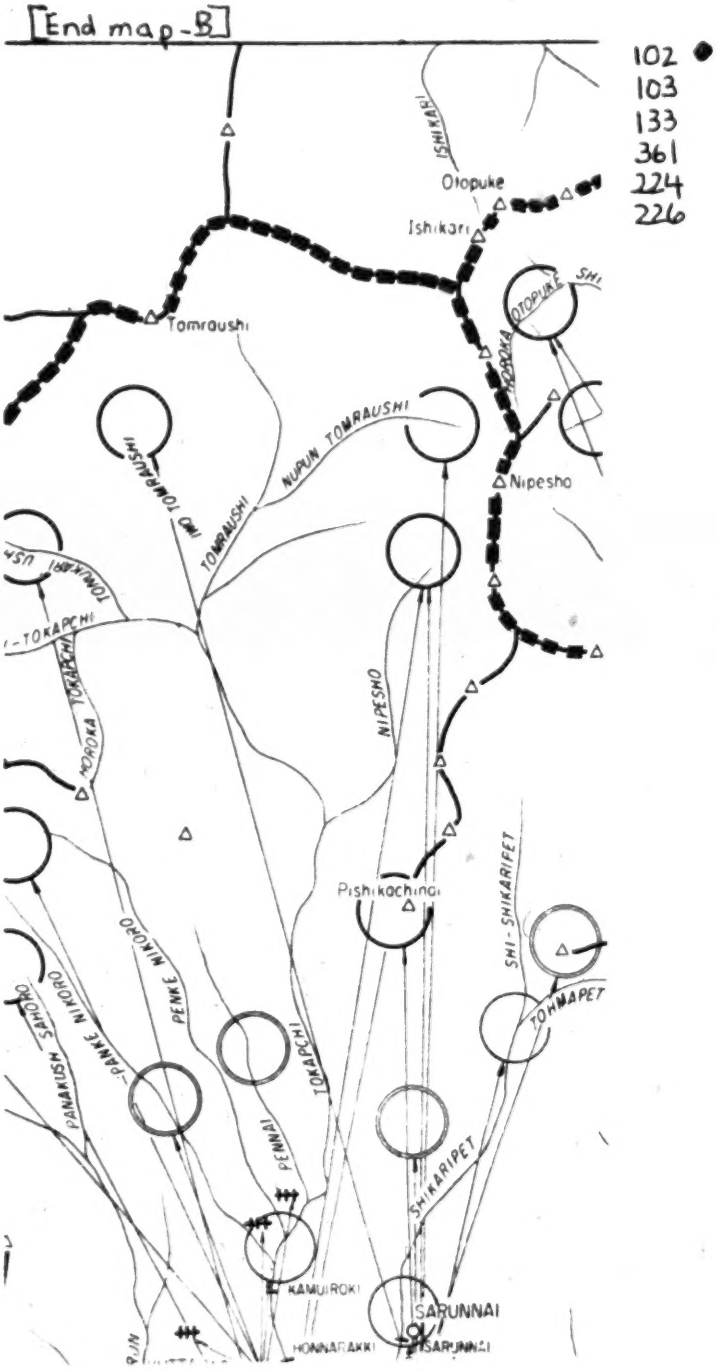
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.2-A2]

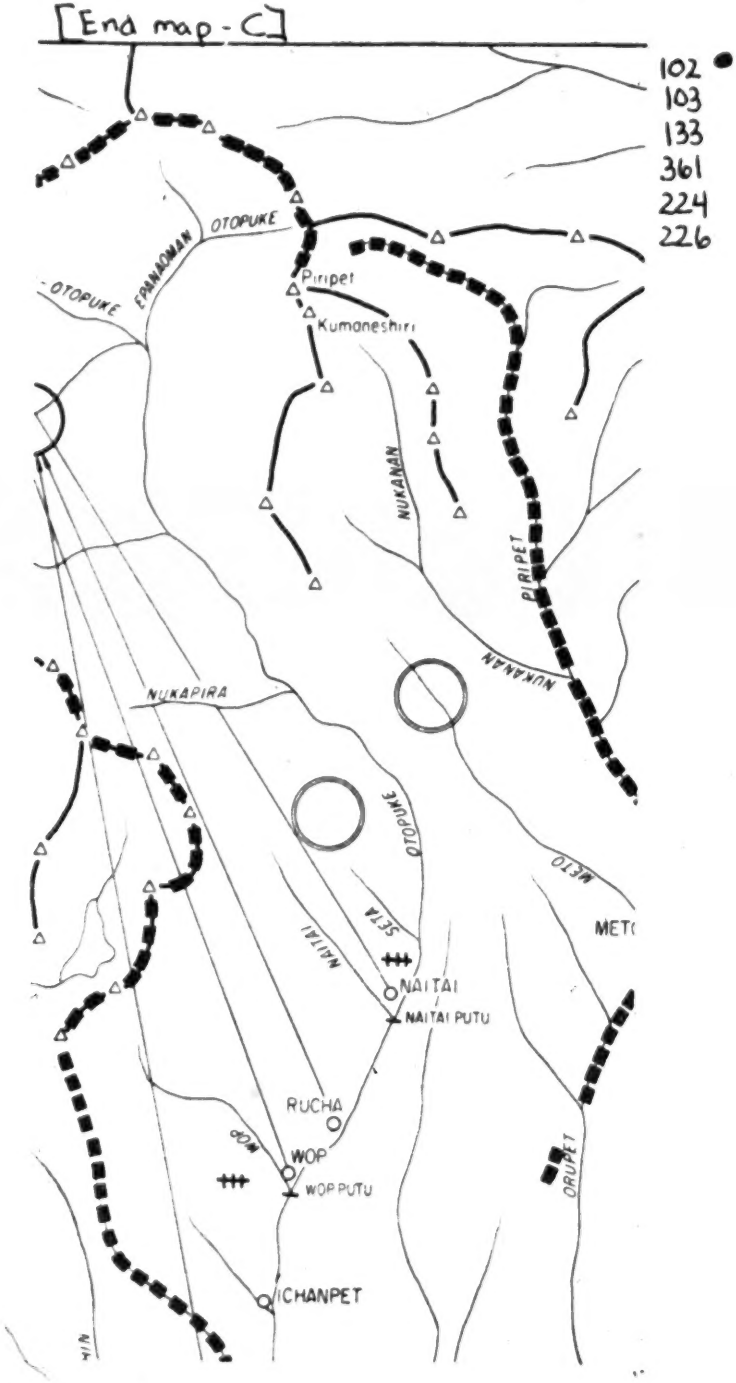
102
133
631

nd old administrative divisions.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

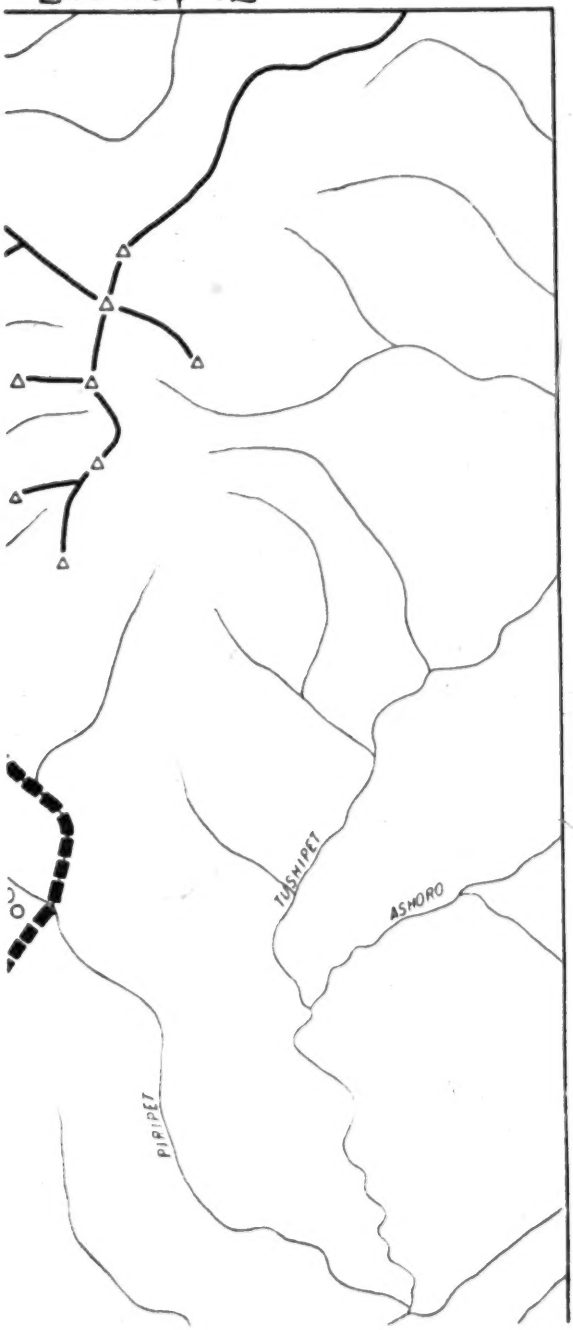


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (19[illegible]-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



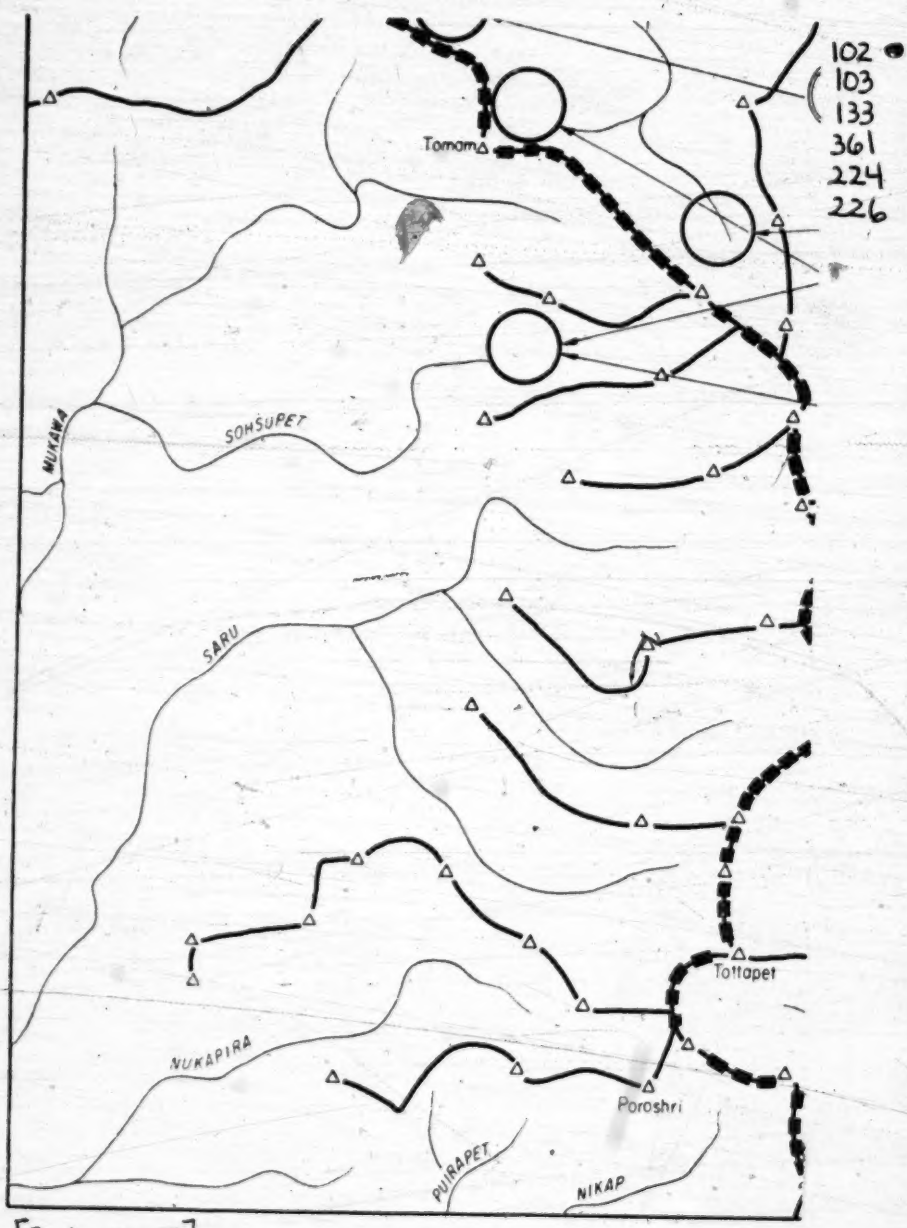
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133
361
224
226

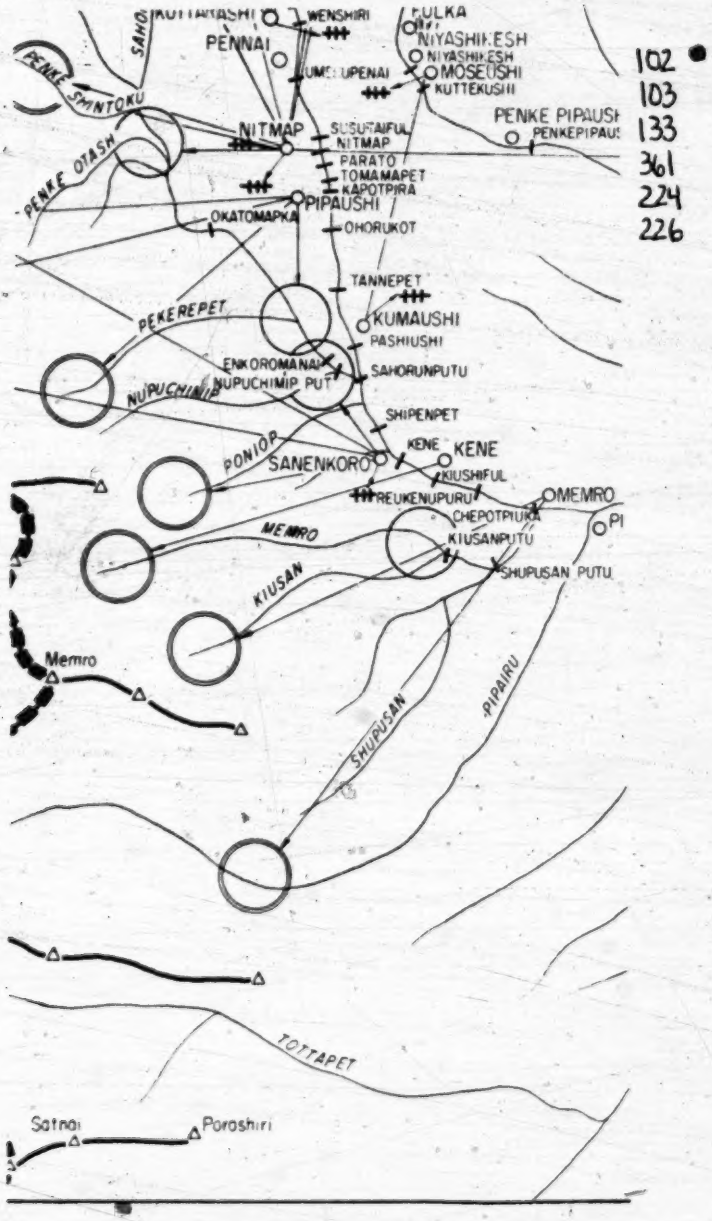
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

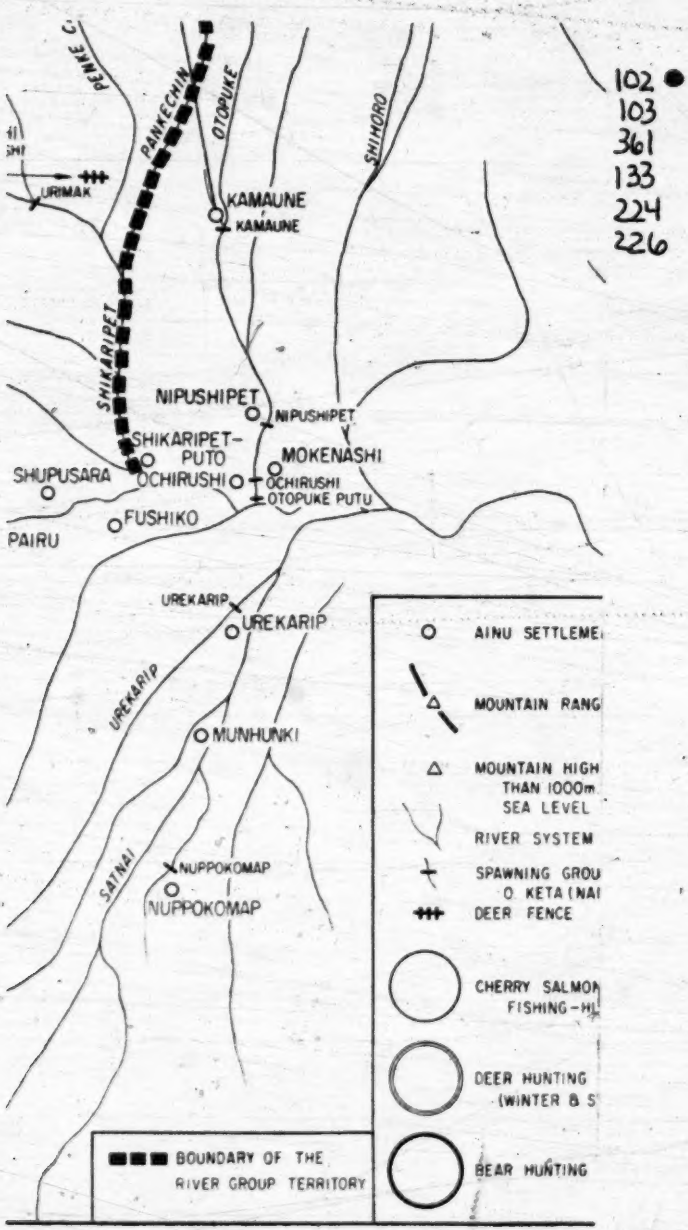
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



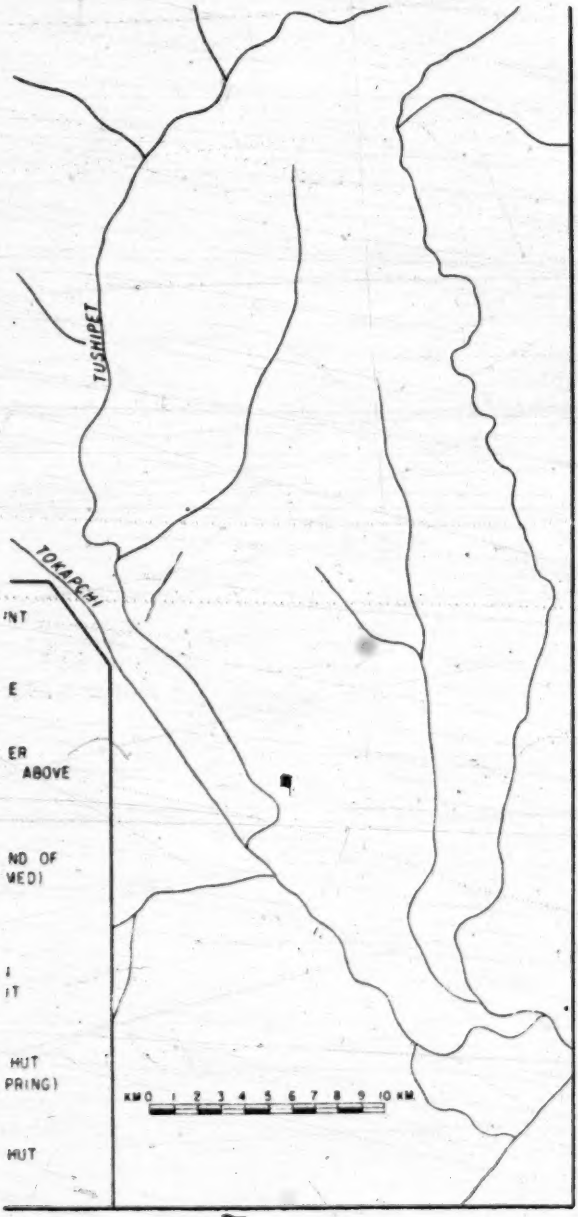
102
103
361
133
224
226

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

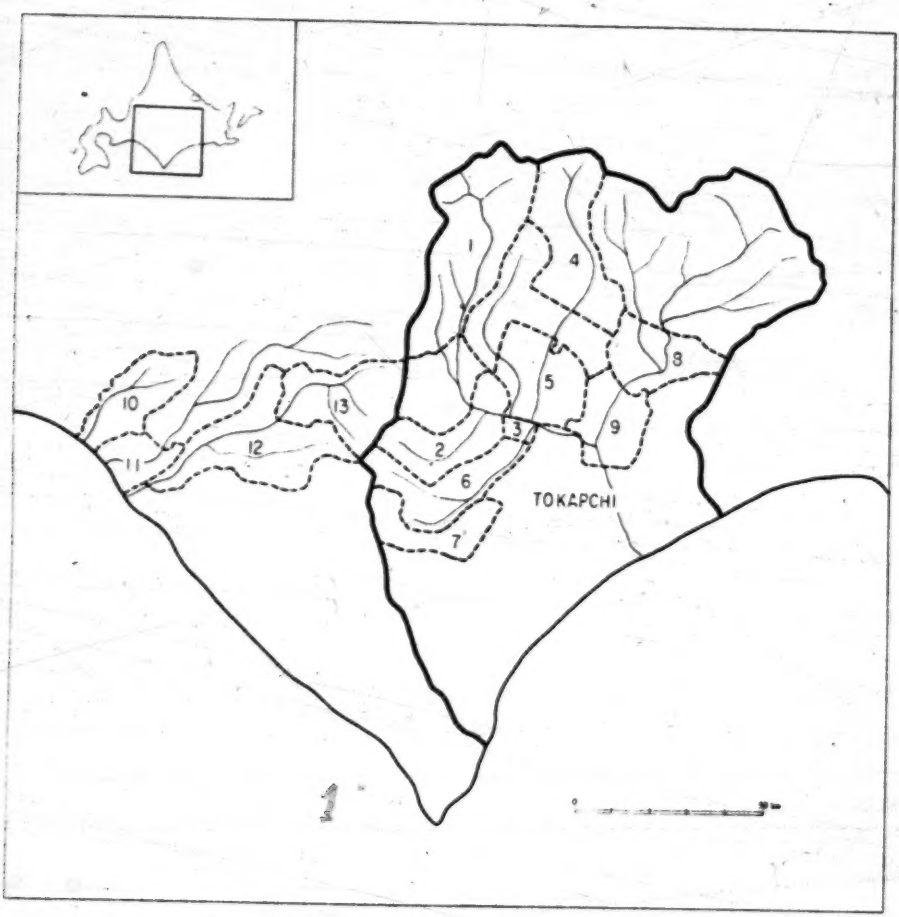
102
103
133
361
224
226



[End map-H]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102 •
175
648



Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six 175 361

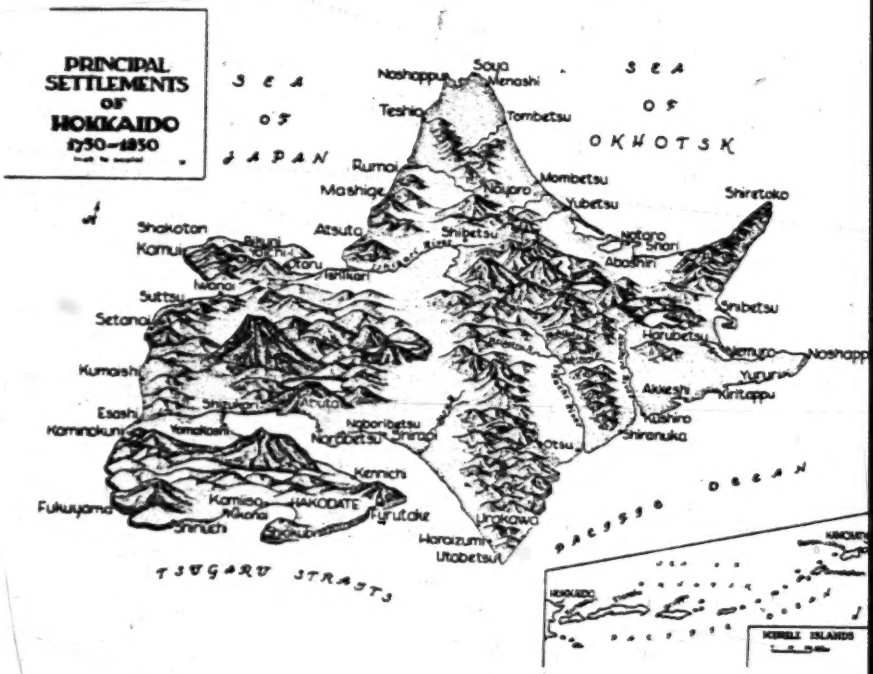
1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

113	Southeast Siberia RX1
101	Ainu AB6 ●
102	Tungus RU5
● 103	Birar
131	Orochon
133	Daur
	Solon
	Manegir
	Goldi RX3
	Orok
	Orochi
	Olcha
	Negidal
	Kile
	Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

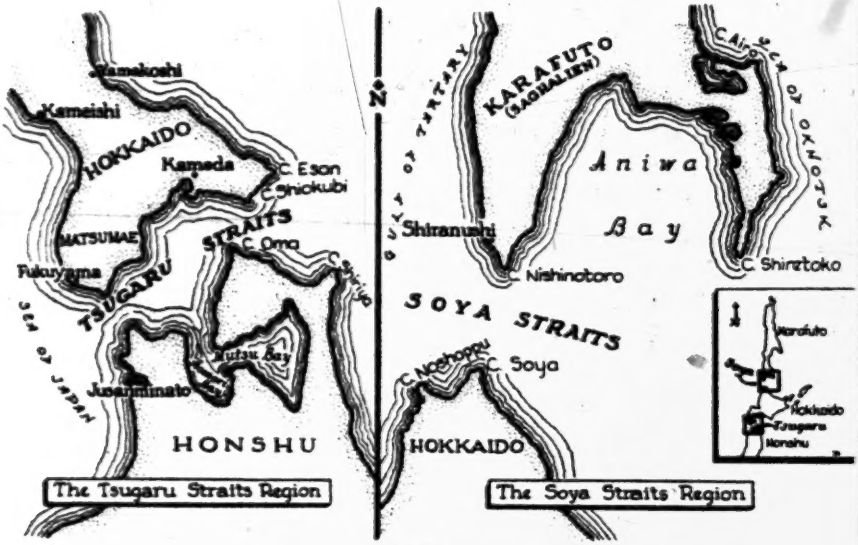
102
103
133



MAP 1

[Frontispiece, facing P. 1]

102
103
131



MAP 3

[p.24 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will [778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

● 103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river." 1030

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre- 823 776

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

600 bushels) and of other grains, wheat, barley, and rye, 15,369 koku (79,000 bushels). These quantities are quite insufficient to sustain the population, which draws its principal supplies from the main island of Japan.

137 The island is well wooded. The spruce, chestnut, walnut, mountain ash, beech, birch, elm, maples, and pines are the most common trees. The maples in the north belong to the large-leaved variety, and are not the same as those of the main island of Japan, the leaves of which are very small. In many parts there is a thick, almost impenetrable undergrowth of scrub bamboo, scarcely exceeding 3 to 4 feet in height, but very unpleasant for the traveler. In the forests, one passes through mile after mile of this luxuriant growth, along narrow trails which can be followed only by an almost imperceptible depression in the general level of the green tops.

102
103

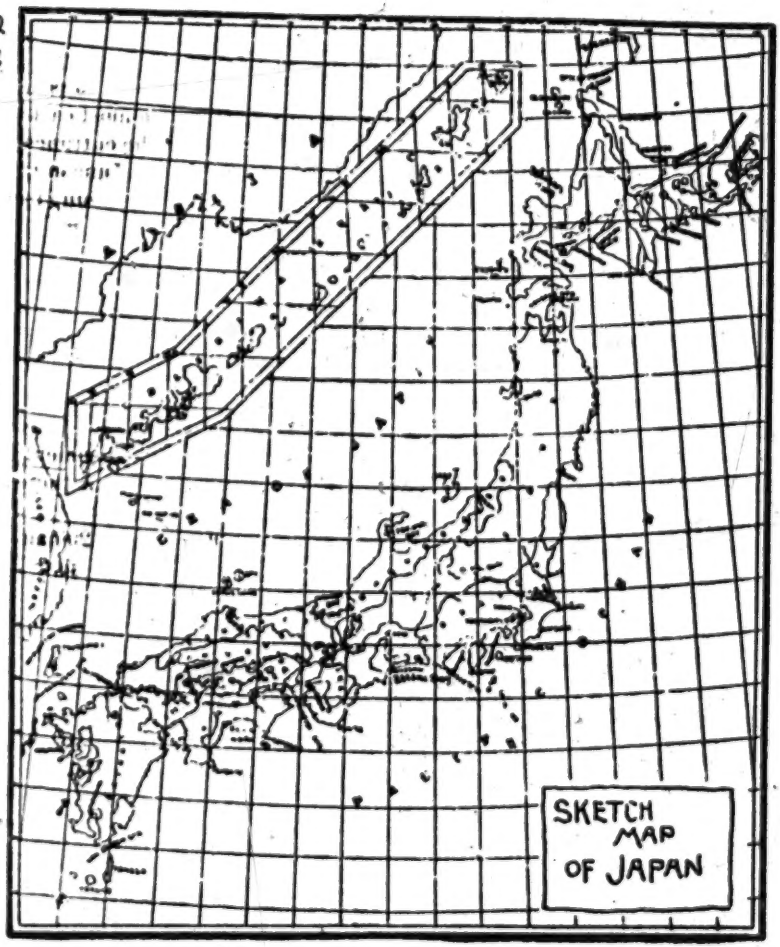


Fig. 68.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, 177
if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and im- 174
proving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close conti-
guity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must con-
fess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close
contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and other-
wise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It
is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore,
and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them use-
ful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese
swords and curios, which have been handed down from past genera-
tions. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements
and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century
since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not
passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two 177
distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, 648
working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermar-
rying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct
in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though
they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned
to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had
to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is
a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together,
when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one
by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with
the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to
extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a 174
reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that 103
they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only
a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the
evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful
philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably
carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese
characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without
the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings
which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For
example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The
reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of
this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very
misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names
illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino deri-
vations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174
103

Place-names.	Japanese.	Aino.
Jsu	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Isamo	Issuing clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Nameo tree	Stream.
Nakari	Nameo flat	The cliff by the stream.
Saba	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	do	The grassy plain.
Tasabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Horse in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows [131] them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic 174 period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of [551] the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously
361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors
103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitekai	14			56
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Mibero		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Wakkakecho		2	5	7
Matsubecho		61	55	116
Homtomura		2		2
Shimriuwa		12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

162
361
103

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obotsukowashi	9	18	13	31
Aisshi	3	2	4	6
Ounsu	4	6	6	12
Tafukursi	30	54	41	95
Tobutsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashiba	10	22	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashiba	4	7	7	14
Ponbetsu	29	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirotti	22	24	27	51
Betti	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Fushikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Memurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urakorept	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	49	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154			
Mitsuishi	67	540	590	1,130
Shidzunai	374	194	191	385
Nikap	136	774	891	1,665
Saru:		321	307	628
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	152
Shinukotan	28	55	68	123
——?	23	38	48	86
Piratori	61	103	104	207
——?	34	77	88	165
? Nisi	37	80	92	172
? Ogashirunaaya	13	28	27	55
? Horesari	29	69	71	140
? Kankibetsu	19	28	20	48
Monbetsu	29	73	53	126
——?	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	56	66	122
Harubetsu	19	43	54	97
——?	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidsuni	23	27	28	55
IDURI.				
Yuufutsu	240	499	531	1,030
Shiraoi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. 769 These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

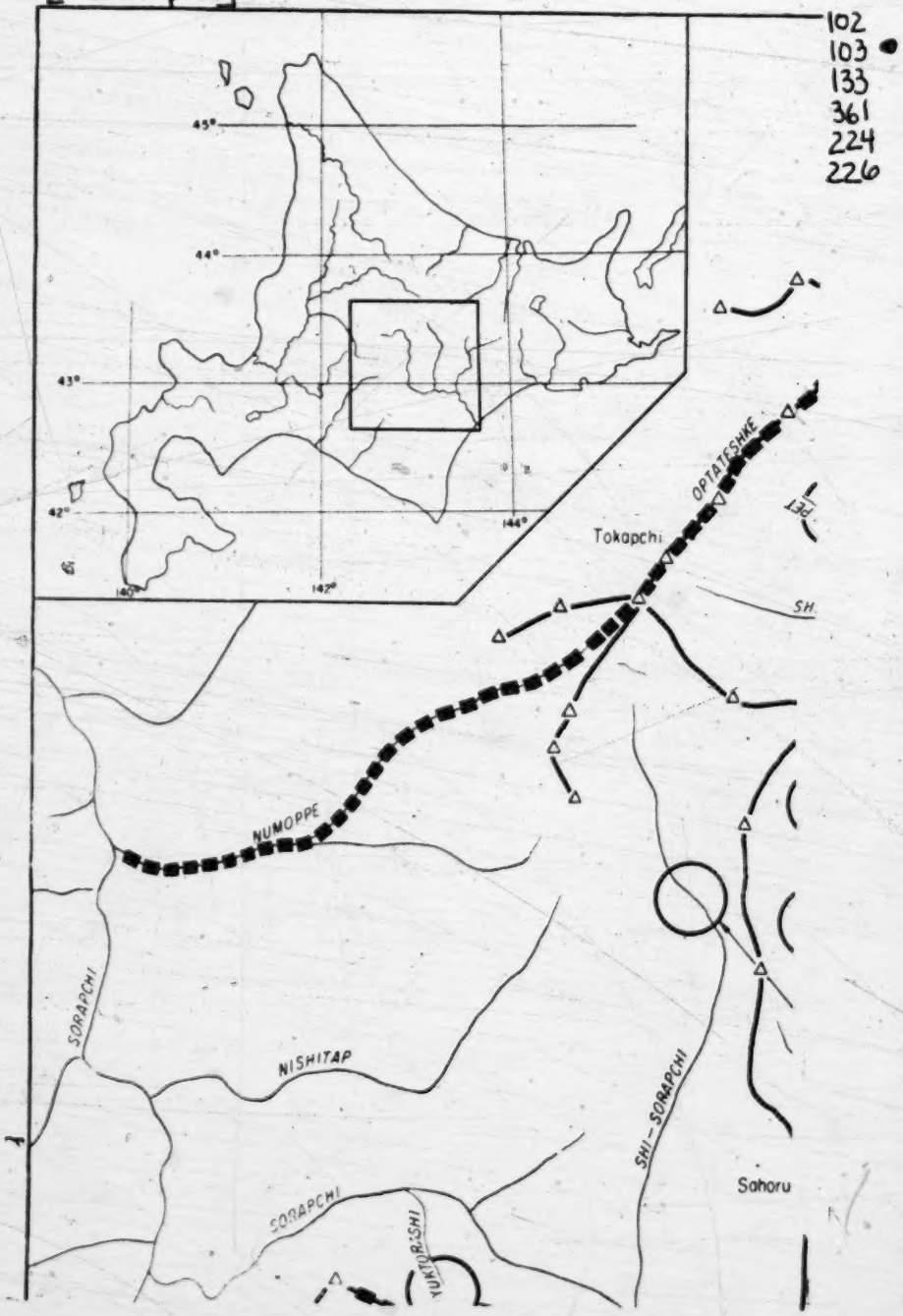
102
103
133
361
224
226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

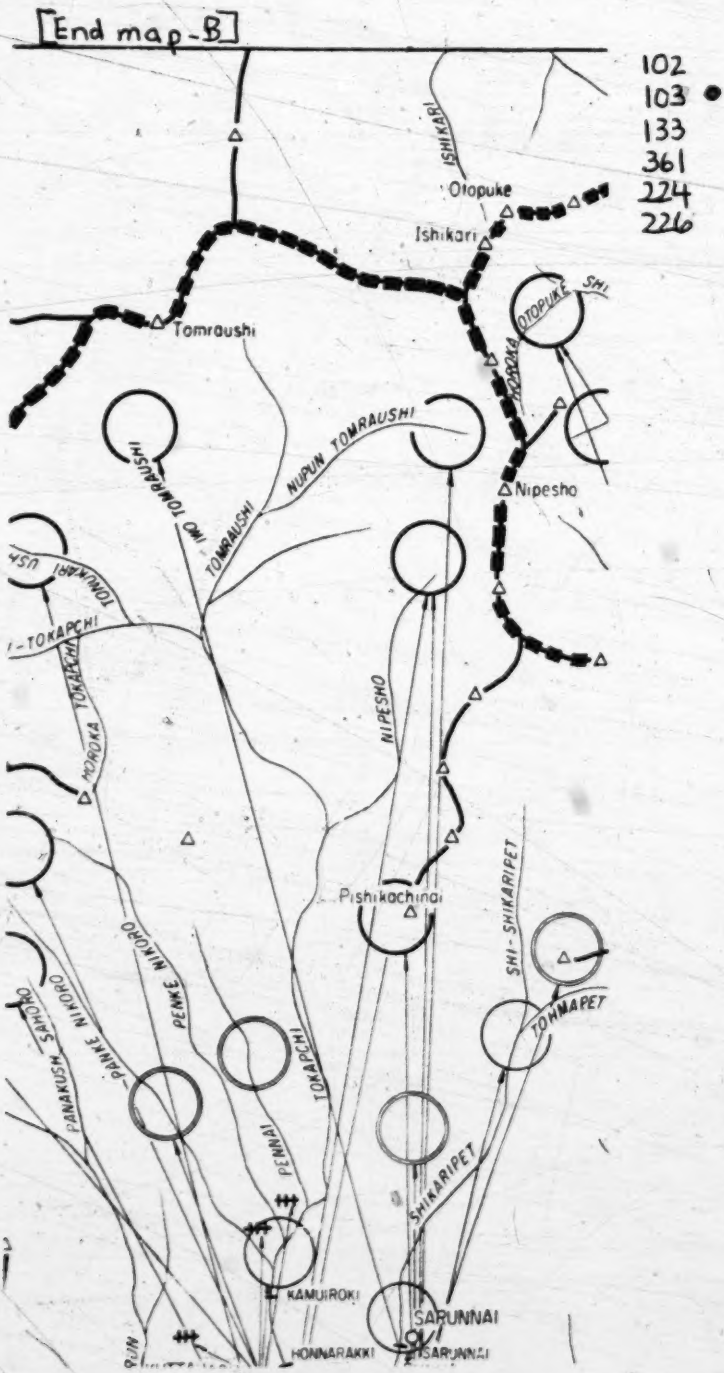
Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

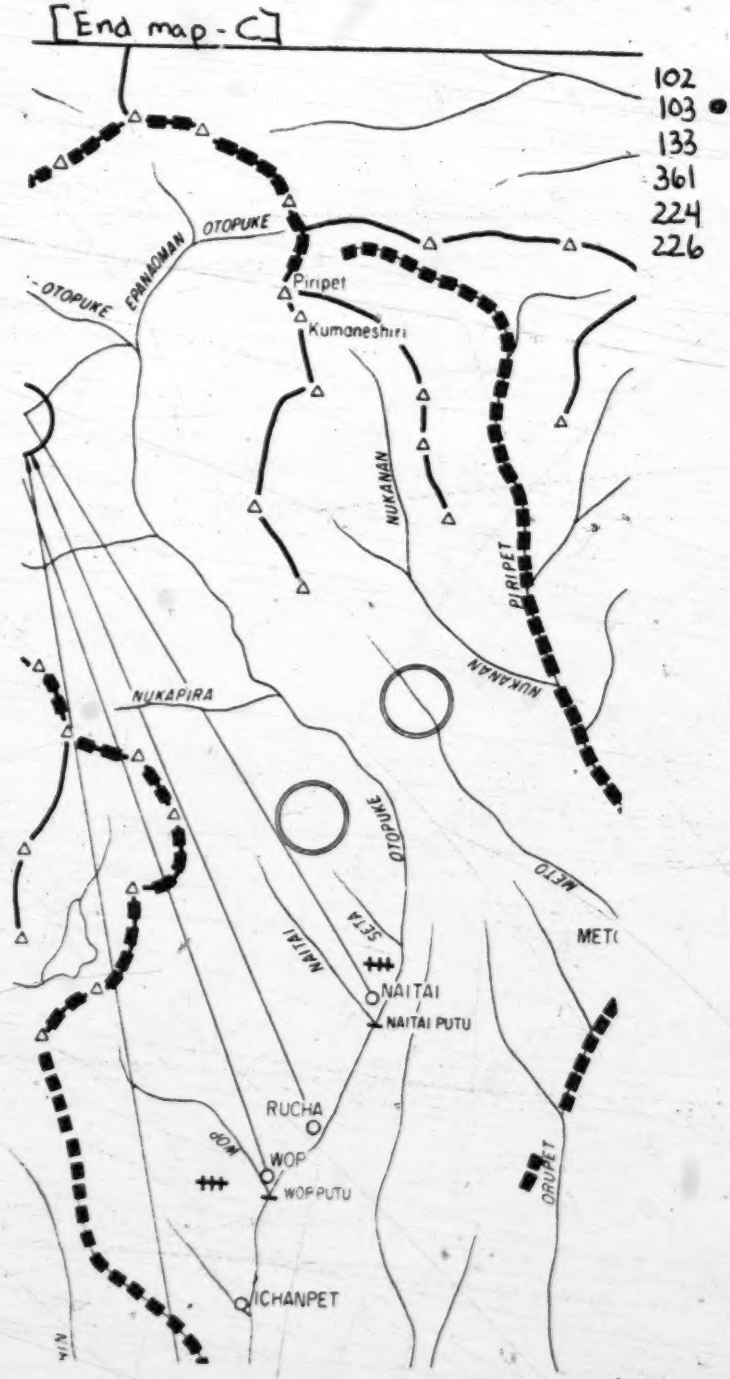
[End map-A]



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

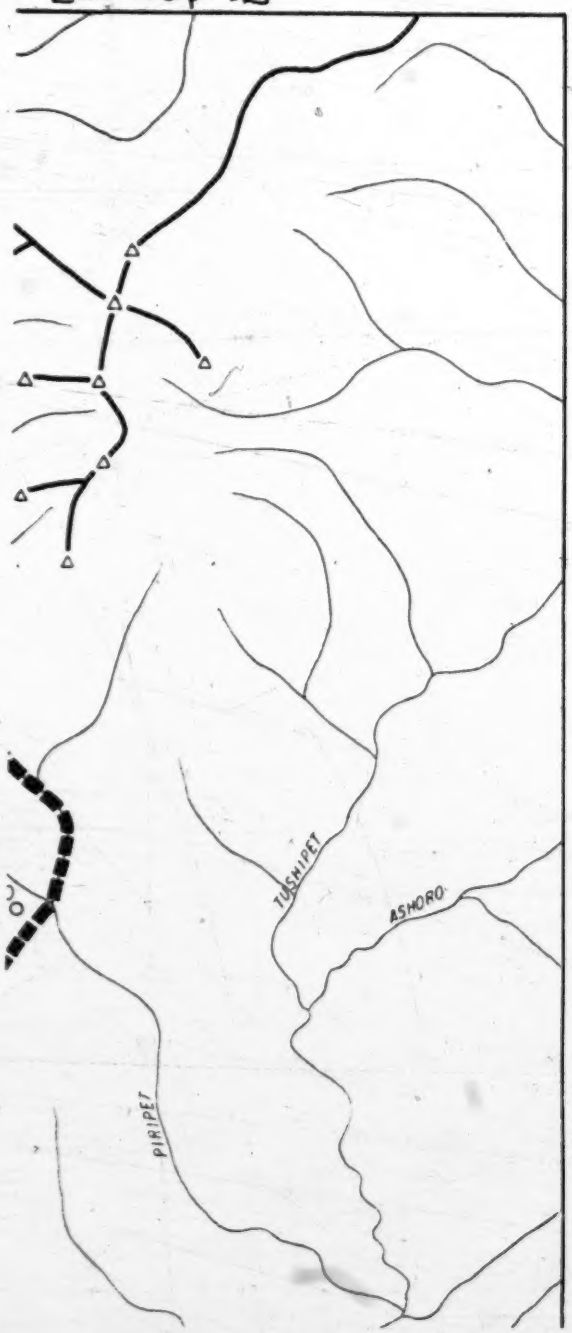


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



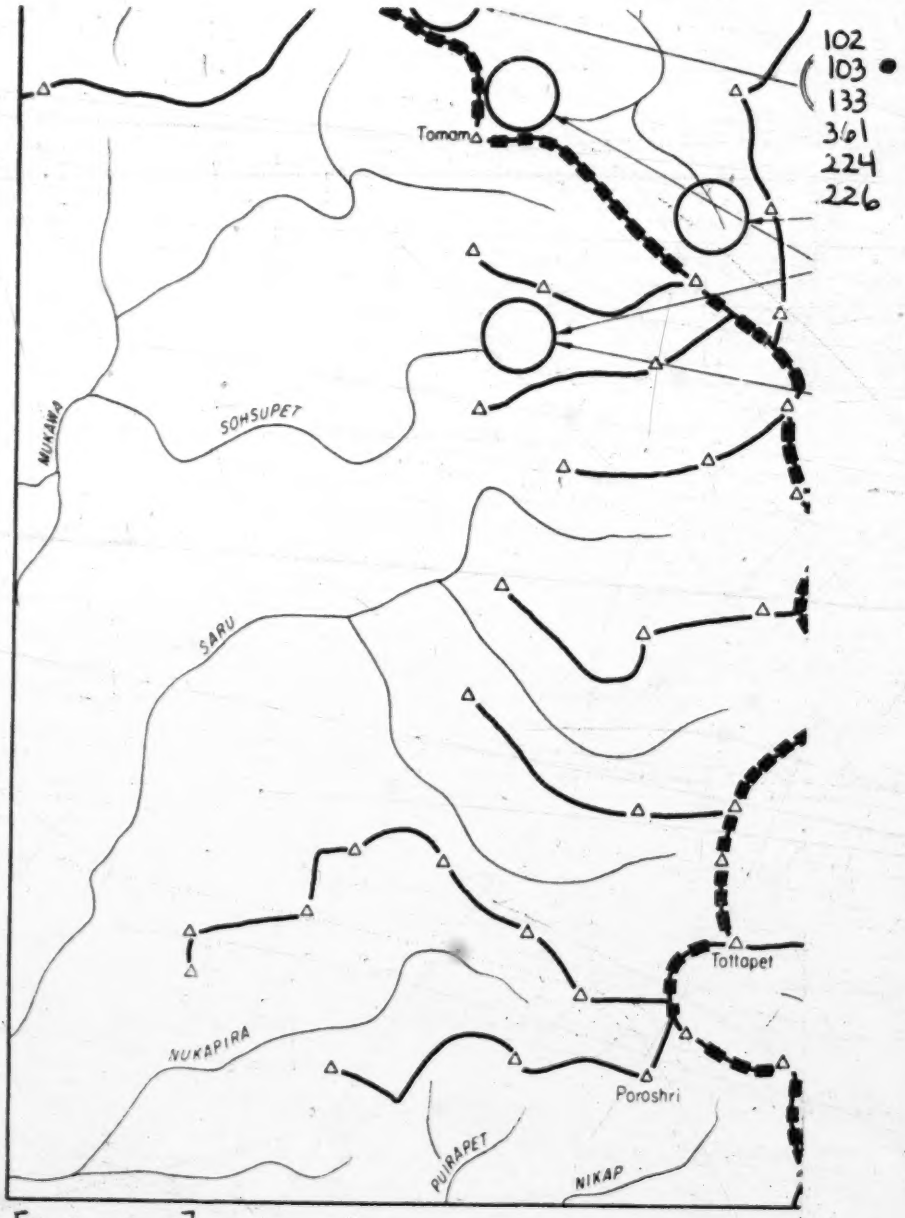
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103 ●
133
361
224
226

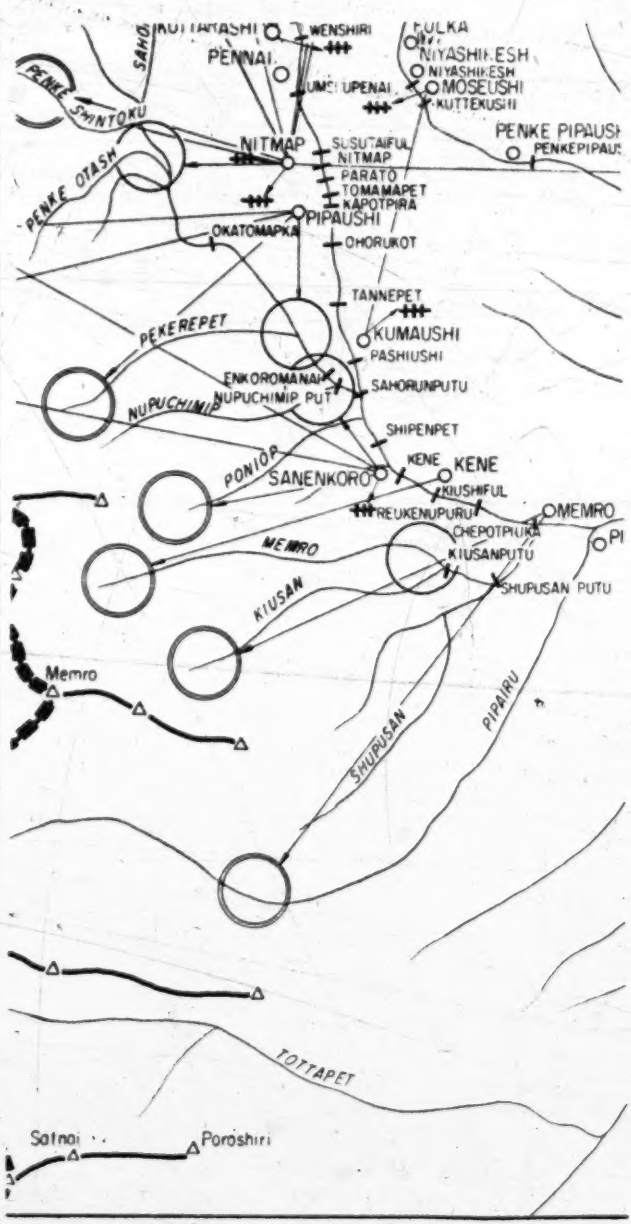
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

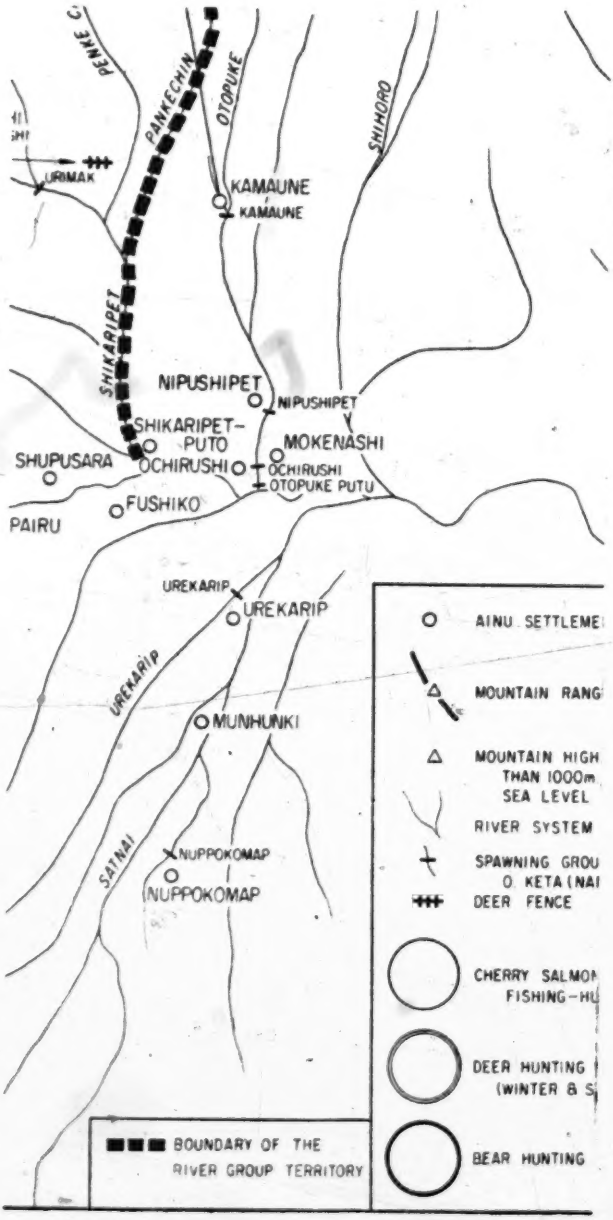


Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
361
133
224
226

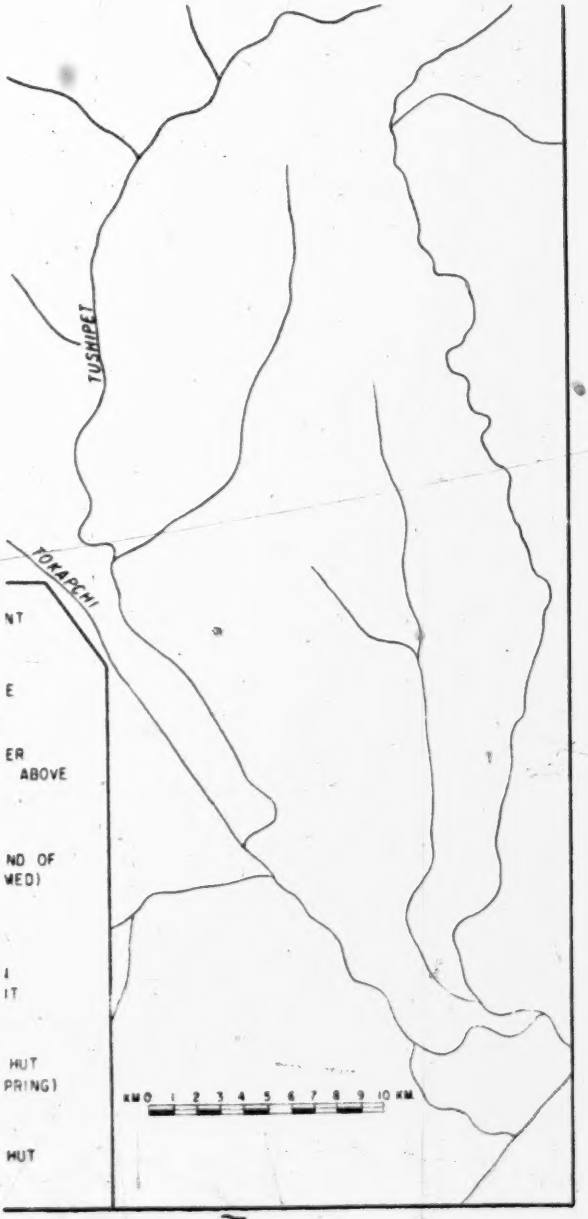


er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103 ●
133
361
224
226



[End map-H]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.
Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

361
103

			Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
R. G.	S. I. G.	L. G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L. G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
R. G.	S. I. G.	L. G.	Nupokomap	9
		L. G.	Munhunki	3
		L. G.	Urekarip	3

R. G. River Group
S. I. G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L. G. Local Group

361
621 The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[10].

[103] The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[48]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423
311
103
621

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

621
423
311
[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group 423
served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a 221
period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For ex- 311
ample, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism— [619]
territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season.

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these 423
territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty
361 houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175
361
342
103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

(The river forked here into two streams)		
Aneshum	6	
Nutabeto	3	
Urahoroputo	2	
Obekkohashi	9	
Betumoshiri	3	Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11	Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.

Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

16 houses in total

Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

21 houses in total

Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

27 houses in total

Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet

13 houses in total

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shiinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Ishikari River		
The main stream (in descending order of location)		
Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

175
361
103

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10). 136 224 [103]

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned. 136 224 103

(34) Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer 224

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 621 226 *un ichan* (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
101 162 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
361 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
G
103
361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktaus," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A
G
[114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
A
G
[113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A
G
103
361
113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A
[114]

G
361

a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G
361
437

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G
Gi
A
101
361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G
Gi
A
[113]

A Gi 101 /17 cont./

dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people [A 101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming A 361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first [A 131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A [113] [114] [103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

36| [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Unotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

36| 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 13| 167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175 113 291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

2: Schrenck--246 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6
F.J.
A
114
103
113
Gi
175
131
F.J.
175
114
A
F.J.
61
101

/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

/125 cont./

175
10
[113]

1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

175
103
Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

175
103
114

3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

[113]

/125 cont./

3. (cont.)

175 under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Aperçu
●103 général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832),
119 in which (p. 187) there is also mention of
[113] the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto,"
located north of Jesso and separated from
it by a strait. On the maps accompanying
the work, this country is represented as a
peninsula of the mainland far to the south
of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is
not guaranteeing the correctness of this
representation, since some geographers
simply designated it as an island off the
coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). More-
over, on these maps precisely opposite
the mouth of the Amur there is represented
a large island stretching from west to east
and named "Sagariīn," about which the
Japanese author had perhaps received
information from Manchurian or Chinese
sources. Thus, northern and southern
Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while
the former was still only an unknown,
faraway island to the Japanese, they looked
upon the latter as a nearby country which
they thought of, thanks to its trade rela-
tions with the Manchu, as a peninsula lead-
ing directly to the mainland. The familiarity
[113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for
Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for
in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-
no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso,"
translated from the Japanese by the late M.
Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

/125 cont./

175
103
114
[113]

3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

175
103
It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

[113]
1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands,
103 Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

175
114
103

3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï, " whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

/126 cont./

175
114
•103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar'/Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

K 175 131 167 A 175 /127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101] Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

A
K
114
101
175

/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K
103
175

And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A
101
175
114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A
175
114
101
103
113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

2: Schrenck--271 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

A
175
114
113
101
103

/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A K 101 175 Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A K [114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- . following the same Japanese source.

A
FJ.
103
114
175

/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kurumisi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A
175
101
G
[101]

/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

A
175
114
101

1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuā, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
● 103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

Glossary

•104

Akinaiba -- trading zone

Ashinpe -- A minor fine.

It is imposed in practically all offenses. Not a mere fine but a gift used to be pardon of God.

Basho -- estate

Bashomochi -- estate holders

Chigyosho -- tenure

Kaihō -- A term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties.

trading

A short form for Kaihō Sukui Kōeki, "trade for opening up and assisting."

Mekkakiri -- A ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief.

Nawa-Tojibune -- roped ships

Omusha -- A ceremony of greeting after a long absence. Later became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season.

Otona -- the chief of a village

Shamo -- mainlander

Tsugunai -- compensation, atonement, arbitration charge

Unjōkin -- A certain fee for the right to certain trade monopolies.

Utare -- kinsfolk

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Spinal vertebræ : 24 inches.
Scapula (from shoulder to shoulder) : 17 inches.
Between shoulder-blades : 5⅞ inches.
Femur : short.
Tibia : very long.
(Natives objected to have their legs measured.)
The Tibia is much rounder than with the Yezo Ainu.
Length of face : 7½ inches.
Width of face from ear to ear : 11½ inches.
Round head above ears : 21⅝ inches.
Ears : small.
Forehead : 2¾ inches high ; 5⅝ inches wide.

With arms outstretched and from tip to tip of fingers the Shikotan Ainu measure generally the length of one hand (about 6¾ inches) more than their own height. Consumption, *kaki*, and syphilis are common complaints among them. [164]

II.—GLOSSARY OF AINU WORDS, MANY OF WHICH ARE FOUND IN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN YEZO AND THE KURILE ISLANDS.[1] 104

A.

A = (a suffix).
Apa = an open space, a doorway.
Aikap = impossible, impassable.
Ambe = that is.
An = to be.
Aota = near.
Apta = rain.
Apun = gently.
At = a tree.
Atsu = barren, naked.

B.

Bets, or pets, pet = river.
Be, or pe = pestilential water.
But, or put = mouth of a river.

[1] The vowels to be pronounced as in Italian.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

C.

Cha = old.
Cha cha = very old.
Chip = fish.
Chippe = a canoe, a boat.
Chup = the sun.

E.

Erimu = a rat.
Etoko = formerly, in front of.
Etu = a cape.

F.

Fu = bare.
Fun = green.
Fure = red (also pronounced Hure).
Frishiko = old.

H.

Haru = grass.
Hattara = a deep pool in a watercourse.
Hure = a bad smell.
Hure = red.

I.

I = a suffix for "a place."
Ibe = to feed.
Ichan = a canal made by salmon in river-beds to lay their spawn.
Ikam = against.
Iwa = stone, a rock.
Itapk = word, story.
Iwashi (Japanese) = sardine.
Iwao = sulphur.

K.

Kama = cliffs, rocks, to go over.
Kamui = great, wonderful, ancient.
Kap = bark of a tree.
Kara = to take, to make.
Kashi = towards.
Kerimba = a berry.
Kene = an alder tree.
Kem = blood.
Kenashi = a meadow.
Keshup = head.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

Kesh = towards the west.
Ki = rushes.
Kim = mountain.
Kinna = mat.
Kinna = reeds.
Kinna = grass.
Kiri = to know.
Kitai = mountain.
Koi = the waves of the sea.
Koch = level.
Kombo = sea-weed.
Koro = to possess, to have.
Kotan = a village, a place.
Kotcha = in front of.
Ku = a bow.
Kuano = straight.
Kume = black, very dark.
Kuru, or guru = a person.

M.

Ma = to swim, deep.
Mak = behind.
Makta = away.
Mata = winter.
Meak = female.
Mean = cold.
Mo = tranquil.
Mon = small, tranquil.
Mom = to flow like a river.
Moire = slow.
Moi = a bay, a sheltered bend in a river where the water is quiet.
Moshiri, or mushir = island, country, place, land.
Moshiri Kes = the east.
Moshitte-chu-pok = north.
Moshiri pok = west.
Moshitte-chu-pka = south.
Mun = grass.

N.

Na = again.
Na = bigger, or smaller (also sign of comparative).
Nai, or Nai = a rivulet, a small stream.
Nai yau = a tributary stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104 Nak = where.
Nam = cold, as water, as ice.
Naoak = yet more shallow.
Ne = together, where, and, also, which, &c.
Neatka = also, again.
Nen = who.
Neto = where.
Ni = wood, or tree
Nikam = leaves of a tree.
Nibeshi = name of a tree (probably *Tilia*).
Nikap = bark of a tree.
Nipek = a fire, a flame.
Nisei = valley.
Nisusu = scenery, panorama, view.
Nitat = swampy ground, a swamp, a lagoon.
Nitai = a forest.
Nitt = a thorn.
Nitek = branches of trees.
Nituman = trunk of a tree.
Nobori = mountain.
No = (meaningless ending of words).
Noshike = middle.
Noshihike = half.
Nupka = a forest.
Nup = a treeless plain.
Nup = a deep silent pool in a river.
Nuburi = mountain.
Nupuru = turbid (as water).
Nupuri = a mountain (volcano).
Nutap = the projecting part of a river bend.

O.

O = a meaningless prefix, sometimes used as an adjective.
Oara = one.
Oboso = to pass through (as water).
Oak = shallow—not deep.
Oha = empty.
Ohoho = deep.
Okai = at a place.
Okai = a male.
Okari = around.
Oakau = to hide.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104●

Oakan = a male.
Omanne = to go.
Oma = to be inside.
Onne = large, old, great.
Opattek = a volcanic eruption.
Opeka = straight.
Oro = to be in.
Oropak = as far as.
Oshima = to go in.
Oshimak = behind.
Ota = sand.
Otaru = sandy.
Opke = a spear.
Ot = in, inside, into.
Oya = another.
Oushike = a place.
Oyapk = away, abroad.
Oyapk moshiri = away, country (foreign country).

P.

Pa = smoke.
Pa = east-end of villages.
Pai = bushes.
Pakne = as far as.
Panke = lower.
Paru = the mouth.
Pase = heavy.
Patek = only.
Pe = pestilential water, bad water, not good to drink.
Pei = something.
Pene = inland.
Pet, pets, bets = river.
Pet bena = source of a river.
Pet samo = bank of a river.
Petsamata = by the side of a river.
Pet put = the mouth of a river.
Pet-urara = a stream.
Pet yao = an affluent.
Pet-ka-shu = to wade a river.
Penke = upper.
Pinni = ash-tree.
Pinne = male.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●104 Piuta = sand (coarse).
Pipa = a spring of fresh water.
Pira = a bank, a cliff.
Piri = a wound.
Pirika = pretty, good, well, all-right.
Pishita = sea-beach.
Pita = to untie, to undo.
Pitara = a dry place in a river-bed.
Po = a small thing.
Pon = small.
Poi-shuma = pebbles, stones.
Poka = only.
Popke = hot, steaming (also Topke).
Poro = large.
Pui = a hole.
Puri = natural, very, usual.
Put, Putu (corrupted into Buto by the Japanese) = the mouth of a river.

R.

Rai = death.
Rakka = seal.
Rahuru = a fog.
Ram = low.
Ran = to descend (a mountain).
Rangu = a kind of tree.
Rarumani = a kind of tree (*Taxus cuspidata*).
Re = three.
Repun = to go, in the sea, surrounded by water.
Repun moshiri = an island.
Rera = wind.
Retara = white.
Ri = high.
Rikkin = to ascend.
Riri = a wave.
Riri-shiye-tuye = ebb tide.
Riri-ya = flow tide.
Roru = at the head.
Ru = a road, a track, a pathway
Rui = to burn.
Rukoppe = where roads cross.
Rui = great, big.
Rubeshipe = a ravine.
Rupne = large.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

S.

Sapk = summer.
Sak = without.
Sama = by the side of.
San = to descend.
Sara, Saru = a grassy plain.
Sat = dry.
Sattek = shallow water.
Sesek = hot.
Seta = dog.
Shep = broad.
Shi = high.
Shibe = autumn salmon.
Shiki = a kind of tall grass.
Shiko = a view, a sight.
Shimon = on the right-hand side.
Shimoye = to shake, to move.
Shenai = a large river.
Shirari = a cliff, mass of loose texture.
Shirau = a horse-fly.
Shiretu = a cape.
Shiri = land.
Shiruturu = a small island in a river.
Sho = so.
Shoi = a hole.
Shum = foam.
Shuma = a stone.
So = a waterfall.
Shupun = a kind of fish.
Shusu = a willow tree.

T.

Ta = to, towards, to take, to cut.
Taanni = on this side.
Taksep = a rock.
Tapne = short.
Tanne = long.
Tap kop = an isolated hill.
Tat = Birch-tree (*Betula*).
To, or ko = a lake, a swamp.
Toambe = that.
Toi = earth.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●104 Tokap = day, light.
Tomari = a harbour, a sheltered place.
Top = scrub bamboo.
Tope = *Acer*—a kind of tree.
Tukara, also Tokari = sea-otter.
Tunni = *Quercus dentata.*
Tureshi = to ascend.
Turep = a plant, the roots of which are eaten by the Ainu.

U.

U = a suffix to indicate a place.
Uhui, also Ouye = a fire.
Uhui nobori = a volcano.
Un = a particle denoting that something is to be found at a place.
Upas = snow.
Ush = a bay.
Ush = a gulf.
Ush = a locative particle.
Uta = a master.
Utka = the rapids of a river.

W.

Wa = from.
Waaka = water.
Wen = bad.

Y.

Ya = land.
Yai = danger.
Yaikap = awkward.
Yam = cold, a chestnut.
Yuk = a deer.
Yutta = greatest.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi*: grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi*: grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuku*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *ackapo*: uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu ackapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma ackapo* and *popke samma ackapo*, respectively. The term *keuskus* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe*: aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.
Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar*, *shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuku epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuku esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601 104

8 *yupi:* elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki:* younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo:* elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *mataki:* younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka ie-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ie irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ie-irwak*, and *mat sammani ie-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ie-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku:* nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku:* niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo:* grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo:* great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *itomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ackspo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmacki*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the 774 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or 776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some 824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant 114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta- 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g ● 104 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

GLOSSARY OF WORDS USED FREQUENTLY IN THE TEXT

104

Bashui (or *Ikubashui*): prayer-stick or libation wand.
Chisei: dwelling, animal burrow, wasps' nest, or house.
Ekashi: elder, grandfather, ancestor.
Epiru: purification (of objects). lit. 'sweeps away'.
Fuchi: grandmother, ancestress, a title of respect.
Guru: person.
Hopuniri: lit. 'rising up', one form of ritual dismissal.
Ikubashui: see *Bashui.*
Inau: an offering to *kamui* in the form of a wooden staff with attached wood shavings:
Chehorokakep: lit. 'thing shaven backwards', backward-shaven *inau.*
Chikappo shian *inau: inau* made for the Eagle ~~Owl~~.
Chisei-koro *inau: inau* dedicated to the female spirit, Kenru Katkimat.
Inau chiba: plenteous or overflowing *inau*; *nusa* dedicated to more than one *kamui.*
Inumba inau: the beer-straining *inau.*
Kike chinoye *inau:* twisted shaven *inau.*
Kike parase *inau:* outspread shaven *inau.*
Innono: prayer.
Iomande: lit. 'despatch'; form of ritual dismissal for the *kamui.*
Inoka: image.
Inumbe: wooden frame surrounding the hearth.
Itokpa: sign cut on certain *inau* stems and on some other objects.
Iwakte: lit. 'sending away'. A form of ritual dismissal.
Kamui: god or spirit.
Kamui-kotan: the abode of the dead.
Kara: to make; occasionally incorporated in names.
Kenru: house.
Koro: to possess; frequently incorporated in names.
Kotan: village, or village community.
Kut: see *upshoro kut.*
Kuwa: grave-post.
Mawe: magic, also breath or wind.
Nitue: hard or stubborn.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

GLOSSARY

●104 *Nomi:* prayer, worship.
Nusa: a group of *inau.*
Ongami: salutation.
Oripak: awe.
Pakoro: punishing.
Pase: weighty or important (i.e. *pase kamui, pase ongami, pase nomi*).
Pirika: good, beautiful.
Pon: small.
Ram: soul.
Ramat: soul or spirit. lit. 'heart'.
Roroun puyara: sacred window.
Shinrit: ancestral spirits. lit. 'roots'.
Shintoko: vessels, usually lacquered; also large tubs used for the sacred beer.
Shinurapa: the Feast 'of All Souls', or 'Falling Tears'.
Shongo: messenger.
Takusa: a switch of grass or foliage used in purification.
Turenbe: spirit possession by good or bad spirits.
Tusu: female medium.
U-eshopki: ritual (lit. 'mutual') seating at ceremonies.
Ukakik: purification (of persons). lit. 'striking down'.
Ukara: old traditions.
Umusa: mutual condolence.
Upashkoma itak: traditional lore.
Upshoro kut: woman's secret girdle.
Wen: evil.
Wen kamui: evil spirits.
Wen yuk: evil bears.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, _ cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
[692] goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

● 105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state
[621] of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-
556

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

Early Japan AB3 For example,

A ●105 64 [175] Look at the region along the Ishikari River before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

A E *175 *648 [563] The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As

A E *175 *648 614 the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai** and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

J00 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

* *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 [361] Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 614 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 619 [186] River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

1: Takakura, Shinichiro. The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation. Translated and annotated by John A. Harrison. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. Vol. 50, Part 4. Philadelphia, 1960.

Pp. 88; 3 maps; bibliography

Yale: A53p 0185 II. 50

/This is a carefully researched history of the Japanese conquest and acculturation of the Ainu and their culture. It covers discussions of: (1) social and economic organization of the Ainu at the time of Japanese penetration, (2) the conducive situation for colonization of the island of Ainu, and the rational for Japanese colonization, (3) the process of colonization, and (4) the details of Japanese colonization policy concerning ceremonial arrangements and protocol, relief measures, medical treatment, education, law and the alteration of customs. The author's detailed and succinct style reflects his thorough work over thirty years in revising and organizing his data. The work contains excellent chapter summaries and valuable footnotes on the linguistic analysis of Ainu terms. This

1: Takakura, Shinichiro.

monograph will be of value to researchers interested in an analysis of Ainu society and its institutions, and the colonization and assimilation of the Ainu by feudal Japan. Although most of the data in this monograph pertain to the history of the Ainu and not to recent conditions, the material has been analyzed in terms of modern Ainu society, due to the rarity of such data. Ainu culture is at present rapidly disintegrating. --Analyst /

Field date: No date
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Historian 4, 5
Processed in 1962

2: Batchelor, John, Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race. Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 1927.

Pp. [xii], 448; 61 plates (part colored); 26 text figures; 1 plan

Yale: Nkd71 A2 927b

[This source contains Ainu ethnographic data and an extensive sample of their myths, legends and folk tales. It is based on the author's observations and experiences among the Ainu people for about fifty years as an English missionary. Although this source suffers from a lack of systematic organization and some repetition, it provides a rich source to the researcher to analyze ethnopsychology (especially their conception of self, scapegoat mechanism) and religion (their theory of supernaturals, relationship of men to supernaturals, their religious practices, eschatology, etc.) The author presents the folklore in the native social context and in a narrative style. He introduces his informants in length and their attitudes and reactions toward their stories. His own views and "bias" are also stated explicitly. Thus, the style of writing enhances the objectivity and

2: Batchelor, John.

the usability of data for research--Analyst]

Field date: 1877-1924
Analyst: Hesung Chun Koh

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed: 1962

3: Hitchcock, Romyn. The Ainos of Yezo Japan. Report of the U.S. National Museum, Under the Direction of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year Ending June 30, 1890, pp. 429-502. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

Pp. xviii, 811; 150 plates; 99 text figures; index

Yale: A52. 67. 1889-90

/This source presents a generalized ethnography of the Yezo Ainus, with special emphasis throughout on Japanese-Ainu cultural relations and influences, both as they exist at the present time and in the past. The author, a natural scientist, discusses at length the physical characteristics of the Ainu, then continues with brief resumés of Ainu clothing, house-types, household utensils and food, use of intoxicating beverages (i.e. Saké), smoking apparatus, musical instruments, weaving, mode of personal greetings, marriage customs, sanctions, weapons, boats and religion. The author concludes with a lengthy discussion of the Ainu Bear Cult and associated ceremonialism and Ainu mythology with many illustrative examples from the literature.

111 AB6 Ainu - 2

3: Hitchcock, Romyn.

The entire work is supplemented by thirty-seven photographic plates illustrating various aspects of Ainu culture. -- Analyst/

Field Date: 1888
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Natural Scientist - 5
Processed in 1962

AB6 Ainu-1-2

4: Landor, Arnold H. Savage. Alone with the Hairy Ainu: 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and a cruise to the Kurile Islands. London: John Murray, 1893.

Pp. xvi, 325; 92 text figures; glossary; index

Yale: Nkd 71 A2 893l

[This source is a record of a journey through Hokkaido and Kurile Islands by Landor, an artist and traveler, about 1890. Two-thirds of the material is mainly the description of topography, routes, and the natives' attitude toward the author. The remaining one-third contains the materials of ethnographical value, such as data on Ainu habitations, storehouses, furniture, art, ornamentations, weapons, graves, tatoos, clothes, physiology, psychology and religion. The data on Ainu anthropometry and descriptive somatology should be used with caution due to the smallness of the sample and the ambiguity of the sampling technique employed. The author's discussion of the "pit-dwellers" supported by "archaeological" evidence is an example of Landor's tendency to generalize without sufficient basis. In spite of the author's intention to be "open minded and sensible" in recording data, the source in general suffers from his lack of objectivity and strong ethnocentric interpretation. This source, however,

4: Landor, Arnold H. Savage.

contains valuable materials on Ainu decorative arts, tools, weapons and dwelling types illustrated by the author's own drawings. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1890
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1962

5: Sternberg, Leo. The Inau Cult of the Ainu. In, Berthold Laufer, ed., Boas Anniversary Volume: Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas, pp. 425-437. New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1906.

2 plates

Yale: Nk12 906b

/In this article the author has attempted to discover the origin of the beliefs surrounding the inau-objects set up in honor of the "master" or "mistress" gods-and the real position they hold in Ainu religion. In tracing their origin, Sternberg exposes the fundamental religious conceptions of the Ainu, their beliefs concerning the presence of a soul and intellect in all forms of matter. Good descriptions of the inau are given, and several photographs of them are included. --Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: Alice McCloskey

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954, 1965

6: Sugiura, Kenichi and Harumi Befu. Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu. Ethnology, Vol. 1, pp. 287-298. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, July 1962.

HRAF copy

[This study discusses a unique feature of the Ainu Kinship system of Saru River Valley, Hokkaido. Among the Ainu, men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. However, there is little evidence that the matrilineal group is functionally significant in Ainu society. It is suggested that further investigation should be carried out in this area. The senior author, Sugiura was a member of a team sent by the Japanese Society of Ethnology to the Saru River Valley in 1951 for an Anthropological field study. Mr. Befu, the junior author, extracted information from a Japanese article written by the senior author, now deceased, and reorganized the material with further analysis and discussion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1962

7: Munro, Neil Gordon. Ainu Creed and Cult. Edited with a preface and an additional chapter by B. Z. Seligman. Introduction by H. Watanabe. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Pp. xviii, 182; 8 text figures; 32 plates; 2 appendices; bibliography; glossary.

Yale: Myb370 M926.

/The data for this source, related primarily to the religious life of the Ainu, were collected during the first three decades of the twentieth century by the principal author N. G. Munro, a British physician who lived for many years in Japan. This author, accompanied by his Japanese wife, established a clinic for the Ainu at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, by means of which he was able to win the confidence and trust of the people several of whom were later to serve as his informants. There, realizing that the traditional life of the Ainu was rapidly disappearing, he made an intensive study of various aspects of Ainu culture, in the hope that he could demonstrate to the world at large and the Japanese in particular that the ..."Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions." Although the author's investigation was carried out primarily at Nibutani, he also worked with native informants from other districts. After Munro's death some of his documents were lost, but a substantial number finally reached Professor and Mrs. Seligman (B. Z. Seligman), where they were

7: Munro, Neil Gordon.

edited for publication, and finally evolved into the present form of this book. Mrs. Seligman was greatly aided in the preparation of Munro's notes by Professor Watanabe of Tokyo University who besides making comments on the manuscript, also added footnotes to this source and an historical introduction.

The source itself deals with the general nature of Ainu religion, the Kamui (spirits or gods), the Inau or religious offerings, Ainu hearth and home, and various religious ceremonies associated with house building, house warming, the Bear Ceremony, the Feast of All Souls or Falling Tears (Shinurapa), magical and mental therapy in the form of exorcism of evil spirits from patients, and death and burial. A final chapter on Social Organization by B. Z. Seligman concludes the source./

Field date: 1900-1942
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Physician, Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1965-1968

8: Pilsudski, Bronislaw. Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Gilyaken und Ainu) /Pregnancy, Birth and Miscarriage among the Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu)/. Anthropos, Vol. 5, pp. 756-774. Vienna, 1910.

Yale: Nk10 +An89 5

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

/Pp. 756-762, dealing with the Gilyak, have not been translated. This source, written from the field experiences of the author over a ten year period among the Ainu and Gilyak of Sakhalin Island, presents a comprehensive study of various aspects of reproduction among the Ainu. Data covered in the source pertain to women's status, pregnancy, childbirth, post-natal care of woman and child, native ideas about conception, miscarriage, abortion, twin births, beliefs about sterility, menstruation and menopause. In addition to a thorough coverage of the above aspects, there is additional

8: Pilsudski, Bronislaw.

information to be found in these pages on various medical practices and religious beliefs connected with childbirth. - Analyst/

Field Date: 1895-1905
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

9: Lavrov, I. P. Ob izobrazitel'nom iskusstve nivkhov i aĩhov (iz materialov Amuro-Sakhalinskoĭ exspeditsii) [On the representative art of the Nivkhi and Ainu (from the Amur-Sakhalin Expedition materials)]. Akademiĩa Nauk SSSR. Institut Etnografii imeni N. N. Mikhluho-Maklaĩa. Kratkie Soobshcheniĩa. 5 (1949): 32-39. Moskva, 1949.

Yale: Nk10 Ak13e v. 5. [HRAF MS.; 1, 11 p.]

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relations Area Files by Leo Bromwich.

[This article is a brief analysis of the representative art of the Nivkhi (Gilyak) and Ainu as shown in the materials collected by the Amur-Sakhalin Expedition of 1947. It concentrates on the origin of the "Gilyak bear vessels" and on the band and string ornamentation of Sakhalin Ainu bear sculpture. The materials shown were collected at the Gilyak village of My on the Amur, and the Ainu villages of Niita and Sirokham on Sakhalin Island. Because of technical problems, the illustrations will be found only in the foreign text, although translations are provided for the captions.]

Field date: 1947
Analyst: Helen Gunsher Bornstein

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1964, 1975

AB6 Ainu

10: Pilsudski, Bronisław. Die Urbewohner von Sachalin [The aborigines of Sakhalin]. Globus, 96 (1909): 325-330. Braunschweig, F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1909.

Yale: E10+G51 v. 96. [HRAF MS., 1, 16 p.]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Anne Marie Holborn.

[The question of the origin of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island is discussed here on the basis of information gathered through personal contacts with the inhabitants of the island, mainly Ainu, Gilyak and Goldi (Orok), and through the use of archeological evidence. Pilsudski is concerned chiefly with the problem of whether the original inhabitants were the ancestors of the present day Ainu, or a people known as Tonchi, a distinct and nonrelated group. Pilsudski states that there is not sufficient evidence to decide the question definitely, but that he believes that the Tonchi really did exist, that they belonged to the Susihenisih tribe, and that they were a distinct people. However, the researcher is advised to consult the works of more recent investigators, who, according to Jochelson, have clearly shown that the Tonchi were the ancestors of the present Ainu. The researcher is also advised to read the whole source because of the interwoven nature of the evidence.]

Field date: no date
Analysts: Alice McCloskey
Helen Bornstein

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1953 and 1975

11: Watanabe, Hitoshi. The Ainu: a study of ecology and the system of social solidarity between man and nature in relation to group structure. Tokyo, University, Faculty of Science, Journal, Section V, Anthropology, vol. 2, pt. 6. Tokyo, University of Tokyo, 1964.

Pp. 164; 8 text figures; 7 charts; 2 folding maps; including 1 end map; notes; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[Once one of the original inhabitants of much of the Japanese archipelago, the remaining Ainu, following Japanese encroachments and incursions, now occupy sections of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and other islands. Being subject to often extreme acculturative and assimilative pressures of one sort or another, Ainu society has been transforming or modifying itself along Japanese lines to the point where the traditional subsistence economy, sociopolitical kinship and territorial system, and religious complex have been wholly lost or left only partially intact. In rediscovering some of these aboriginal institutions and organizations this source offers a fairly comprehensive and exhaustive description and analysis of what the interrelationships between ecological and economic processes were probably like among several of the aboriginal Ainu tribes of Hokkaido. The empirical findings in this monograph derive from the author's own field research among the Ainu, involving interviews of informants knowledgeable of Ainu society as it was immediately prior to the 1880's before the Japanese undertook various agricultural development and land reallotment schemes which had the effect of undermining to a large extent the

traditional Ainu economic system, and of fragmenting and dispersing Ainu village communities. He deals specifically with the Ainu situation under the 'basho' or feudal land district system during the last phases of the Tokugawa Shogunate just before the administration of the area by the Japanese government. The author's objective is to reconstruct from informant interview evidence and other historical sources the nature of aboriginal society and economy before the large-scale economic changes which were undertaken by the Japanese government. The author, a Japanese anthropologist, organizes his data and evidence within an ecological framework by relating his findings to the theoretical concepts of cultural ecology. In evaluating and examining his material, he uses many of the ecological insights of Daryll Forde, whose student the author had been at the University of London. A section of extensive notes amplifying many of his general arguments and observations follows the main text. A useful bibliography, as well as explicit ecological maps and charts, is also found.]

Field date: 1951-1959
Analysts: Gilbert Winer, marker
Helen Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1968-1975

AB6 Ainu

Sternberg, Leo. The Ainu Problem. Anthropos, Vol. 24, pp. 755-799. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien: "Anthropos"-Administration, 1929.

Yale: Nk10 +An89 v. 24

/This source is a discussion of theories concerning the origins of the Ainu. Sternberg comes to the conclusion that their original home lay in the western part of Austronesia, not in Siberia or the Polar North. -- Analyst/

• 113, 19 Ainu AB6

[For information pertaining to the Ainu language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 10-11.]

113	Southeast Siberia RX1
101	Ainu AB6
102	Tungus RU5
103	Birar
131	Orochon
133	Daur
	Solon
	Manegir
	Goldi RX3
	Orok
	Orochi
	Olcha
	Negidal
	Kile
	Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6

119 I have used many materials which are not easily available and to avoid undue complexity I omitted from
113 the text any detailed explanations of the manuscripts which are cited. Therefore, this appendix is not only a bibliographical guide but a supplementary commentary on the text. I am concerned here only with manuscripts and rare books. Manuscripts of minor importance which are in the library of the Hokkaidō Administrative Office are not herein commented on and my selection of rare books is, of course, a subjective one. Basic guides to these materials are:

113 *Hokkaidō Chō Kyūki Mokuroku* (List of old records in the Hokkaidō administrative office) edited by Takada Fujie and myself and published by that office in 1932.

Kokusan Shinkō Hakurankai Hokkaidō Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Kaisetsu (Comments on the exhibits in the Hokkaidō History Hall at the National Industry Encouragement Fair) published in 1926.

Goryōkaku Nai Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Mokuroku (List of exhibits in the Goryōkaku History Hall).

Wherever the name of the owner of a manuscript or book is not given then it is owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

Kōnō Tsunekichi, ed. *Ainu Chōsa Zairyō* (Materials for study of the Ainu). A collection of extracts from old records. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Mogami Tsunenori, *Akkeshi Ran Moshiage* (Report on the Akkeshi rebellion). Mogami's report on the troubles of December 1799 when Tashanishi, chief of Kushiro, killed a houseboy. Also contains supplementary materials on the chief Ikotoi of Kunashiri who secretly contacted the Russians and on the assassination of Tashanishi.

Kushihara Masamine, *Igen Zokuwa* (Every day guide to the Ezo). 5 books. Records kept on the life and trade of the Ezo by Kushihara who, in 1782, was sent to Sōya in the relief trade.

Matsumoto Jurō, *Ishikari Tokachi Ryōgawa Kikō* (Travels to the Tokachi and Ishikari Rivers). A travel diary for the period June 1875–July 1876. The Kaitakushi official Matsumoto went up the Ishikari River to its sources, then across to the Osara River, thence to the Tokachi River, then to Otsu and finally to Sapporo by way of the Urakawa coast. This was Matsumoto's last journey and the most detailed exploration of the Ishikari-Tokachi area. At the conclusion of this trip Matsumoto resigned his post and never returned to Hokkaidō. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Usu On Basho Otazune Kajō Shojō (Report on the problems of the Usu *Basho*). A report made by Wakaya Uhiyo, contractor for the Usu *Basho*, on the condition of each of the markets of that area for the period February 1854. It forms part of his collected writings *Bunka Do Oscumtosare Sho*.

Urakawa Shichō Sho Shorui (Papers of the Urakawa Branch Office). When the Urakawa Branch Office of the Kaitakushi was abolished in 1874 its record came into the possession of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Onōdera Tokuken, *Ezo Kikan Furoku* (Supplement to the wonders of Ezo) Onōdera had, by order of the head of the Sendai clan, traveled to Shimaki in West Ezo and written of this journey in *Hokuyū Nisen*. *Ezo Kikan Furoku* treats of the natural products, the people, and the history of Ezo and Karafuto. It contains, in detail, the routes from Matsumae to East Ezo and North Ezo and from

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

● 113

Sōya in West Ezo to Shari. Tokuken's ordinary name was Kenji and his pen name was Okoku. He was instructor at the Sendai clan school.

Ezo Kembun Shi (A history of personal experiences in Ezo). 29 books. On the customs, languages, legends, habits, and economy of Ezo, and with material on Russia and Karafuto. Many illustrations. Probably done sometime in the first two decades of the nineteenth century although neither date nor author is known.

Ezo Koku Shiki (Private records of the Ezo). On economic conditions, products, and the native customs by one who had once cut timber in the remote Ishikari mountains. Probably done in the latter eighteenth century. It also is known as *Ezo Koku Yowu*.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI, *Ezo Sōshi* (The book of Ezo). 5 books. This is a veritable encyclopedia on Ezo. Religion, geography, natural features, ceremonials, wives and concubines, health conditions, languages, the economy, etc. are all touched upon. There is a foreword written by the author in 1799. This work has been transmitted under various names such as *Matsumae Fūdoki* and *Ezo Koku Fūzoku Ninjō no Sata*, which latter has a preface by Honda Toshiakai written in 1791. Mogami was also known as Shiki and Tsunenori and his pen names were Ōkoku and Hakkosai. Along with Bakufu officials he explored Ezo in 1785 and the following year he went to the Kuriles. By 1810 he had made seven trips to Ezo and was recognized as the outstanding authority on that region. Among his other works on Ezo are *Ezo Sōshi Kohen* and *Matsumae Ki*.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI, *Ezo Sōshi Kohen* (Sequel to *Ezo Sōshi*). 3 books. This is a collection of stories omitted from *Ezo Sōshi* and has a preface written in 1800. The first volume deals with the Russians, the second with the Santan and the third with the government of Ezo.

Ezo Zakki (Ezo miscellany). 3 books. Also known as *Ezo Zuihitsu*. A collection of various materials about Ezo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The first book deals with administration, the second with the census and products of Matsumae, Hakodate, East and West Ezo, and the third contains much material on the economy.

BABA SADAYOSHI, ed. and trans. *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*. The correct title is *Tōhoku Dattan Shokoku Zushi Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* and is a translation of the Dutch of Nicholas Witsen's *Beschryving Van Oost en Noord Tartáryen* first published in 1785 and later revised and published in two volumes by Pieter Boddaert. Baba, who was translator to the Edo Astronomical Observatory, started this work in April 1809 by the order of the High Commissioner of Nagasaki and the finished product was presented to the Bakufu in the fall of that year. The work is a compendium of information on Northeast Asia and especially Hokkaidō.

Ezo Zassho (Ezo miscellany). 2 books. The first book is a collection of materials on the marketing procedures, customs, habits, and traditions of the Ezo while the second has various documents, among them the "Ansei Bunsei nenkan Ezo Kokō hyō."

Ezo Shūi (Ezo gleanings). 5 books. In 1785 the Bakufu sent Yamaguchi Takashina, Iohara Norikata, Satō Yukinobu, Minagawa Hidemichi, and Aojima Masanori, all civil engineers, to Ezo to investigate, among other things, the road and the mining situation. They stayed for a year and the results of their work drew the attention of the Bakufu to the northern regions and, at the same time, added to its knowledge of them. The results of their work was published as *Ezochi Kaitaku Ikensho* in February 1786 by Matsumoto, Lord of Izen. Their suggestions were never carried out owing to the discharge of Tanuma Okitsugu and therefore these men

[P.82(B)]

●113 edited *Ezo Shūi* in October 1786 for the information of themselves and other scholars. The first two volumes deal with geography, the third with people and products, the fourth with language, and the fifth with the Russians and the Santan. Very valuable material.

Ezo Shima Ki (The story of Ezo Island). This is part of the ninth section on geography of the *Zokusoku Gunsho Ruijū* and treats of Ezo customs. Probably written between 1751 and 1764.

MURAKAMI SHIMANOGYŌ, *Ezo Shima Kikan* (The wonders of Ezo Island). This was written in 1799 under the alias of Hata Awagimaru. It describes, explains, and illustrates the customs and products of Ezo and is indispensable for Ezo studies. The author, born at Ise, became a Bakufu official engaged in Ezo matters during the years 1789–1817. He did much work on the cartography of Ezo as well as write the *Higashi Ezo Chimeikō*. Recent research indicates that the best book on Ezo customs, the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu*, was also written by Murakami. *Ezo Miyage* which was revised and published by Ishigawa Kōsai in 1900 is actually a transcription of *Ezo Shima Kikan*.

MURAKAMI SHIMANOGYŌ, with supplementary materials by MAMIYA RINSŌ, *Ezo Jōyōshū* (Materials on the everyday life of the Ezo). The customary ways of making clothes, storing crops, cooking, building houses, boats, and so on are explained in every detail and with accurate sketches. This is the best among the works dealing with the life of the Ezo. *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu*, *Ezo Gahō*, *Ezo Zasshi*, *Ezo Gachō*, *Ezo Fūdoki*, *Hokui Shugei Sōshoku Zusetsu* and *Ezo Shima Zunazo* are each transcriptions of all or parts of *Ezo Jōyōshū*. According to the preface of *Ezo Sekei Zusetsu* which is owned by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Tōkyō, this work was done by Murakami originally and later supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō.

Ezojin Kōshi Hōsho Ki (Record of awards to dutiful Ezo children). A record of the filial actions of Hero of Kunashiri Island and of Abepana of Wenbetsu, both of whom were honored by the Bakufu for their filial piety.

MIUEMON, *Ezo Dan* (Tales of Ezo). A transcript of the tales of the farmer Miuemon of Esashi. Brief stories of Matsumae geography, the customs and work of the Ezo, the arrival of Russian ships at Akkeshi and the Ezo rebellions of 1669 and 1789. There are many errors in the story of the rebellion of 1789 and its results are not mentioned. These stories may have been dictated in August 1789 and the scribe may have been Takano Shiin, Magistrate of Mito.

MATSUMIYA KANZAN, *Ezo Dan Hikki* (Narratives of Ezo). 2 books. The first volume contains forty-five separate items on Ezo customs and vocabulary. The second volume relates the rebellion of Shakushain as told by Kanuemon, interpreter to Matsumiya Kanzan who had gone to Matsumae as an inspector in June 1630. This is the first detailed description of Ezo customs. *Ezo Ki*, *Ezo Danwa Ki*, *Ezo Wadan* are copies of this work. The second volume has been copied as *Ezo Sōdō Ki* and as *Ezoran Kiji*. The *Kita Ezo Fūdo Sōkō* of Honda Toshiaki is identical with this work.

Ezochi Kaitaku Shookakitsuke Shōo Ukagahi Shorui (Record of instructions and requests in regard to the development of Ezo). A report by the Commissioner at Hakodate made at the request of Mizuno, Lord of Izumi and member of the Council of the Bakufu. It is concerned with the history and the possibilities of the development of Ezo. It has materials on Northern Ezo, cultivation of land, the Hakodate office, contracts, construction, collection and marketing of goods, emergency shipping, analysis of techniques, problems of coinage and rice and gold supplies etc. There is a sixty-two-page appendix on records, questions, and instructions. The contents are part of the fifth volume of the *SHS*.

Ezochi Kinban Kokoroe Kata. Instructions on the performance of duties. Issued by the Matsumae to their subjects.

[p. 83(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 *Etorofu Shi* (History of Etorofu). Part of *Moi Tōkanki*. Deals with customs, food, the sea, homes, marriage, funerals, ships, weather, tools, products, and the language. The author may be Saitō Kurata who went to Etorofu in 1807.

Obasho Sahai Chu Kokoroe Sho (Notes on the management of *Basho*). The papers of Kashiwaya Kihei, contractor for the Kunashiri *Basho*, concerning the cancellation of his contract in 1848 and its renewal in 1849 when the management rules were changed.

Orei Ezojin Tetsuzuki Shirabe Sho (Documents on procedures for receiving gifts from the Ezo). Documents on the Niikappu *Basho* relative to the transfer of 1822. Included in the *Ezo Zassho*.

Kahei Ukeoi Chunainai Bannin Kokoroe Sho (Takada Kahei's instuctions to his guards during the period of his contract). Materials on the Shibetoro *Basho* in Etorofu.

Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan (A record of personal experiences in Kamikawa). Written by Hizuka Takamasa, assistant to the Kaitakushi, as a record of what he heard and saw during his inspection of the boundaries of Kamikawa, Sorachi, and Kabauto.

KŌNŌ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Kyūdojin Chōsa Shorui* (Miscellaneous investigations concerning the aborigines). A collection taken from magazine and newspaper articles. Now owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

HABUTO MASAYASU, *Kyumei Kōki* (The veritable record). Habuto was appointed Commissioner in Ezo in 1790, Commissioner at Matsumae in 1802, and he resigned his positions in 1807. The nine volumes of this work contain all the events that occurred during his tenures from the assumption of direct control in 1799 to his resignation. The eleven-volume appendix consists mostly of official documents he handled during his tenures. This material was published in *Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijū*, Part IV, but many errors were made in the transcription and, when *SHS* was published, the fifth volume was devoted to a correct text of this work.

RINSŌ MAMIYA, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (An illustrated description of Northern Ezo). Place names, topography, products, the natives of Karafuto, clothing, homes, food, tools, customs, religion, etc., all are described as well as the customs of the Orokko and Sumerenkuru. Rinsō was born in Hitachi, served the Bakufu from 1805 onward, explored Ezo, supplemented Ino Tadataka's maps of Ezo, explored Karafuto in 1808 in company with Matsuda Denjirō at the order of the Bakufu. He submitted reports of this latter trip, returned to Karafuto in 1809 and finally reached Manchuria. *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* is the record of this last trip. It has alternative names—*Dōchū Yoroku*, *Hokui Bunkai*, *Hokui Kikō*, *Kita Ezo Chibu*. It was published in 1855 in four volumes by Harimaya of Edo and, without the illustrations, is part of the appendix on Hokkaidō of *Nihon Meishō Chishi*.

Kita Ezochi Hottan Nukigaki (A brief summary of the origins of the Northern Ezo area). A report about members of the Matsumae clan and their experiences on Karafuto. Written by the clan at the request of the Bakufu official Murata Tetsutarō in March 1800.

Kimura Shikyō Hikki (Diary of Kimura Shikyō). Kimura of Hitachi wrote this diary of a round trip to Ezo between April 3, 1798, and February 3, 1799. The trip was made under the alias of Shimono Gensuke and in company with Kondō Morishige. He had been to Matsumae previously in 1793 along with Takeishi Minzō at the order of Tachibana Suiken of Mito and on this earlier trip had written *Hokō Hiroku*.

Ainsei Yonen Gyogyō Yatoi Kyūryō Sonota (Wages of fishing employees and other matters in 1857). A collection on the wages of fishermen and the price of commodities in 1857, on the fish catch in Sōya *Basho* in 1857–1858 and on other matters. Owned by the Hakodate Prefectural Office.

Gyoba Kankei Shorui (Materials on the fish markets). The files of the contractor Satō Izanaemon of Utasutsu and Isoya.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Detailed records of the procedures that resulted in the abolition of the contract system in 1869–1870.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Kinsei Ezo Jinbutsushi* (Materials on the contemporary natives). 9 books. Personalities and peculiarities of Ezo which the author collected on his trips to every part of the island. The manuscript lay long unnoticed and was finally published in *Sekai*, Nos. 98–110.

Kusuri Basho Toriatsukai Kakinshi (Notes on the management of the Kusuri *Basho*). A selection from the records of the pre-Bakufu direct control period. It treats of the annual calendar, purchasing and selling, management experiences, the treatment of officials, wage scales, gratuities to employees, etc., of the Kusuri *Basho*.

Kusuri Basho Hikiwatashi Ikken Kabi Mono Utsushi (Materials on the transfer of Kusuri *Basho*). The investigation reports and the files, relevant to the transfer of this *Basho* in 1822.

Kunashiri Basho Kakiage (Documents on Kunashiri *Basho*). The regulations, progress made and the contemporary situation in this *Basho*. Drawn up in September 1868 when it was transferred.

SEKIFUJI FUJIKAGE, *Kankokuroku* (Record of an inspection trip). 4 books. Materials embodying the results of an investigation into the topography, customs, people, boundaries, soil, and products of Karafuto. Sekifuji made the trip in 1856–1857 at the order of Abe, Lord of Ise, head of the Fukuyama clan and Councillor to the Bakufu. Included is the diary kept on this trip by Sekifuji who was also known as an eminent disciple of Rai Sanyō.

NIIDA MAGOSABURŌ, *Kansei Ezo Ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Diary of the investigation into the Ezo rebellion of 1789). 3 books. Niida was a Matsumae clan official who was commander in charge of quelling the outbreaks at Kunashiri and Menashi in 1789. As a consequence this is a first-class source for this event.

KUBOTA SHIZŌ, *Kyōwa Shicki* (A personal and official diary of the year 1844). 5 books. The diary of Shizō who traveled from Shikotsu to Sōya and from there to Matsumae. via Shibetsu and the east coast, in 1856, at the order of the Councillor Hotta Masataku, head of the Sakura clan. An interesting record.

Tempo Jugonen Kōshiyō Tomo Kakikomi Nikki. The diary of a Matsumae clan official, Okahira Katsuma, kept from the time he left Matsumae throughout his period of duty at Sōya in 1844. Owned by the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Goryō Ansei Roku Hitsujitoshi Nenchū Shokado Gōmokuroku. A collection of reports and files from Niikappu Basho, offered to Takeuchi, Lord of Shimano and Governor of Hakodate, when he visited there on an inspection trip in 1859.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Saikō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a second trip to Ezo). On this trip Matsuura went to Karafuto as servant to Nishikawa Shuran, medical doctor of the Matsumae clan on Karafuto, in 1846. The diary is now the property of Kōnō Hiromichi. From the time he was sixteen onward Matsuura traveled constantly. Beginning in 1845, he made three trips to Ezo areas. Later he was chosen by the Bakufu to do geographic investigation in Ezo and during this commission completed *Ezochi Sansei Chiri Torishirabe Zu*. He produced other works on Ezo and was known as the greatest Ezo expert of his time. In the Meiji era he was appointed to the Kaitakushi and was responsible for selecting the official modern names for the subdivisions of Hokkaidō.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a third trip to Ezo). This trip was taken in 1849 to Kunashiri and Etorofu.

Sansei Shiwa (An appeal in the name of salvation). The author, Kuwada Wa, had been engaged in vaccination work in Ezo in an effort to save children, cows, and horses. Deeply sympathetic with the poverty of the Ezo and the need for

● 113 educating them, he published this as an appeal to the public in the spring of 1858. Owned by the Hakodate Library.

TAKATSU YASUSHI, *Shōhokuroku* (A story of the extreme north). In 1808 the Aizu clan had military duty at Sōya, Rishiri, Karafuto, and Matsumae by order of the Bakufu. This is the diary of Takatsu, chief of staff of these guard troops. The diary came to light in 1844 and was published by Takatsu's pupil Takahashi Muneaki. Takahashi later accompanied the Bakufu scholar Koga Kiyori to Tsushima to accept the Korean envoys and write the *Taihō Nikki* as a result.

Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shimanokami Sashidashi Sōrō Kakitsuke. This is a report submitted by Norihiro, Lord of Matsumae, to the assistant administrator of the Bakufu in 1715. It is also known as *Ezo Shima Monogatari* and *Ezochi Fūzoku*.

Shiragi no Kiroku (Archives of Shinra). A genealogy of the Matsumae family, edited by Saitō Naomasa. Collected by Matsumae Kagehiro in 1643 and presented to the Bakufu. Published by the Hakodate Library.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Jinshin Yoseki*. A collection of materials on regulations, suggestions, advices, and applications relative to the development of Ezo, gathered by the compiler. Published as a series in *Sekai* beginning with No. 104.

Suwa Damiyōjin Eshi. 3 books. Scrolls dedicated to the Suwa shrine in 1388 by Kozaka Enchū, secretary to Ashikaga Takauji. They contain a full account of the rebellion of the Andō family in 1324 and also have materials on the Hokkaido Ainu. Though brief, they are an excellent source for Ezo at the end of the Kamakura period.

HONDA TOSHIAKI, *Sekijin Nihonkoku e Hyōchaku ni Nazorae Kinnen Shigeshige Torai Suru ni Ihi Aru Koto* (On the frequent visits of Russians to Japan in recent times under the guise of being castaways). The author points out that these visits under the pretense of distress were for purposes of trade. He discusses the threat posed by Russia and urges the opening of trade and the development of the Ezo area. He repeatedly emphasizes the profit to be gained by the cultivation of the Ezo. Dated May 1791.

Sōezochi Gyōgai no gi ni Tsuki Kokoroe Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke (A report on the importance of the Ezo area as a frontier). A report by Kondō Morishige that resulted from his exploration of Western Ezo in 1807 under the direction of the Bakufu. The entire report is contained in Murao Motonaga, *Kondō Morishige Jiseki Kō* in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

Ansei Hinotatsudoshi Sōya e Sashitatejō Todome (Dispatches and documents on the Sōya area, 1856).

Sōya Shihainin Otasuune ni tsuki Osorenagara Moshiage Tatematsuri Sōrō. A report by the manager of Sōya in response to a Bakufu request for information on the Sōya *Basho* in January 1856.

Ansei Ninen Sōya Basho Ohikitsugi Mokuroku. An inventory of the Sōya *Basho* tendered by the Matsumae to the Bakufu when the latter took over the *Basho* in 1855. Describes the Sōya *Basho* in detail. Owned by Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

Ansei Santatsudoshi Sōya Yori no Raijō Todome. Documents transferred from the Sōya office to the Mombetsu office in 1856. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative office.

KONDŌ MORISHIGE, *Zoku Ezo Sōshi* (Sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi*). 4 books. This is, in a sense, a sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi* of Mogami Tokunai. Kondō wrote these volumes on the geography of Ezo, the Kuriles, and Russia with references to the Santan and Manchuria. The work is dedicated to the Bakufu and the preface is dated August 1804. The contents are almost the same as Kondō's *Henyō Bunkai Zukō*.

Ansei Sanyonen Tōbanya Moshitate Sho (Guard post materials for 1856–1857). Mombetsu documents for the period 1856–1857. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

[P. 85(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

● 113 Hirazawa Michitsugu, *Taka no Ha Kaze* (The wing of a hawk). Under the orders of Abe Masatsune, head of the Fukuyama clan, Hirazawa managed the Shiranuka, Akan, and Ashiyoro areas of Kushiro in 1870. This is excellent material on the contemporary situation. Published in 1920.

Kōnō Tsunekichi, ed. *Takabatake Toshinobu Shi Bunwa* (The personal story of Takabatake Toshinobu). Oral narrative of Takabatake Toshinobu who was appointed in September 1870 as officer in charge of developing the Sorachi and Kamikawa regions. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Ōhara Sakingo, *Chihoku Gudan* (The northern allegory). 3 books. In 1795 Ōhara was invited by the Matsumae to come to Fukuyama. He left there in 1796 with the suspicion, reported in this book, that Michihiro was secretly contracting with the Russians. He reported this to the Bakufu. Ōhara was born in Sendai and became an excellent painter. He is also the author of *Hokuchi Kigen* which discusses the possibility of foreign aggression against Ezo.

Tsugaru Ittoshi (History of the unification of Tsugaru). 13 books. A collection of important documents of the Tsugaru clan dating from 1655 to 1780(?). It has good material on Hokkaidō including the *Matsumae Uradake Yakurukoto*, *Matsumae Ezo Hōki* and others. It contains the reports of Maki Tadaemon and Akimoto Rokuzaemon who investigated the rebellion of 1669. It was edited by Aisaka Noritake and Itō Sukenori, officials of the Matsumae clan, in 1731.

Tsugaru Kibun (Anecdotes of Tsugaru). 2 books. The first volume treats of the customs and the names of the villages of Ezo and of the language of Tsugaru. The second deals with the Tsugaru region. Neither author nor era is known. It is assumed to have been written between April and October of 1757 and certainly in 1758 because of its description of the smallpox epidemic. Also known as *Ezo Matsumae Bunsho*.

Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki (Duty regulations for 1806). Regulations for the Tsugaru officials on duty in Ezo. Owned by the Hirosaki Library.

Matsuura Takeshirō, *Teshio Nisshi* [Teshio diary]. Selections from the diary of an exploration of the Teshio River, during June 1857, which was undertaken at the order of the High Commissioner of Hakodate.

Tatematsu Kanieshi *Tōyuki* (Record of a trip to the East). 2 books. In the preface the author states that he left Edo in 1783 for Matsumae in order to visit old friends and that he stayed at Esashi for a year during which time he made notes on Ezo. There is good detailed treatment of the customs and especially of the economy of Matsumae at this time. The author was commonly known as Kahei or Yauemon. He was from Owari and a comic poet. His ~~trip seems~~ actually to have been made as a secret investigation of Matsumae at the instigation of the Bakufu official Tsuchiyama Sōjirō.

Furukawa Tatsu, *Tōyu Zakki* (Miscellany of a trip to the East). 30 vols. The diary of a journey to Tōhoku and Matsumae by a member of a Bakufu inspection party in 1788. Volumes 11 through 18 treats Ezo customs in detail and have many illustrations. They have been published as Vol. 12 of *Kinsei Shaki Keizai Sōsho*.

Tō Chibun, *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo). 2 books. The first volume contains very sharp observations and descriptions of the topography of each of the *Basho* from Matsumae to Kunashiri. The second volume is a miscellany of the things the author heard and saw on his trip. There is an annex with two articles. One is on the island of Karafuto; the other is on drugs produced in Ezo. The foreword is dated October 1801.

Tōi Hisohiso Yobanashi (Night whispering stories of Eastern Ezo). 17 books. Volumes 1 through 12 are documents on the negotiations with Russia from 1804–1813. The other volumes deal with conditions at the big *Basho*, such as

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113

Shiraoi, in the period 1808–1811 along with mileage from Hakodate and details on population, products and houses.

TONEI GENSHIN, *Tōkai Santan* (Three stories of the Eastern Seas). The diary of a trip from Sōya to Shikotsu and Hakodate and back to Japan in company with Tōyama Kagenobu with much material on what the author heard and saw in Ezo in the years 1805–1806. A biography of Mogami Tokunori comprises an annex. The author was born at Jōshū and later was known as Arai Seisai.

ŌUCHI YOAN, *Tōkai Yowa* (Night stories of Eastern Ezo). 3 books. A detailed narrative of the customs, habits, geography, legends, and anecdotes of the Ezo by a medical doctor on the staff of the Commissioner at Hakodate from 1854 to 1859. It was published by Bunenkaku at Edo in 1861. There is a preface by Suzuki Yoshnori and Maeda Kain. There are many illustrations by Tazaki Sōun and Hashimoto Gyokuran. It has also been published by Hakubunkan as an annex to Section Nine of Matsubara Nijusankaido's *Nihon Meishō Chishi* but this latter edition is not accurate.

Ansei Sannen Shogatsu yori Tokachi Koku Goyodome. Documents on the Tokachi area for the period 1856–1860. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Tokachi Koku Kyūdojin Shorui (Materials on the old natives of the Tokachi region). A paper from the Tokachi region dated May 1856 on the Ezo custom of fostering children. It is contained in the *Ezo Zassho*.

Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu (Outline of the Tokachi region). Edited by the Shiruoka clan detachment that was charged with duty in Tokachi from January 1870 to August 1871.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Tokachi Nisshi* (Tokachi diary). A selection from the diary of a journey from Ishikari to the Ishikari River, Tokachi, the Saoro River, and then to Ōtsu at the mouth of the Tokachi River, undertaken between February 19, 1858, and March 19, 1858. Originally a part of the *TES*.

Tokachi Basho Moshiage Sho (Report on Tokachi *Basho*). A report submitted by Kudō Sadauemon, an official of the Matsumae clan as a result of an inspection tour of Tokachi 1855. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Dojin Yuraibi (On the origins of the natives). A collection of materials on the dispute between the Ishikari *Basho* Ainu and the Yūbutsu *Basho* Ainu on the right to fish the Chitose River, rights which antedated the pre-Bakufu direct control period and which were dissolved in 1808. The title comes from the volume on the origins of the Yūbari Ainu and the Isari-Muisari Ainu called *Yūbutsu Ishikari Kyōkai Muisari Yubari Kyōkai Kyū Jikki*.

Niikappu Moshiage Wakecho (Report on Niikappu). Estimates of the annual expenditures, population, prices of native goods, market volume and wage scales in 1859. Prepared by the official Inoue Genshichirō for the Commissioner at Hakodate as the result of an inspection trip. Contained in *Goryō Ansei Rokuhistuji no Toshi-Chu Shōkado Wake Mokuroku*.

Bunsei Gonen Niikappu Basho Hikitsugi Sho. Materials on the transfer of Niikappu *Basho* in 1822. Chiefly concerned with native relations. Part of *Ezo Zassho*.

Nishi Ezochi Ishikari Obasho Ezojinninbetsu Narabi ni Kaihō Kata Shihainin Bannin Kasegi Kata Ninzu Shikomihin Shussanbutsu Shirabe Shojō Utsushi. A report prepared in February 1854 and the best source for conditions in the Ishikari *Basho* at that time.

Nishi Ezochi Takashima Nikki (A record of Takashima in West Ezo). 4 books. A diary by an unknown author who was in the company of the Bakufu official Inoue Kanryū during a trip from Takashima where, in 1808, Inoue had been in charge of that island, to Matsumae. The diary is interspersed with poems and has an Ezo vocabulary as an appendix.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Nishi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of West Ezo). 6 books. Selections from the author's *Tōzai Ezo Sansenchiri Torishirabe Kikō* [*TES*].

[P.86(A)]

● 113 *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi Hikiwatashi Ensetsusho* (Address on transferring the Western area in 1822). A speech delivered by a Bakufu official on the occasion of the transfer of Western Ezo in 1822. A good source for the *Basho* customs of the period.

Nemuro Kyūkanshi (The old customs of Nemuro). Selected documents on the Nemuro *Basho* for the period 1856–1858. Edited by Matsumoto Jūrō, senior Kaitakushi officer.

Nemuro Nenchū Gyōji (The annual routines and ceremonials at Nemuro). A detailed record of the routine of the Matsumae officials on duty at Nemuro. Kudō Kodanji passed through Nemuro in 1829 and either got the original of this or made a copy.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Nosshappu Nisshi* (Nosshappu diary). Selections from the diary of his journey from Atsushi to Nemuro in April 1858 by way of Kiritappu, Hanazaki, and Nosshappu. Originally a part of *TES*.

Hakodate Goshūnō Kadowakechō. An account book presented by the Matsumae clan to the Commissioner at Hakodate in 1854. It deals with the tax receipts from the seven local *Basho* of Hakodate and with the tax regulations.

Banridō Kaiiki Nukikaki (Selections from the *Banridō Kaiiki*). Selections from the Ezo diary of Yamazaki Hanzō with an annex of miscellaneous materials on Ezo. Owned by the Hakodate Library.

Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki (Journal of a trip in Eastern Ezo). Treats of the roads from Matsumae to all parts of Eastern Ezo, geography in general, native chiefs, contractors, products and prices and mileages. Written in 1856. Author unknown.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of Eastern Ezo). 8 books. A collection of materials from his numerous journals covering the situation in Eastern Ezo from Yamakoshinai to Nosshappu during the late 1850's.

Hidaya Kyūki (Records of Hidaya). A copy in 2 books. A copy of old records covering the period from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century and largely concerned with the contracts of Hidaya Kyuhei who had the lumber contracts in the Kunashiri, Nemuro, and Atsushi *Basho* and who had achieved a great reputation in the development of Hokkaidō. The copy was made by Kōnō Tsunekichii.

MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Fukuyama Hifu* (Archives of Fukuyama). A collection of historical materials of the Matsumae clan edited by Matsumae Hironaga from private and official records. Done in 1780 at the direction of the head of the clan. We know there were sixty volumes which covered chronology, official business, religion, genealogy, law, lists of clan subjects, geography, fauna and flora, currency, the Ezo rebellion of 1669, and so on. No complete set survives but what is left represents the best record we have for the period 1443–1780. Hironaga, assistant clan chief, was the best scholar of the clan and has a number of other works to his credit—*Matsumae Shi, Matsumae Nenreki Shōkei, Mojin Seidan, Ezo Retsuzō Furoku, Fuku Ou So.*

MUKŌYAMA ATSUSHI, ed. *Heishin Jōtetsu*. 3 books. A collection of Bakufu documents on Ezo covering the first half of the nineteenth century. It forms a part of the *Seisui Zuihitsu* which itself dealt with the institutions, origins of the culture, the changes in customs and the internal and external affairs of Ezo. *Seisui Zuihitsu* was written and edited by Mukōyama who had first inspected Ezo in 1854 and who died in 1856 while on a journey in Karafuto.

MATSUDA DENJURŌ, *Hokui Dan* (Stories of Ezo). 7 books. Written by Matsuda Shirozaemon, a Bakufu official who had administered the affairs of Hokkaidō during the twenty-four years of the Bakufu direct administration of Ezo from 1799 to 1822. He stayed there for nineteen years and he wrote these books for the purpose of transmitting to his posterity his experiences in service and his observations there. Another title of this book is *Matsuda Shi Shiroku Hikki*. The author, whose old family name was Asami, was born

[P. 86(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

in Echigo and adopted by the Matsuda family. His given name is Nisaburō and later he changed it to Denjūrō. He served in East Ezo, Edo, Sakhalin, Matsumae, Esashi, Hakodate, and Sōya, and greatly contributed to the exploration of Karafuto and to the development of trade with the Santan.

SAKAKURA GENJIRŌ, *Hokkai Zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous accounts of the Northern Seas). 2 books. The first volume is a detailed treatment of the customs and manners, products, and geography of Matsumae, and the second of the customs and language of the Ezo. This is supposed to be the best of the materials concerning Ezo (in abundance of detail). At the end of this book, the author's distinguished opinion of the exploration of Ezo is attached. Written by Sakakura Genjirō, an employee of Gotō Shōzaburō (a gold merchant in Edo who came to Matsumae to investigate Hokkaidō in 1737 and 1738 at the request of the Bakufu in order to open up gold mines there). There are many copies of this book such as *Ezo Ki, Ezo Zuihitsu, Ezo Matsumae Karasu, Ezo Ridan, Ezo Kimon,* all of which have the same content as the original. *Ezo Kōki,* another edition of this book which is included in *Nippon Bunko,* lacks the author's opinion of Ezo explorations along with other materials.

SAKAI TADAKUNI, *Hokkaidō Junkōki* (A journey around Hokkaidō). 3 books. An official report by Sakai Tadakuni, an inspector of the Colonial Bureau, who made a tour of investigation of Iburi, Hidaka, Tokachi, Kushiro, Nemuro, Kitami, and Teshio starting in May of 1879. In the former four areas he describes the actual scenes, especially emphasizing the conditions of the salmon fisheries. In the latter three areas he gives a detailed account of his observations including the climate, products, transportation, and education. The third book deals with the customs and manners of the Ainu. Another title of this book is *Sakai Tadakuni Hokuchi Rikōki.*

Hokkaidō Dojin Chinjutsucho (Petition by the native of Hokkaidō). In September 1894, a petition was made by a person who came to Tōkyō accompanied by an Ainu and who stated that the natives of Hokkaidō were ill-treated. This event attracted the attention of people, and became the motive for proposing a bill for the protection of the natives by Suzuki Atsumi and others in the Eighth Diet Session. This book is a collection of the petitions and the documents given in answer by the Hokkaidō government in the Diet Session. Owned by Hokkaidō Imperial University Library.

Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Tairyaku Shirabe (HDHS) (A survey of the customs and other miscellaneous affairs of the natives in Hokkaidō). A survey of the daily life of Ainu by Sakai Tadakuni, a Kaitakushi official, done at the request of the government in 1877. Useful for the life of the contemporary Ainu people in Tokachi and Hidaka provinces. Included in *Hokkaidō Junkōki* by the same author and in *Ezo Zassho* 2 edited by the Colonial Bureau.

KIMURA KENJI and TAKEISHI MINZŌ, *Hokko Nichiroku* (A diary of a journey to the North). 1 book. A diary by Kimura Kenji and Takeishi Minzō, country samurai who, by a secret order of Tachihara of the Mito Clan came to Matsumae and made private inquiries into the reception for Laxman, a Russian agent, by the Bakufu. This reception was held at Fukuyama in 1792. The diary includes their observations at Matsumae and gives an account of the state of the Clans in the Ōu area. I have used an extract from the book, owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

ŌUCHI SEIEMON. *Hokusui Taimon* (A dialogue on Ezo). In May 1838 Ōuchi Seiemon, a merchant at Nakaminato, Hitachi, visited Matsumae and Hakurō to make private inquiries at the request of Mito Mitsukuni, the lord of the Mito Clan. This, written in the form of question and answer, describes his observations. The listener is supposed to be Kunitomo Zen-an, the President of Shōkōkan. This

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

book is also called *Ezo Jōjitsu*. This includes an appendix of accounts of the travel by Seiemon.

TOYODA RYŌ, ed. *Hokuto Shi* (History of Hokkaidō). 5 vols. Edited by Toyoda Ryō, the manager of Shōkōkan, at Mito, at the request of the Bakufu. Toyoda's other name is Tenkō. He was commonly called Hikozirō, and his pen name is Shōbō. This book describes the history of Ezo and Northern Ezo from Age of the Gods to 1854 when the office of the Magistrate of Hokkaidō was established. Written in Chinese. It has a preface written in August 1854. Published in 1870.

Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari (Narrative by Hokuto Sanjin). Written at Edo in 1846 at the dictation of one whose pen name is Hokuto Sanjin and who returned from Matsumae in 1845. This book includes also as an appendix a later narrative of matters in Ezo which is based upon Sanjin's staying at Hakodate from 1851 to 1852. Owned by Hakodate Library.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI and HONDA TOSHIAKIRA, ed. *Hokuhen Kinpiroku* (Secret history of the northern frontier). This book, written by Honda Toshiakira from the original manuscript by Mogami Tokunai, elucidating the ambition of Russia and the loose management of Matsumae, advises the Bakufu to prepare for an emergency. In the preface, the author writes: "On January 28, 1795, Honda Toshiakira finished this book."

Hotaru Nai Honjin Shinorigaedome, 1867–68 (Official records related to the Otaru Office). 1 book. Official records of the main office of Otaru which are concerned with Ebisuya Hanbē's resignation in 1867 from that office. Hanbē was dismissed in April 1865 from the job of contractor and appointed as a traveling tax collector at the office of Otaru. This is in the Kimura Collection, Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Matsumae Ezo Ki (The Matsumae Ezo record). This presents useful stories of Fukuyama Castle, streets, taxes, merchant vessels, products, and so forth. The author and the date are unknown. But the late Kōnō Tsunekichi suggested the following: "The copy of a book which was submitted from the House Matsumae says: 'In the lifetime of the Lord of the Isle, my great-grandfather, there were gold mines at Unbetsu, Tokachi, Shirioshiuchi, and Shiriuchi.' This great-grandfather means Matsumae Kimihiro VII. Kimihiro's great-grandchild was Matsumae Tsunehiro X who died in 1720. Therefore, it is clear that this book was written before 1720. The copy says also: 'Because of the order of 1716 to present hawks, last winter eight pairs of year-old hawks and this spring, one year-old hawk were presented.' This story accurately corresponds to the narrative of 1716 in *Fukuyama Hifu* and that in *Matsumae Kyūjiki*. Therefore, the book was written in 1717. On the twenty-third of June in the same year, inspectors came to Matsumae and returned on the fourteenth of July. From this fact, we can suppose that this was written by these inspectors."

HOTTA MASAATSU, *Matsumae Kikō* (Matsumae travel diary). In June 1808 Hotta Masaatsu, a Councilor of State, Lord of Settsu, and the Lord of the manor of Katada, went to Matsumae at the request of the Bakufu, and made a tour of inspection as far as Usu in the East and Esashi in the West, and returned to Edo in October of the same year. This is his diary of this tour, written in fluent Japanese, sometimes including Japanese odes ("Waka"). This book has been called by several names such as *Matsumae Kikō, Katadakō Chishima no Ki, Ezo Kikō*, or *Ezo Michinoki*. Included in the sixth volume of *Sendai Sōsho*.

MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Matsumae Shi* or *Hokui Shi* (A work on Matsumae). 10 books. A work by Matsumae Hironaga with an introduction written by the author in 1781. This work, a detailed description of Matsumae Ezo, consists of a brief genealogy of the House of Fukuyama and parts on the Ezo government, customs, and manners of the Ezo, geography,

[P. 87 (B)]

● 113

birds and animals, fishes, grains, vegetables, and money and goods.

Matsumae Zuishō-Roku (Records by merchants of Matsumae). A guidebook including the distances, products, taxes, etc., of villages in Matsumae and Eastern and Western Ezo. The year of publication is unknown, but supposedly is around 1781. There are many copies of it which have marginal notes. It is also known as *Hokuhan Fudoki*. Owned by Hakodate Library.

Matsumae Hiwatsu (Hidden stories of Matsumae). Written in 1839 at the dictation of Tokuuemon, the chief shipping agent of the Takadaya firm. It describes in detail the industries in Ezo while Takadaya was active there, geography of Matsumae Ezo, meritorious deeds of Takadaya Kahei, and the case wherein Takadaya Kinbei was charged in 1833 as a smuggler. It also includes accounts of the political injustices in the Matsumae Clan, and rumors concerning the succession to the House of Matsumae. This is excellent material since it shows the social and economic situations in Ezo during the period of direct administration by the Bakufu and of the administration by the Matsumae Clan.

Matsumae Fukuyama no Shookite (Laws and regulations in Matsumae). A collection of the laws and regulations issued by the House of Matsumae during the period between 1678 and 1805.

Mizou Ki or *Oku no Nikki, 2 vols.* (Diary of a journey to a far place). A diary of a journey made in 1799 from Edo to Horoizumi in East Ezo and back by Tōyama Kinshirō, an agent of Matsudaira Sadanobu.

Murakami Awaji no Kami Kaiho Jōshin Ki. A report to the Lord of Awaji which is part of the collection "Ansei Santatsumi no toshi rokugatsu yori uwayakushu mimawari no tame tsuko toriatsukai oboe."

Murayama Denjirō Rireki Tairyaku Shirabe (A brief record of Murayama Denjirō). A collection of the documents concerning the history of the Abeya, the commercial and financial group of the Murayama family, who were contractors for the Bakufu in Ishikari. The original copy is owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Murayama Denbei Rireki (Personal history of Murayama Denbei). A personal history of Murayama Denbei III, the founder of the Abeya who, occupying a position as an official in Edo, led the commercial world of Hokkaidō by undertaking big contracts in several places in Karafuto and in Sōya and Shari, as well as in Ishikari and Eastern Ezo areas such as Kunashiri, Nemuro, Akkeshi, Kushiro. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

SHIEN SHUJIN, ed. *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narratives of the hairy aborigines of the eastern region). It consists of *Higashi Ezo Kikō* written by Yamazaki Hanzō, a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1806, and *Etorofu Shi* by Rekisai Sanjin, also a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1809. It was edited by a clansman of Tsugaru who expressed his opinion that, without understanding its geography and manners and customs, Ezo, an important frontier for the Tsugaru clan, could not be secured.

Mombetsu Kaikon ni Tsuki Shokakitsuke (Documents concerning the encouragement of clearing lands at Mombetsu in 1858). The encouragement was promoted by the Bakufu officials stationed at Mombetsu in the territory of Sōya. These were collected from *Ansei Gonen Kaikon Kata Sho Kakitsuke, Ezochi Goyōdome, Muragaki Awaji no Kami Dono Gokaiho Chū Shokakitsuke*, etc. Owned by the Daichi Library in Hokkaidō.

Mombetsu Basho Saichū Toriatsukaishō (Records at Mombetsu). The documents collected at the office of Mombetsu, Kitami, in August of 1864. These include a copy of prohibitions, laws, orders delivered at *Omusha*, a list of the boundaries of the lands transferred, a list of the prices of arrow-feathers, of bear liver and hides, and the hides of other kinds of small animals in Northern Ezo, a record of

[P.88(A)]

● 113 the wages paid to the natives, a record of names and places, distances, number of the native families, fishing places, etc.

Yuriruto Ikken Oukesho (A written acknowledgment in the Yuriru Island Case). This consists of a written acknowledgment of the settlement of the conflict which occurred in 1833 between the office of Akkeshi and that of Nemuro in connection with fishing rights at Yuriru Island and a record of administration in Ezo and a list of the amount of products which were offered by the office of Nemuro to Kudô Sadauemon who inspected there in 1855.

Roi Goyôdome (Conflict with the Russians in Ezo). Five documents concerning the conflict with the Russians who were active in and around Ezo and arrested by the agents of the Bakufu office at Ushiyoro, Karafuto during the period from 1864 to 1867.

TOYOSHIMA SANUEMON, *Ôko Ezojin no Hanashi Kikisutae Hikae* (Observations of the old Ezo). Observations by Toyoshima Sanuemon, an interpreter since 1818 at the office of Kushiro. It includes the contemporary situation at Shiranuka in exploitation, the names of the resident natives at such places as Abashiri, Ashigoro, and Kushiro, in the period of Bunsei, "List of the names of the Guards in the Territory of Kushiro," "The Prices of the Products which were Bought from the Natives," both of which were written in 1807, a note on the names and distances of the new roads in Shari which opened in 1807, and the names of the places and distances in the Territories.

Nakano Genroku, *Waka-Gojiron Missho* (Secret note on Tanka). To make a good Tanka, a 31-syllable Japanese poem, the spirit of the first part of it must be conveyed to the last part of it. On referring this concept to politics, the author discusses the defects of the Bakufu administration in Ezo, especially the evil effects of summary trials.

Watarishima Hikki (Watarishima notebook). Description of the manners and customs of the Ainu in Eastern and Western Ezo, including some rare stories concerning Ainu in the last part of the book. Although written in the style of stray thoughts and notes, it is a notable work in its detailed description of the manners and customs of the Ainu. Undoubtly written in 1808, but the author is unknown. Kyôsuke Kindaichi, in his *Yûkara no Kenkyû*, states that this may have been written by Mogami Tsunenori.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Tetsuzukisho (Documents concerning a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). Describes the official treatment of Inoue Genshichirô in the Bakufu office at Nemuro, who was the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate and made an inspection of Nemuro in 1859. It includes an official address offered to him from that office.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Nikki (Diary of a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). A collection of documents which consist of a pay-bill for the natives from the Bakufu office at Nemuro, which was offered in 1859 to Inoue Genshichirô, the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate, a petition from Zinsuke, the chief adviser at Nemuro, concerning the case of Nishibetsu and the diary of a tour of inspection by Genshichirô and his party.

OKAMOTO KENSUKE, *Okamoto Kensuke Jiden* (An autobiography by Okamoto Kensuke). This covers the period from Okamoto Kensuke's childhood to 1869. It is rich in useful materials for the study of the history of the exploitation of the northern frontier. It includes the fact that the author explored the perimeter of the northern part of Karafuto in 1865 and a full account of an episode that occurred at the time of the Meiji restoration when he advised Shimizutani, a chamberlain, to make an effort to promote the exploitation of Ezo. It also describes his activities in Ezo as a judge and has many other stories. Another name of the author is Shihaku. He was called Bunpei at first, and later he changed it to Kensuke. His pen name is Ian.

[P.88 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

The lore, legends and customs collected in this book have a pathetic interest as being almost the last echoes to be heard of the old life of a declining and fast disappearing race of men, who have never had a literature and are therefore leaving absolutely no written records behind. 114 538

Many of the chapters first appeared in the *Japan Advertiser*, published in Tokyo. Several of the subscribers to that paper have been so good as to express a desire to have them in book form, and the author has gladly fallen in with the wish, especially as his former book, "The Ainu and their Folklore," has long been out of print. He only hopes the reader may find as much pleasure in reading these old "Echoes" as he himself has had in collecting them. He first came in contact with the Ainu as a young layman in the year 1877 and has ever since been in very close contact with them. In the year 1879 he joined the Church Missionary Society, of London, and from that time till 1924 remained in connection with that Society. Having then more than attained the age limit, he retired, but is still on the spot, doing what he can privately to help the Ainu on. Dr. Batchelor has also received the very high distinction of being made an honorary member of Hokkaidō Government and is in receipt of a pension in recognition of his work among the Ainu race. 114 [113]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Aino girl, Urap, Yezo.—Seated in Japanese fashion. Lips tattooed. Wearing large silver earrings. Embroidered garment. Print from a Japanese negative. 782

Aino man, Hakodate, Japan.—Back view, showing embroidered pattern on coat. Print from a Japanese negative. 788

Aino in canoe, Urap, Yezo.—Showing the form of canoe used in the locality. A bridge ferry, common on rapid streams. Print from a Japanese negative. 789

Aino bear cage and hedge.—A view at Urap, showing the square cage built of logs and the sacred hedge with bear skulls on the tops of the poles. Print from a Japanese negative. 790

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ANUTSCHIN. Materalien zur Anthropologie Ostasiens. Russische Revue.

ASTON, W. G. Russian Descents in Saghalien and Itorup in the years 1806 and 1807. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, I (1882), 78–86.

BAELZ, E. Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Feb., 1883, 330–350.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Grammar. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Vocabulary. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, X (1882), 220–251.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. On the Ainu Term "Kamui." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 17–32.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. Specimens of Ainu Folklore. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 111–150.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Yesso. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 353–361.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Saghalien and the Kurile Islands. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 361–377.

BIRD, ISABELLA L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. London, 1880.

BLACKISTON, T. W. Japan in Yezo. Yokohama, 1883. Office of Japan Gazette.

BRIDGFORD, Capt. R. M. A. A Journey in Yezo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, II (1882), 78–100.

CACHON, MERMET DE. Les Ainos, Paris, 1863. Pamphlet.

CAPRON, HORACE, commissioner and adviser, and his foreign assistants. Reports and official letters to the Kaitakushi. Tokyo, 1875.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. A catalogue of books relating to Yezo and the Ainos. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. An Aino Bear Hunt. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XV, (1887), 126–129.

CHAMBERLAIN, B. H. Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the words "Kamui" and "Aino." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 33–38.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. The Language, Mythology and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

DAVIDOW (A. J. VON KRUSENSTERN). Wörtersammlung aus der Sprache der Ainos, der Bewohner der Halbinsel Sachalin, der Insel Jesso und der südlichen Kurilen. St. Petersburg, 1813.

DAVIS, J. B. Description of the skeleton of an Aino woman. Anthropological Society of London, III (1870).

DAY, Lieut. M. S., U. S. Navy. Trigonometrical Survey Map of the Island of Hokkaido, 1875.

DEBROTVORSKY'S DICTIONARY. Ueber den Bau der Aino-Sprache.

DENING, WALTER. A Vocabulary of Aino Words and Phrases. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1881.

DIXON, J. M., M. A. The Aino Language. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1883.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 DIXON, J. M. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XI (1883), 29-56.

DOENITZ, Prof. W. Bemerkungen über Aino. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Heft. 6, 1874, 61-67. (With plate showing skulls.) [See also Hilgendorf, Dr.]

ELDRIDGE, STUART. On the Arrow Poison in use among the Ainos of Yezo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, IV (1876), 78-86.

FURST. Vocabulaire Aino de Hakodate.

GREEY, EDWARD. The Bear Worshipers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto. Boston, 187-. [Illustrated.]

HASHIBA, Y. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin, Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152.

HILGENDORF, Dr. Bemerkungen über die Behaarung des Ainos. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Heft 7, 1875, 11-13.

LYMAN, B. S., and Japanese assistants. Geological Sketch Maps of the Island of Yezo. Sapporo, 1876.

MEIK, C. S., C. E. Around the Hokkaido. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 151-172.

MILNE, JOHN. Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate, with a few general remarks on the Prehistoric Remains of Japan. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, VIII (1880), 61-87.

MILNE, J. Notes on the Koro-pok-guru or pit-dwellers of Yezo and the Kurile Islands. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, X (1882), 187-198.

MILNE, JOHN. The Stone Age in Japan. Journal of the Anthropological Society, May, 1881.

NICOLAI, ELIND. Neue und Wahrhaftige Relation von dem, was sich in Beederley d. i. in den West- und Ostindien zugetragen, u. s. w., Munich, 1619.

PFIZMAIER, A. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Aino-Poesie.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Erörterungen und Aufklarungen über Aino. Vienna, 1882.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Untersuchungen über Aino-Gegenstände. Vienna, 1883.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Untersuchungen über den Bau der Aino-Sprache. Vienna, 1851.

PFIZMAIER, A. Vocabularium der Aino-Sprache.

REIN, J. J. Japan nach Reisen and Studien. Leipzig, 1881.

RITTER, HERMAN. Ueber eine Reise im südwestlichen Theile von Yezo. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Heft 6, 1874, 1874, 55-59, Heft. 7, 13-17.

SATOW, E. M. Murray's Handbook for Japan. London, 1884.

SCHEUBE, Dr. B. Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste der Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze Derselben. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Heft 22 (1880), 44-51.

SCHEUBE, Dr. B. Die Ainos. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für. Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens, III (1882), 229-245 (Plates I-IX).

SCHRENK, L. von. Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande, vol. III.

SIEBOLD, HEINRICH, VON. Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yezo. Berlin, 1881. (Illustrated.)

SIEBOLD, HENRY VON. Notes on Japanese Archæology. Yokohama. [Illustrated.]

SIEBOLD, PH. FR. VON. Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern. 1835.

ST. JOHN. The Ainos: Aborigines of Yezo. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

SUMMERS, Rev. J. An Aino-English Vocabulary. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XIV (1886), 186-232.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 121
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Davenport, W. 1959. Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 61: 557-572.

Kubodera, I. 1952. Saru Ainu no sorei saishi (The Worship of the Souls of Ancestors Among the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 230-245.

Montandon, G. 1937. La civilisation Ainou. Paris.

Natori, T. 1940. Kezuribashi soin sokei oyobi shusoki yori mita Saru kawasuji Ainu (The Genealogy of Ainu Along the Saru River. Jinruigaku Zasshi (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon) 55: 203-229.

——— 1945. Funkawan Ainu no hogei (Whaling of the Volcanic Bay Ainu). Sapporo.

Segawa, K. 1952. Saru Ainu fujin no *upshor* ni tsuite (On the *Upshor* of the Ainu Women in the Saru Valley). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 246-254.

Sugiura, K. 1952. Saru Ainu no shinzoku soshiki (Kinship Systems of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 187-212.

Takakura, S. 1944. Shakai keitai (Social Structure); Hoteki chitsujo (Law and Order). Toa minzoku yoshi shiryo (Ethnographic Materials of East Asiatic Peoples), Vol. 2: Ainu, ed. Teikoku Gakushiin (Imperial Academy of Science), pp. 54-68. Tokyo.

——— 1960. The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 50: Pt. 4.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 114

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

●113 BABA, M. O. '*Iku-nishi* of the Saghalien Ainu'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXIX, Parts I and II, London, pp. 27–35, 1949.

BATCHELOR, J. *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*. The Religious Tract Society, London, 1901.

— *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*. Tokyo, 1905.

— 'Ainus', Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52, Edinburgh, 1908.

ELDRIDGE, S. 'On the arrow poison in use among the Ainos of Yezo'. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 4, pp. 78–88, 1875/6.

HARRISON, J. A. Trans. *The Ainu of Northern Japan; a study in conquest and acculturation*, by S. Takakura. Transactions of American Philosophical Society, new series Vol. 50, Part 4; Philadelphia, 1960. [See also Takakura.]

HOWELL, R. W. 'The Kamui Oina: a sacred charter of the Ainus'. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 65, pp. 379–417, 1952.

KITAGAWA, J. M. Ainu Bear Festival [*Iyomante*]. *History of Religion*, Chicago, 1961, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 95–151. [Illus.]

MACRITCHIE, D. 'The Ainos'. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Supplement to Vol. 4, pp. xiv, 69, Leiden, 1892.

MARAINI, F. '*Gli iku-bashui degli Ainu*'. Publications of the Italian Cultural Institute in Tokyo, Vol. I, 1942 [English summary].

MONTANDON, G. *La Civilisation Ainou*. Payot, Paris, 1937.

MUNRO, N. G. 'Primitive Culture in Japan'. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 34, Part 2, pp. 1–198, 1906.

— *Prehistoric Japan*, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.

— *Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals*. Yokohama, 1909.

— *Some Origins and Survivals*. Yokohama, 1911.

OKA, MASAO. 'Verwandtschaftssystem der Ainu' [Kinship System of the Ainu]. Actes du IVe Congrès International des Sciences Anthrop. et Ethnol., Vienne, 1–8 Sept. 1952. Tome II, Ethnologica, Première Partie, pp. 27–35, 1955.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

SANSOM, G. B. *Japan, a Short Cultural History*. The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

SLAWIK, ALEXANDER. 'Die Eigentumsmarken der Ainu' [Ownership Marks of the Ainu]. Actes du IVe Congrès International des Sciences Anthr. et Ethnol., Vienne, 1-8 Sept. 1952. Tome II, Ethnologica, Première Partie, pp. 211-16, 1955.

STERNBERG, L. 'The *Inau* Cult of the Ainu'. *Boas anniversary volume: anthropological papers written in honor of Franz Boas*, pp. 425-37, New York, 1906.

JAPANESE PUBLICATIONS

CHIRI, MASHIO. *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, Tokyo, 1953; Vol. III, Tokyo, 1954.

— *Kamui yukaru* [*Yukar*, epic of the Gods]. Sapporo, Aporo Shoten, 1955.

HAYASHI, YOSHISHIGE. 'The custom of land-occupancy of the Ainu, especially on the Kuitakpe' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 84-9. 1953. [Illus.]

— 'The crop management of the Ainus' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 20, No. 3/4, pp. 102-6, 1956.

HOPPO BUNKA. Studies from the Research Institute for Northern Culture. No. 4, Sapporo, 1940/41. [Japanese, with English titles; illus.]:

INUKAI, T. 'The Ceremony of the Ainu at the Trapa Collection'.

— 'The Seal Hunting of Seghalien-Orochon'.

NATORI, T. 'The Origin of Gods and the *Nusa* in the Bear Festival of Sara Anu'.

TAKABEYA, F. 'Studies on Units of Measures used by the Ainu Race'.

INUKAI, TETSUO. 'Fortune-telling by dreams among the Ainu' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 17-19, 1957.

JAPANESE JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY: Report of the Joint Research on the Saru Ainu, Special Number presented to Dr Kyosuke Kindaichi on his 70th Birthday: Vol. 16, No. 3/4, 1951. [English summaries. Illus.]:

ISUMI, S. 'The *Iwor* and the Territorial Group of the Saru Ainu', pp. 29-45.

KUBODERA, I. 'The Worship of the Souls of Ancestors among the Saru Ainu', pp. 46-61.

SEGAWA, K. 'On the *Upshor* of Ainu Women in the Saru Valley', pp. 62-70.

SUGIURA, K. 'Kinship Systems of the Saru Ainu', pp. 3-28.

TOSABAYASHI, Y. 'On the Grave-Post of the Ainu', pp. 102-26.

WATANABE, H. 'Utilization of Natural Resources by the Saru Ainu', pp. 71-82.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

● 113 KINDAICHI, KYOSUKE. *Saiho-Zuihitsu*, Kyoto, 1938 [Japanese].

— *The Study of the Ainu*, Tokyo, 1953 [Japanese].

KINDAICHI, *The Scripture of the Ainu, the Lore of Ainu-rak-kur* [Japanese].

KONO, HIROMICHI. On the *Inau-shiroshi* of the Ainu [Japanese]. *J. Anthrop. Soc. of Japan*, Tokyo, Vol. 49, No. 555, pp. 12–22, 1934. [Illus.]

— *Ainu no seikatsu* [Ainu life]. Sapporo, Yushobo, 1956. *Hoppo bunka shashin shirizu*, 4. [64 pp. of photographs with explanatory captions. Japanese].

KUBODERA, ITSUHIKO. 'The antiquated funeral customs of Yezo-Ainu' [Japanese with English summary, illus.]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 20, No. 1/2, pp. 1–35, 1956.

— and CHIRI, MASHIO. 'On the *pakoro-kamui* of Aino' [Japanese]. *J. Anthrop. Soc. of Japan*. Tokyo, Vol. 55, No. 629, pp. 124–8; No. 630, pp. 169–99, 1940.

KURAMITSU, HIDEAKI. *Kamikawa Ainu kuma matsuri* [*Kamikawa*, Ainu bear festival. In Japanese]. *Ainu Saiki Kenkyu kai*, 82 pp., 1953.

MATERIALS FOR SUMMARIZED ETHNOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ASIATIC PEOPLES. Vol. II. The Imperial Academy of Nippon, Tokyo, 1944.

NATORI, TAKEMITSU. *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu* [Japanese]. Sapporo, 1945.

— 'The Genealogy of Aino on the Saru River' [Japanese]. *J. of the Anthrop. Soc. of Tokyo*, Vol. 55, No. 631, pp. 203–29.

OKAMURA, KICHIEMON. *Kamui Yukaru: Ainu shinwa* [*Kamui Yukuru*, Ainu mythology. Japanese]. Pub. by author in limited edition, 1958.

SEGAWA, KIYOKO. 'A note on the marriage customs of the Ainu race' [Japanese, English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 46–56, 1957.

SHIMIZU, SHIGEMICHI, *Ainu no shinwa to densetsu* [Ainu mythology and folklore. Japanese]. Dowa Shunjusha, Tokyo, 1955.

TAKAKURA, SHINICHIRO. Monograph on '*Tsuchi-uchi*' [a game in which the Ainu beat one another with war-clubs. In Japanese; English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 57–64, 1957/8, illus.

— *Ainu Seisaku-shi* [History of Ainu Policy, Japanese]. Tokyo Showa 17, 1942. See also under Harrison.

A G 532 171

/32/

The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

A G 532 114

A G [113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaia Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

A G [113]

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, sviazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6 •
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
114
• [113]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A
G
114
121
532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178

5. See L.Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaîa Problema (The Ainu

532
825
178
•[113]

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825
[171]
[114]

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

•[113]

6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

• [113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

532 /38 cont./
[113]

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Ainskaia problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves [825] gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation developed on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 171 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
• [113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[10]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.160]

REFERENCES CITED

BARTHOLOMEW, George A., Jr. and Joseph B. BIRDSELL. 1953. Ecology and Proto-hominids. American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, pp. 481-498. 113

BATCHELOR, John. 1901. The Ainu and Their Folklore. London.

BATCHEOLOR, John. 1926. An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary. Tokyo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1951. *Ainu Chimei Goi* (Ainu Topographical Terms). Kyōdo Kenkyū Sōsho, No. 1. Sapporo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1953. *Bunrui Ainu-go Jiten: Shokubutsu-hen* (A Classificatory Ainu Dictionary: Plants). Nihon Jōmin Bunka Kenkyū-sho Ihō, No. 64. Tokyo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1959. *Ainu no Sake-ryō: Horobetsu ni okeru Chōsa* (Dog Salmon Fishing of the Ainu: An Investigation in Horobetsu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 14, pp. 245-265. Sapporo.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1950. Northwest Coast. University of California Anthropological Records 9:3, Culture Element Distributions: XXVI.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1951. The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 144.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1955. Sources of Northwest Coast Culture. 75th Anniversary Volume of the Anthropological Society of Washington, pp. 59-81.

ELTON, Charles. 1953. Animal Ecology. London.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E., 1950. The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People. London.

FORDE, Daryll. 1947. The Integration of Anthropological Studies. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 78, pp. 1-10.

FORDE, Daryll. 1954. Introduction to 'African Worlds. Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples.' Daryll Forde (ed.), pp. viii-xvii. London.

GUNTHER, Erna. 1927. Klallam Enthography. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 171-314.

GUNTHER, Erna. 1928. A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 129-173.

HABARA, Matakichi. 1939. *Ainu Shakai-keizai-shi* (A Socio-economic History of the Ainu). Tokyo.

HAGIHARA, Minoru (ed.). 1937. *Tokachi Kaihatsu-shi* (A History of Land Development in Tokapchi). Tokyo.

HALLOWELL, I. 1928. Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere. American Anthropologist, Vol. 28, No. 1.

HANDA, Yoshio. 1933. *Sake- Masu no Hanashi* (On the Salmon). Keison Iho, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 14-17. Sapporo.

HATTA, Saburo. 1911. *Muma* (The Bear). Tokyo.

HAYASHI, Yoshishige. 1958. *Ainu no Kōun Gijutsu* (Cultivation Techniques of the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 13, pp. 175-203. Sapporo.

HIKITA, Hirochika. 1956. *Hokkaido-Engan oyobi Kasen de torareru Taiheiyō Keison-rui* (Pacific Salmon, Genus: Oncorhynchus, known to occur in Coasts and Rivers of Hokkaido). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, No. 11, 25-44. Sapporo.

HITCHCOCK, Romyn. 1891. The Ainus of Yezo, Japan. Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1890, pp. 429-502.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Hokkaido-chō (Hokkaido Government) (ed.). 1917. *Nopporo Kokuyū-rin Yasei Shokubutu Chōsa Hōkoku-sho* (Scientific Report on Wild Plants in the Nopporo National Forest). Sapporo.

Hokkaido-chō (ed.). 1937. *Hokkaido-shi* (A History of Hokkaido). 7 vols. Sapporo.

Hokkaido Nōji Shiken-jyō (Experimental Farm of Hokkaido) (ed.). 1931. *Hokkaido ni okeru Shokuyō Yasei Shokubutsu* (Edible Wild Plants in Hokkaido). Hokkaido Noji Shiken-jyō Ihō, No. 52. Sapporo.

Hokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō (Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. *Sake Masu Tennen Sanran Jyōkyō Chōsa Keikaku-sho* (Scheme for Survey of Natural Spawning-beds of Salmon). Official Circular.

IGARASHI, Shin'ichi. 1946. *Sakura-masu no Chikuyō Saijuku* (Short-Term Rearing for Maturation of Cherry Salmon). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 13-18. Sapporo.

IMAIZUMI, Yoshinori. 1949. *Nihon Honyū-dōbutsu Zusetsu. Bunrui to Seitai* (Illutrated Manual of Mammals in Japan. Taxonomy and Ecology). Tokyo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1933. *Higuma no Shūsei ni tsuite* (On the Habits of the Brown Bear). Shokubutsu oyobi Dōbutsu, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 57-64. Tokyo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1934. *Akan Kokuritsu Kōen Chitai no Dōbutsu* (Fauna in the Area of the Akan National Park). Hokkaido Keishō-chi Kyōkai. Sapporo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1942. *Tensai ni okeru Ainu no Taido* (Ainus' Attitudes towards Natural Disasters). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 6, pp. 141-162. Sapporo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1943. *Hoppō no Fūdo to Dōbutsu* (Land and Aimals in the North.) Sapporo and Tokyo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1952. *Hokkaido no Shika to sono Kōbō* (On the Deer in Hokkaido, its Decrease and Coming Back). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 7, pp. 1-45. Sapporo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo. 1954. *Ainu no Sake-ryō ni okeru Matsuri-goto* (The Salmon Ceremonialism among the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 9, pp. 79-90. Sapporo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo and Takemitsu NATORI. 1939. *Iomante* (Ainu no Kuma-matsuri) no Bunka-shi-teki Igi to sono Keishiki, I (On the Significance of the Bear Festival, *iomante*, in Ainu Culture and its Local Forms, I). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 2, pp. 237-271. Sapporo.

INUKAI, Tetsuo and Takemitsu NATORI. 1940. *Iomante* (Ainu no Kuma-matsuri) no Bunka-shi-teki Igi to sono Keishiki, II (On the Significance of the Bear Festival, *iomante*, in Ainu Culture and its Local Forms, II). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 3, pp. 79-135. Sapporo.

IZUMI, Seiichi. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Chien Shūdan ni okeru Iworu* (The *Iworu* and the Territorial Group of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 29-45. Tokyo.

KINTAICHI, Kyōsuke. 1937. *Saihō Zuihitsu* (Miscellanies on Field Studies). Kyoto.

KINTAICHI, Kyōsuke. 1943. *Ainu no Shinten* (A Collection of Ainu Myths). Tokyo.

KINTAICHI, Kyōsuke. 1944. *Ainu no Kenkyū* (Studies on the Ainu). 3rd ed. Tokyo.

KISHIDA, Hisakichi. 1930. *Nippon Hokutai no Mammal Fauna ni tsuite* (On the Mammal Fauna in the Northern Zone of Japan). Dōbutsugaku Zasshi, Vol. 42, pp. 372-373. Tokyo.

KIYOSU, Yukiyasu. 1952. *Genshoku Nippon Chōrui Dai-zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Birds in Japan). 3 vols. Tokyo.

KŌNO, Hiromichi. 1931. *Ainu no Shita-obi* (The Waist Girdle of the Ainu). Hoppō Jidai, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 1-6. (An offprint.)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

KONO, Hiromichi. 1934. *Ainu no Inau Shiroshi* (*Inau Shiroshi* of the Ainu). Jinruigaku Zasshi, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 12-24. Tokyo. 113

KONO, Hiromichi. 1936. *Ainu to Totem-teki Ifū* (The Ainu and a Totemism-like Custom). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 2, pp. 45-53. Tokyo.

KUBODERA, Itsuhiko. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Sorei Saishi* (Ancestor Cult of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 46-61. Tokyo.

KUBODERA, Itsuhiko. 1956. *Hokkaido Ainu no Sō-sei—Saru Ainu wo Chūsin to shite* (The Antiquated Funeral Customs of the Hokkaido Ainu with special reference to the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 20, No. 1/2, pp. 1-35. Tokyo.

KURODA, Nagamichi. 1937. *Sekitsui-dōbutsu Taikei. Ho'nyu-rui* (An Outline of Vertebrates. Mammals). Tokyo.

MAKINO, Tomitaro. 1951. *Nippon Shokubutsu Zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Flora in Japan). Tokyo.

MASAMUNE, Atsuo (ed). 1937. *Takeshiro Ezo-nisshi-shū* (A Collection of Takeshiro's Diaries in Yezo). 2 vols. Tokyo.

MIHARA, Tateo, Shigeru ITO, Toshio HACHIYA and Miyoe ICHIKAWA. 1951. *Hokkaido ni okeru Keison Gyokyō no Hendō ni kansuru Kenkyū* (Studies on the Change of Fishing Conditions of Salmon in Hokkaido). I. Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 6, No. 1/2, pp. 27-133.

Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō (Mitsuishi Plant, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. Official Report submitted to the Chitose Branch of the Hatchery.

MITSUOKA, Shin-ichi. 1941. *Ainu no Sokuseki* (Footsteps of the Ainu). 6th ed. Shiraoi, Hokkaido.

MIURA, Ihachiro. 1933. Ringyō (Forestry). Chiri Kōza, Nihon-hen, Vol. 1 (*Karafuto oyobi Hokkaido*), pp. 275-290. Tokyo.

MIYAJI, Denzaburo and Shuichi MORI. 1953. *Dōbutsu no Seitai* (Ecology of Animals). Tokyo.

MONTANDON, George. 1937. La Civilization Ainou. Paris.

MUNRO, Gordon N. 1962. The Ainu. Creed and Cult. London.

MURAKOSHI, Michio and Tomitaro MAKINO. 1956. *Genshoku Shokubutu Zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Flora in Japan). Vol. 2. Tokyō.

NAGANE, Sukehachi. 1925. *Karafuto Dojin no Seikatsu* (Life of the Saghalin Aborigines). Tokyo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1940. *Kezuri-bashi Soin Sokei Sogen oyobi Shushin yori mitaru Saru Kawasuji no Ainu* (The Genealogy of the Ainu in the Saru Valley). Jinruigaku Zasshi, Vol. 55, pp. 203-229. Tokyo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1941. *Saru Ainu no Kuma-okuri ni okeru Kamigami no Yurai to Nusa* (The Origin of Gods and the *nusa*, cluster of *inau*, in the Bear Festival of the Saru Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 4, pp. 35-112. Sapporo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1945. *Funka-wan Ainu no Hogei* (Whale Hunting among the Funka-wan Ainu). Sapporo.

NISHINO, Kazuhiko. 1958. *Hokkaido no Sake Sanran Kasen ni okerū Hyōshiki Hōryū Shiken* (Chum Salmon Tagging Experiments in Spawning Streams in Hokkaido). Pokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 51-61. Sapporo.

Obihiro Sokkō-sho (Meteological Station of Obihiro) (ed.). 1959. *Tokachi Kishō Yōran* (Manual of Climate in Tokapchi). Obihiro.

ŌNO, Isokichi. 1933. *Hokkaido-san Sakura-masu no Seikatsu-shi* (Life History of Cherry Salmon in Hokkaido), I., Keison Ihō, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 15-26. Sapporo.

ŌSHIMA, Masamitsu. 1940. *Sekitsui-dōbutsu Taikei. Sakana.* (An Outline of Vertebrates. Fishes). Tokyo.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 OYA, Yoshinobu. 1954. *Kasen-kan no Sake Sojyō Keitai no Ruijisei ni tsuite* (The Affinity of the Spawning Type of Salmon, O. keta Walbaum, which are found in the Rivers of Hokkaido). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, No. 9, pp. 113-126. Sapporo.

PILSUDSKI, Blonislaw. 1912. Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore. Crakow.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R. 1952. Structure and Function in Primitive Society. London.

SANO, Seizo. 1946. *Soka Sake ohū Tsūshō Ginke-sake ni kansuru Chōsa, Yohō* I (Investigations on the So-called Silvery Salmon among the Run Salmon. Preliminary Report I). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 39-43. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo. 1947. *Soka Sake chū Tsūshō Ginke Sake ni kansuru Chōsa Yohō* II (Investigations on the So-called Silvery Salmon among the Run Salmon, II). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 41-45. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo. 1950. *Sakura-masu no Seikatsu-shi* (Life History of Cherry Salmon, O. masou). Sakana to Tamago, No. 2 (February), pp. 51-22. Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo and Ariaki NAGASAWA. 1958. *Tokachi-gawa Shiryū Memugawa ni okeru Sake no Tennen Hanshoku* (Natural Propagation of Chum Salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, in the Mem River, Tokapchi). Hokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 1-19. Sapporo.

SARASHINA, Genzo. 1942. *Kotan Seibutsu Ki* (Ethnobiological Notes on an Ainu Settlement). Sapporo.

SASAKI, Chozaemon. 1927. *Ainu no Hanashi* (A Lecture on the Ainu). Asahikawa.

SEGAWA, Kiyoko. 1951. *Saru Ainu Fujin no Upshoru ni tsuite* (On the Waist Girdle, *upshoru kutu*, of Ainu Women in the Saru Valley). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 62-70. Tokyo.

Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō (Shiraoi Plant, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. *Shiraoi-gawa ni okeru Sake Shingyo Tennen Sanran-shō Chōsa* (The Survey of Natural Spawning-beds of Dog Salmon in the Shiraoi). Official Report submitted to the Chitose Branch of the Hatchery.

STEWARD, Julian H. 1938. Basin Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 137.

SUGIURA, Ken'ichi. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Shinzoku Soshiki* (Kinship System of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 3-28. Tokyo.

TAKABEYA, Fukuhei. 1939. *Ainu Jyūkyo no Kenkyū* (Studies on Ainu Dwellings). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 2, pp. 1-124. Sapporo.

TAKABEYA, Fukuhei. 1941. *Ainu Minzoku no shiyō-shitaru Keiryō no Tan-i* (Studies on Units of Measures used by the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 4, pp. 113-200. Sapporo.

TAKAKURA, Shin'ichiro. 1942. *Ainu Seisaku-shi* (A History of Ainu Policies). Tokyo.

TAKAKURA, Shin'ichiro. 1957. *Meiji-izen no Hokkaido ni okeru Nō-boku-gyō* (Agricultural History of Hokkaido before the Introduction of European Techniques). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 13-41. Sapporo.

Teikoku Gakushi-in (Imperial Academy of Japan) (ed.). 1944a. *Tōa Minzoku Meii* (Names of Eastern Asian Peoples). Tokyo.

Teikoku Gakushi-in (ed.). 1944b. *Ainu* (The Ainu). Tōa Minzoku Yōshi Shiryō, No. 2. Tokyo.

TOKACHI Shijyō (Tokachi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). Official Catch Register for 1933-1956.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokyo Temmon-dai (Astronomical Observatory of Tokyo) (ed.). 1954. *Rika Nempyō* 1955 (Science Tables for 1955). Tokyo. 113

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1951. *Saru Ainu ni okeru Tennen-shigen no Riyō* (Utilization of Natural Resources by the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 71-82.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1953. *Ainu ni okeru Yumi* (Bows among the Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 6th Session, pp. 129-132. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1954. *Ifuri Ainu ni okeru Suisan Shigen no Riyō* (Utilization of Aquatic Resources by the Ifuri Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 7th Session, pp. 43-48. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1955. *Kisetsuteki Ijyū Gijutsu Shigen. Ainu ni okeru Seitaiteki Ichi-sokumen* (Seasonal Migration, Technology and Natural Resources. An Ecological Aspect of the Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 8th Session, pp. 62-63. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1963. *Ainu no Nawabari to shiteno Sake no Sanran-kuiki* (Spawning Grounds of Dog Salmon as the Territory of the Ainu Local Group). Minzokugaku Note (Oka Kyōju Kanreki Kinen Ronbun-shū), pp. 278-297. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1964, *Ningen to Shizen no Shakai-teki Ketsugo Kankei. Ainu Nihon-minzoku Tungus no Kyōtsūsei* (Social Solidarity between Man and Nature. Features common to the Ainu, the Japanese and the Tungus). Nihon Minzokugaku-kyōkai Kenkyū Taikai, 2nd Session (1963), Proceedings (in print).

YAMAMOTO, Yūkō. 1943. *Karafuto Ainu no Jyūkyo* (The Dwellings of the Saghalin Ainu). Kenchiku Shinsho 10. Tokyo.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1955. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 1. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1956a. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 2. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1956b. *Tsue no Mitama: Tokachi-Ainu Korō Danwa Kiroku* (Ainu Ethnography as told by Six Old Tokapchi Ainus). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 19, No. 3/4, pp. 135-156. Tokyo.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1957. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 3. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1958. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 4. Obihiro.

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

Gi A 101 A G 101 162 361 103 A G 103 361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

G 361 A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G Gi A 101 361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G Gi A [113]

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
G
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
114
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A Gi Gi 101 /17 cont./
dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people A [101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former A 361 people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first A [131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A [113] [114] [103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

36 [113] [114] [103]

northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

36 13 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

13 167 [113]

2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

13

[113]

3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--34 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/18 cont./ 5. (cont.)

131
167
113

Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J.B.S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the [illegible] tribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

Gi 174 169

/21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

G. Gi A 101

If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G. Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G. Gi 101 361

Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G. Gi [487]

G
FJ.
A
101

/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A
G
[197]

A
G
[113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A
G
[113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A
G
101
439

so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont. /

buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] 113 [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J.
A
114
103
113

/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

Gi
175
131
F.J.
175
114
A
F.J.
Gi
101

Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
Gi
101
174
G
A
[439]

A
G
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J.
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

A
G
131
175
[178]
[563]
A
[648]

/122 cont./
began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G
131
175
G
[174]

In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A
175
131
184

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

A
175
131
E.J.
175
167
A
[113]

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

A
175
13
[113]
EJ.
175
10

/123 cont./

1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

A
131
175
648
EJ.
648
175

2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

A
EJ.
175
648

in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

FJ. 175 654 [113] /123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175 The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, François Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

A [177] A [101]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

A [113] [114]

/124 cont./

175
[113]
[114]

2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

175
101
[113]
[114]

in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

175
101
113

4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

/124 cont./

4. (cont.)

175 themselves are said to call this island (A
101 Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp.
113 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

/124 cont./

175
101
•113

4. (cont.)
Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaĭ, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

175
101
Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

[113]

1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

175
10
[113]

/125 cont./

1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

175
103

Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

175
103
114

3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

[113]

/125 cont./

3. (cont.)

175 under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Aperçu
103 général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832),
114 in which (p. 187) there is also mention of
[113] the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariīn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity
[113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

/125 cont./

175
103
114
[113]

3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

175
103
It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

[113]

1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/."-- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

/126 cont./

175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

• [113]

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

A
K /127 cont./
175 with them, and since they moved back and forth between the
563 mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the
484 Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

A
K
114
101
175

/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K
103
175

And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A
101
175
114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A
175
114
101
103
113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

A
175
114
113
101
102

/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A Steller, however, has already
K pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians
101 for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected
175 with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A
K
[114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).
3. Steller, OP CIT., P. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

A /129 cont./
175
114
101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A Similarly, The
101 archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuä" (Ainu) among the
175 peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to
[648] Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A
[113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A
[113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A
[113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
G
[103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G
[113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

000 /192 cont./

"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 F.J. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S. [113]

K SS FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

2: Schrenck--410 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

A
F.J.
101
175
[113]

/193 cont./

1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A
F.J.
[113]
[114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A
F.J.
[113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krascheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

A
F.J.
101
A
F.J.
[114]

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

A
FJ.
10
114

/193 cont./

with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

A
FJ.
[113]

6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) abovementioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

A
FJ.
[113]

1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

A
FJ
101
114
[113]

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)
Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

FJ
101
114
K
101
192

K
[181]

2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S.
10

In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

SS /318 cont./

161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the
175 right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114 Manguntsen
Gi (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the
Gi right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161
361 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the
right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls

Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

SS [113]

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi 161

In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
000 /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

SS Gi [113]

4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on the basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

A [113]

5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

A [113] [114]

6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A /318 cont./

16 6. (cont.)
114 das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographi-
113 cal Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS These statements
16 referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge
114 of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other
162 hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious.
Gi They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to
[101] have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously
SS demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people
16
114
36

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

G
[563]
Gi
[103]
[361]

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

7/4 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont./

195
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195
342
352
354
[177]
[171]

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin [184] those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

Ainu ABG
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

A /406 cont./
291 straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden
171 shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

A
[113]

2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

Gi Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along
291 the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individ-
184 ual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows con-
Gi siderable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the ex-
[226] tensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and pro-
[224] vides the people with their foremost means of getting food and
[433] clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in
[114] Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

Gi among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs
[481] in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

2: Schrenck--617 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont./

302 171 177 [113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302 177 648 no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302 177 413 and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

G /419 cont./

302 304 171 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even

A 302 304 [175] though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks

A 304 A [113] and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [175] [184] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A [113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

/419 cont./

304
113

2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

304
184

among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

304
175

3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

[113]

2: Schrenck--634 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

A 304 195 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

A [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A
[113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K
[113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
226 for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
262 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
[361] this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own
000 needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
●113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
[439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
226
262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

2: Schrenck--698 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/453 cont./

226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/454 cont./

226
179

Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

226
171
113

5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal Source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection
[231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the
[171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old
[251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

G SS 276 197 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for [321] his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel A [113] Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). G [824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-kschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

A 481 824 113

3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of G [237] sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 171 174 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113] G [492] [171] A [171]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

K 823
A 439 823 186
A 439 435

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 17 325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

G /576 cont./
224
171 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence
G in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peo-
224 ples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a
A taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese
225 traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of
114 sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat
[192] doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

G /734 cont./

*796 184 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tymy Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A 175 796 /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed A 796 114 accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

A [113]

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113]

2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

A [113]

3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[776] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion [181] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
152

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery mossj is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first,
or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
171 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

Translator's preface 3
Author's preface 6
Part One: The early period of clan government 10
Introduction 10
I. Ainu society 12
1. Economic life 13
2. Social organization 16
3. Social regulation 19
4. Summary 22
II. The war of 1669 23
1. The development of Japanese-Ezo relations 23
2. Cause of the war of 1669 27
III. The revolt of 1789 30
1. Growth of the *Basho* contract system and the change in Ezo economic relations 30
2. The growth of Japanese controls in Hokkaidō 34
3. The abuses of the *Basho* contracting system and the "incident" of 1789 38
4. The disposition of the revolt of 1789 44
5. Summary 46

Part Two: The early period of direct control by the Japanese Government 48
I. The reasons for the assumption of direct control 48

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

114

Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

101

Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[text continues bottom of P. 3(B)-analyst]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

records or even was ignored by the historians. This is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns were fought in the ninth century when history was only an official annals dominated by an inward looking court, and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to great events which took place so far away from what was regarded as the only possible fount of history—the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese have been indefatigible historians—few men have approached the subject. It is as though in American

175
114
175

114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed
175 and never studied in detail and as though there had never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, a carefully wrought major history of the final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the island of Hokkaidō but one which surveys the history and society of the last resistors to the pressure of
114 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore much more than "the history of native policy within colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a painstaking reliable analysis of a part of the history of Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime aquiring the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts, topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world literature on the subject. To his work Professor Takakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that, during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but] as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an accurate understanding of its historical development." He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and completed it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in revision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my research until I concluded that only by living in Japan and having access to the materials could really sound research on this particular phase of Japanese history be done. This was out of the question and I realized that a good translation of Takakura would be of more value than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much time to it as I could from teaching and from administrative tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length of time taken was due in large measure to my concern that a complex subject should be made as clear as translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long as the text by incorporating it within the text, and finding accurate equivalents for many archaic and local Japanese words and for many native terms, some of which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology. 114

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is at hand, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan. [175]

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion. [122]

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance 114

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho, Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--Analyst]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 6(B)--Analyst]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3

The arrangement and critique of these valuable experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

---

shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau work *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

The term *Ezo* is somewhat easier for identification. *Ezo*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emush*" and "*Yumasu*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi no Emishi* or "fighting Koshi" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchū, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidō, or all of Japan north of the Tōkyō area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shō*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu*; yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai* a designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Ezo* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*na*" was added to *Kai* and these *Ezo* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aina*, *Ainu*, *Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai—Kaina—Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidō and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidō are indeed related to the Ezo of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyū* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

---

realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso, Hayato, Ezo,* and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

[P. 8(B)]

E 175 [171]

The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

F E A 121

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

A 114

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

A 194

A [172]

288 Those areas
177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware
323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and
411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only
224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet
227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs,
411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were
501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their
556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar-
119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little.
181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women
[286] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, [291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[10] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shimu* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P. 14 (A)]

A F *648 177 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] ● [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [56.7]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

119 113 I have used many materials which are not easily available and to avoid undue complexity I omitted from the text any detailed explanations of the manuscripts which are cited. Therefore, this appendix is not only a bibliographical guide but a supplementary commentary on the text. I am concerned here only with manuscripts and rare books. Manuscripts of minor importance which are in the library of the Hokkaidō Administrative Office are not herein commented on and my selection of rare books is, of course, a subjective one. Basic guides to these materials are:

113 *Hokkaidō Chō Kyūki Mokuroku* (List of old records in the Hokkaidō administrative office) edited by Takada Fujie and myself and published by that office in 1932.

Kokusan Shinkō Hakurankai Hokkaidō Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Kaisetsu (Comments on the exhibits in the Hokkaidō History Hall at the National Industry Encouragement Fair) published in 1926.

Goryōkaku Nai Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Mokuroku (List of exhibits in the Goryōkaku History Hall).

Wherever the name of the owner of a manuscript or book is not given then it is owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

KŌNŌ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Ainu Chōsa Zairyō* (Materials for study of the Ainu). A collection of extracts from old records. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

MOGAMI TSUNENORI, *Akkeshi Ran Moshiage* (Report on the Akkeshi rebellion). Mogami's report on the troubles of December 1799 when Tashanishi, chief of Kushiro, killed a houseboy. Also contains supplementary materials on the chief Ikotoi of Kunashiri who secretly contacted the Russians and on the assassination of Tashanishi.

KUSHIHARA MASAMINE, *Igen Zokuwa* (Every day guide to the Ezo). 5 books. Records kept on the life and trade of the Ezo by Kushihara who, in 1782, was sent to Sōya in the relief trade.

MATSUMOTO JURŌ, *Ishikari Tokachi Ryōgawa Kikō* (Travels to the Tokachi and Ishikari Rivers). A travel diary for the period June 1875–July 1876. The Kaitakushi official Matsumoto went up the Ishikari River to its sources, then across to the Osara River, thence to the Tokachi River, then to Otsu and finally to Sapporo by way of the Urakawa coast. This was Matsumoto's last journey and the most detailed exploration of the Ishikari-Tokachi area. At the conclusion of this trip Matsumoto resigned his post and never returned to Hokkaidō. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Usu On Basho Otazune Kajō Shojō (Report on the problems of the Usu *Basho*). A report made by Wakaya Uhiyo, contractor for the Usu *Basho*, on the condition of each of the markets of that area for the period February 1854. It forms part of his collected writings *Bunka Do Oscumatsare Sho*.

Urakawa Shichō Sho Shorui (Papers of the Urakawa Branch Office). When the Urakawa Branch Office of the Kaitakushi was abolished in 1874 its record came into the possession of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

ONŌDERA TOKUKEN, *Ezo Kikan Furoku* (Supplement to the wonders of Ezo). Onōdera had, by order of the head of the Sendai clan, traveled to Shimaki in West Ezo and written of this journey in *Hokuyū Nisen*. *Ezo Kikan Furoku* treats of the natural products, the people, and the history of Ezo and Karafuto. It contains, in detail, the routes from Matsumae to East Ezo and North Ezo and from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

The lore, legends and customs collected in this book 114 538 have a pathetic interest as being almost the last echoes to be heard of the old life of a declining and fast disappearing race of men, who have never had a literature and are therefore leaving absolutely no written records behind.

Many of the chapters first appeared in the *Japan Advertiser*, 114 published in Tokyo. Several of the subscribers to that paper have been so good as to express a desire to have them in book form, and the author has gladly fallen in with the wish, especially as his former book, "The Ainu and their Folklore," has long been out of print. [113] He only hopes the reader may find as much pleasure in reading these old "Echoes" as he himself has had in collecting them. He first came in contact with the Ainu as a young layman in the year 1877 and has ever since been in very close contact with them. In the year 1879 he joined the Church Missionary Society, of London, and from that time till 1924 remained in connection with that Society. Having then more than attained the age limit, he retired, but is still on the spot, doing what he can privately to help the Ainu on. Dr. Batchelor has also received the very high distinction of being made an honorary member of Hokkaidō Government and is in receipt of a pension in recognition of his work among the Ainu race.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776
powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775
present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828
mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775
need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114
when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

777 431 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752
before I became aware that he had lost the points of
two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he
informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a
fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a
narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in
my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off
into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the
bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore
quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the
ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In
this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Never-
theless, both members festered and would not heal for
a long time. But in the end, although they got better,
I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong
feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added,
"The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of cour- 117
age and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut
his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could
no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake
kind. Whenever we were travelling together along
narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114
wished me to walk in front to scare away these ver- 784
min. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore
thick boots through which no snake could bite. At
night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of
smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he
waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

● 114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together; comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

A 114

A Y 372 171 776

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A Y 372 171 776 782

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing 527
bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are 231
kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing.

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain [262] animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better [104] than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion.

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 278 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 784 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that 114
they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. 784
I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketch- 215
ing or taking their photographs, especially when in a 532
nude condition, their natural life was shortened in 291
some mysterious way. The term they used with re- 826
ference to it was *Ainu hatu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have 114
taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

826 "One day, when several men were in the hut with
215 the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is '*ichashkara*,' i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called '*imosh*.' When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called "*tolpuk-un-chiri*," i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

if the devil had gone on forever in this way—would there not have been continued trouble?" 539

Thus ends this very extraordinary shaman séance. These are the kind of people among whom my lot has been cast. And I must confess that I have had hard times now and again to keep my end well up. Shamans have been after me several times and have tried to mesmerize me, and that in public, but have in every case failed. I, in my turn, have time and again gone after them, but could never catch them at home. The rascals! 114

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aoina. Aoina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the 123
saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which 175
tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkin went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. 162
John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,554	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,963	16,863

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain 114
definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously
361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors
103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitakai	14	.....	.....	36
Shibetsu	.....	20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri	.....	14	8	22
Kitami Machi	.....	21	19	40
Noyori	.....	7	4	11
Notori	.....	3	6	9
Nikuribaki	.....	6	6	12
Mukudo	.....	5	7	12
Naiyori	.....	7	6	13
Tombetsu	.....	6	6	12
Mibero	.....	15	11	26
Kakumi	.....	5	4	9
Dapi	.....	9	8	17
Ponkigin	.....	5	4	9
Kimitambi	.....	9	9	18
Furumi	.....	9	5	14
Tokoro	85	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakecho	.....	2	5	7
Matsubecho	.....	61	55	116
Hontomura	.....	2	.....	2
Shinriowa	.....	12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131 in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

30.2 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from
[197 any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515 low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

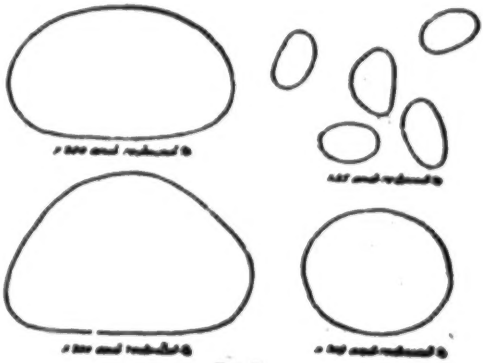


Fig. 70.

OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.

(From photographs.)

142 114 This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

582 I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

445 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends [562] upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

765 Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

681 In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his [682] release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen.

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence [695] or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his [682] nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has sup- 114 posed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

224 Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent [136] quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 796
present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343
nusha kamui should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778
Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114
substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

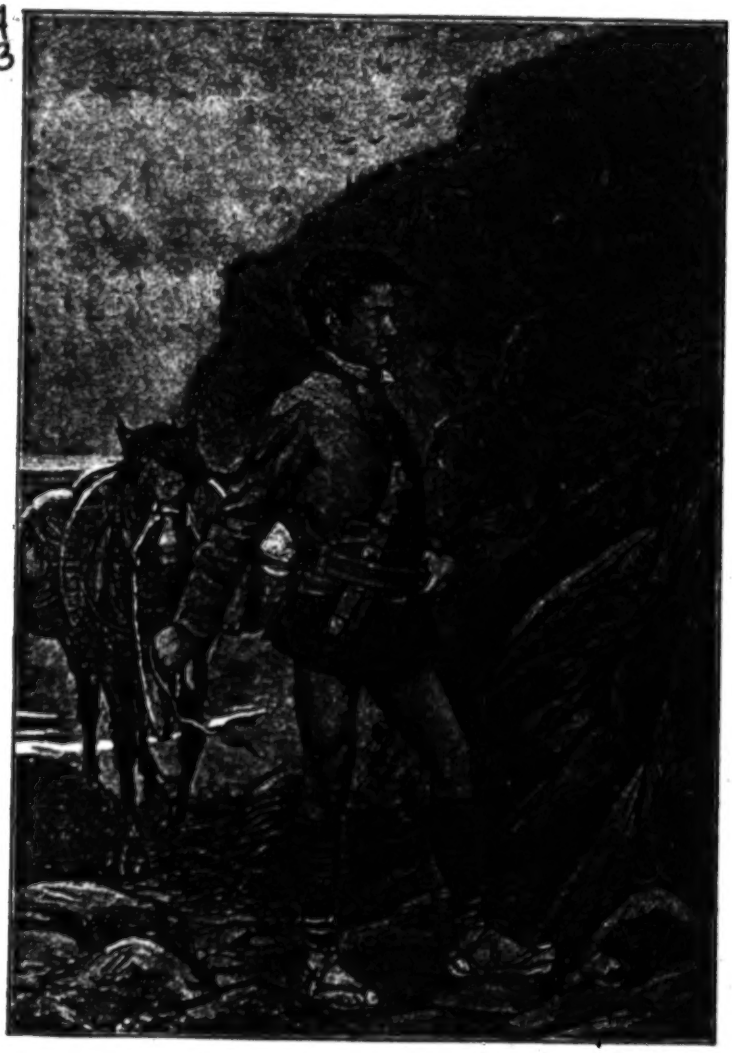
[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825
bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

114
133



[Frontispiece.

PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

"When my clothes came to an end I did without them."

[Frontispiece]

[Facing Title page] [p. iv]

[p. i – iii are blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record —an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public. 121

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear. 114

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself 123

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them.

Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their

[p.1]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

pretty *kimonos* (gowns) and with oil-paper umbrellas, were toddling along on their wooden clogs, and a crowd of loafers stood gazing at the ship as she came to anchor. The Peak, more than 1000 feet high, was towering on our south side, forming a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, and the large bay swept round us, forming nearly a circle. The place has a striking resemblance to Gibraltar.

I landed, and put up at a tea-house, where I was in hopes of learning something regarding the island from the Japanese settlers, but no one knew anything. The reports that there were no roads extending beyond a few miles; that there was but very poor and scarce accommodation along the coast; that the Ainu, who lived further north, were dirty people; and that the country was full of bears, were certainly not encouraging to an intending traveller.

I must confess that my first day in Yezo was a dull one; but the second day I had the pleasure of meeting a Mr. H., a resident, who kindly offered me his hospitality, and the next two were pleasantly spent at his house. In conversation with a friend of his, I heard the remark that no man alone could possibly complete the circuit of the island of Yezo, owing to the difficulties of travel; and my readers can imagine the astonishment of my interlocutors when I meekly said, that if no one had ever done it, I was going to do it; and, indeed, that I intended to set out alone the next morning.

"Impossible!" said one, "you are too young and too delicate."

"Absurd!" said my kind host, "it would take a very strong man to do it—a man who could stand any amount of hardships and roughing." At the same time he gave me a pitiful look, which undoubtedly meant, "You are a mere bag of skin and bones."

However, the bag of skin and bones kept his word, notwithstanding the poor opinion that his new friends had formed of him.

The preparations for my journey were simple. In two large Japanese baskets I packed three hundred small wooden panels for oil-painting, a large supply of oil colours and brushes, a dozen small sketch-books, my diary, three pairs of boots, three shirts, an equal number of pairs of woollen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

stockings, a revolver, and a hundred cartridges. The remainder of my luggage was left in charge of Mr. H. till my return. I did not burden myself with either provisions or a tent.

I rose early the following morning and bade good-bye to my kind host. "Good-bye," said he, "I expect we shall see you back to-night to dinner." The word "dinner" was the last English word I heard from the mouth of an Englishman, and it was five long months before I heard another.

The first thirty miles of my journey were ridden in a *basha*, a covered cart built on four wheels that ought to have been round, but were not. There were no springs for the comfort of the traveller, and no cushions on the seats. The conveyance was public, and was drawn by two sturdy ponies. The driver, a Japanese, carried a brass trumpet, on which he continually played.

I might have begun my story by the usual "One fine day," if, unfortunately, the day on which I started the rain had not poured in torrents. A Japanese policeman and a girl were my only fellow-passengers. Travelling at full gallop, on a rough road, in a trap with unsymmetrical wheels and with no springs, during a heavy storm, is scarcely what one would call a pleasant mode of progression; but after some hours of "being knocked about," we went zig-zag fashion, first up a steep hill, then down on the other side, giving the horses a rest at a roadside tea-house by the famous lakes of Zenzai. The larger of these two lakes—the Ko-numa—is extremely picturesque, with its numerous little islands wooded with deciduous trees. In shape it is very irregular, and many points, which project into the lake, add to the loveliness of the scene, while the high ridge over which I had come, on the one side, and the rugged volcano of Komagatake on the other, form a beautiful background to the limpid sheet of water. The outlet of this lake empties itself into Volcano Bay, S.E. of the Komagatake Volcano. The other lake, though smaller, is quite as striking, and possesses the same characteristics of its larger brother. It goes by the name of Ono-numa. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they abound in a smallish fish—the *funa*—which is greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

I sat down in the tea-house on the soft mats, and my *bento*

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

excited fishermen. Myriads of sardines are caught each time the net is hauled in; and it is a fantastic scene to see the naked crowd which, in clearing the nets from the beheaded fish, get covered with silver scales, which stick to their arms, legs, and body, and give them a strange appearance.

Look-out towers are built on four high posts, where a watchman is posted to signal the arrival and approach of the shoals. The sea is so dense with them that it changes its colour, and these moving banks of sardines are distinguishable four or five miles from the coast. This method is the same as that adopted in Cornwall when the pilchards are expected, and the same discoloration of the sea takes place.

From Tomakomai a road branches to the north leading to Sappro, the capital of Hokkaido, and it is the last place on the southern coast which is visited by that rare specimen of the globe-trotter who ventures to Yezo. He hastily makes his way from here to Sappro and Otaru on the northern coast, and waits for a ship to be conveyed back to Hakodate. He then, of course, tells his friends that he has been round and about and through Yezo, while in fact he has seen absolutely nothing of Yezo or its inhabitants. About half-a-dozen Europeans, however, have been further on—as far as the Saru River; and each one has written a book on the Ainu, for the most part copying what the previous author had written.

As far as Tomakomai there is a road—a sure sign of civilisation—but nothing but a horse-track is to be found all along the southern coast after this place has been passed.

Changing my ponies at Yuhuts,[1] nine miles east, and again at Mukawa and Saru-buto, I was able to reach Saru Mombets that same night. Many Ainu and Japanese fishermen's huts are scattered between Horohuts[2] and Yuhuts, on the sandy track along the sea.

The traveller then leaves the sea on the right, and by a very uneven track, and after fording several rivers of little importance comes to Mukawa, a dirty little village fourteen miles from Yuhuts. My lunch that day consisted of a large piece of raw salmon, which was easily digested in riding nine more miles to Saru-buto. *Sharu* in Ainu, corrupted into Saru,

[1] *Yu*, springs; *huts*, mouth of river.
[2] *Horo*, large; *hut*, *huts*, *put*, the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 184 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

184 Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At 174 any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

172 As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 than to excite sympathy for my hardships. Really, though the journey nearly cost me my life, I have never, in my extensive wanderings, enjoyed a trip more than that to Ainuland.

I have touched but slightly, and not more than was absolutely necessary, on subjects relating to the Japanese; for this is intended as a work on the Ainu.

●114 I was happy yet sorry to be at the end of my journey! This was the 146th day since I first left Hakodate, and the distance I had travelled was about 4,200 miles, out of which 3,800 were ridden on horseback, or an average of twenty-five miles a day. The remaining 400 miles were either by steamer or canoe travelling.

From the day I broke the bone in my foot I travelled fifty-eight days, mostly on horseback, and the first time it was attended to and properly bandaged up was sixty days after it occurred, or two days after my arrival in Hakodate, by Mr. Pooley, chief engineer on board the ss. *Satsuma Maru.*

Mr. Henson was again extremely kind, and pressed me to leave the tea-house and go and stay at his place, and after five months of "hard planks" I slept again in a comfortable bed. What a treat it was! What a curious sensation to sleep in a bed again, and actually have sheets and blankets! But this was not all, for surprise followed surprise.

The pompous Consul, who for the sake of saving himself the trouble of looking into his desk, had made my last portion of the journey wretched and sorrowful, found that after all he was mistaken, and on the breakfast-table in my place I found a packet of about 100 letters and newspapers, which the Consul sent to me with a message saying that when I called last time he had forgotten who I was, and therefore had forgotten to give me my correspondence!

Now that we have travelled round and through the country in every direction; now that we have seen where the different tribes of Ainu are, I shall attempt to give my readers some insight into the Ainu themselves, and their mode of living.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII.

Ainu Heads, and their Physiognomy.

THE faces of the Ainu are far from ugly, and their heads are singularly picturesque, though of course there are the finer types as there are the meaner; by which we come to gradation and comparison. The general idea that all Ainu are hideous has arisen from the accounts of the few who have travelled in the more civilised parts of Yezo, and have seen and studied only a limited number of half-breeds and actual Japanese, mistaking them for Ainu. In one of the last publications on the Ainu, photographs of Japanese and half-breeds are given as typical specimens of the Ainu race; and one or two real Ainu are given as phenomena and exceptions. That the Ainu are disgustingly filthy is undoubted; that in many ways they are monkey-like is certain; but also that on a close examination many are not devoid of good features is undeniable. As regards looks, it is a great mistake to compare savages with ourselves, and to judge of them from our own standpoint. This is no more fair than to compare a thoroughbred fox-terrier with a thoroughbred poodle-dog, to the disadvantage of the one or the other. Passing off half-breeds as pure types of course makes things ten times worse, and complicates matters for those who care for accuracy, and are interested in anthropological researches.

Ainu physiognomy is an interesting study. When seen full-face the forehead is narrow, and sharply sloped backward. The cheek-bones are prominent, and the nose is hooked, slightly flattened, and broad, with wide, strong nostrils. The mouth is generally large, with thick, firm lips, and the underlip well

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 119
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made [239] into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that [191] the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
771 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities. 778 114

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2] [782] [532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*. 778 532 114

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1]
174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
● 114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu
[192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
[286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 114 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The [115]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

114 The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture [182] of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the 648 Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, 177 and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

114 Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little 121 had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which [611] came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

594 Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, [592] in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. [595] In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 121
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 114

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 789 [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the 774 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or 776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some 824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant 114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta- 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, 104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course. 114

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference. 114 128

Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I. 114

My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation 128

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa ake hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

II

THE KAMUI

776
774
824

IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114]

[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close [794] association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly [552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and [778] of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
177
302
142

PLATE 1. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

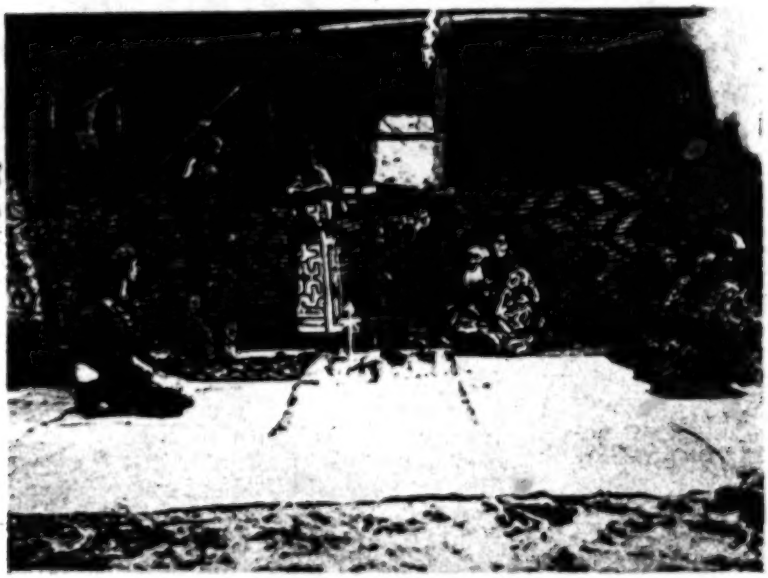


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshapki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

TtMunro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutoe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*, and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

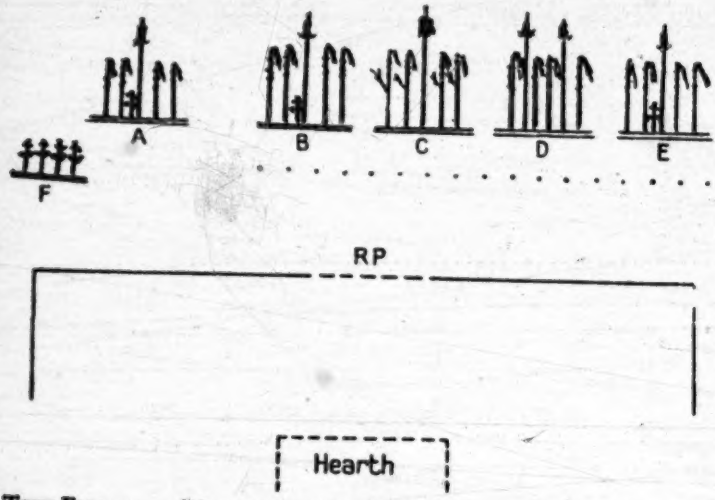
778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost. 778 782 [184] [114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui.
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 [411] [292] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [823] [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [1114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Renmuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114]

[1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. [755]

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 [778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

[783] [782]

755 801 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115]

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

[791] [126]

755 753 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114]

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volun-
[587] teered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become
[611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis- [184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, [778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the [614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri- [423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 845 [184] [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S.

114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu.

539
776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

/766 cont./

844 [757] [823] the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./

844 853 [292] [278] When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, [163] and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

9: Lavrov--1 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
171

/32/

The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

A
G
532
114
A
G
[113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaia Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

A
G
[113]

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, sviazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

A
G
532
•114
[13]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A
G
114
121
532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

532
825
178
[113]

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825
[171]
[114]

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
• [114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
[113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

114

the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175 648 census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(1947) and his suggestions personally given me in the course of my study at the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, as well as through implications revealed in his lectures and seminar. Without their influence and encouragement this paper would never have been written. I should acknowledge this with gratitude.

Five major field surveys in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 were carried out by me as a member of the Joint Research Committee on the Ainu and were financed by the Scientific Research Grant from the Ministry of Education, Japan. I gratefully acknowledge also my indebtedness to the Ministry of Education and the members of the Committee, particulary to Professor Masao Oka, Chairman of the Committee. Two other field trips were partly financed by Mr. Hiroshi Misumi, to whom I make grateful acknowledgement.

While at the University College, London, I received valuable help from many other persons. Of these special thanks are due to Drs. Phyllis Kaberry, M. Mary Douglas and D. J. Stenning, all of whom influenced greatly my way of thinking, to Dr. Farnham, M. Rehfisch, Miss Katherine, E. A. Attwood and Miss Jean Baker for each kindly reading through part of the manuscripts which formed the basis of the present paper, for their valuable suggestions and for their kind help in improving the English text. I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. M. Douglas who read through the whole manuscript and gave me very constructive advice.

I wish to express my thanks to many persons for their kind help in the preparation of this paper, especially to Professor Tetsuo Inukai, of University of Hokkaido, Professor Akiyoshi Suda and Dr. Sugao Yamanouchi, of the Anthropological Institute, University of Tokyo, Dr. Seizo Sano and Mr. Kohichiro Shibata, of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, and Dr. Shizuo Yoshino and Mr. Eiji Iwai, of Faculty of Agriculture, University of Tokyo, who brought to my attention some of the important literature and gave various facilities to utilize them along with much valuable information.

I am grateful to Professor Hisashi Suzuki, Chairman of the Anthropological Institute, Faculty of Science, University of Tokyo, and other members of the staff, and the late Professor Kenichi Sugiura, formerly of the Institute, for their interest shown in my work and their generous backing.

I thank also my Ainu informants, particularly the late Ushintasan, Ushino and Kazari, for their devoted cooperation in the field work.

Finally, I should note that those persons mentioned above have no responsibility to any statements made and views expressed in this paper.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.19]

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 22 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 114

121 221 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[26]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu* (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

226 227

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about. 224

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2). 224 417 [311] [476]

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396). [114]

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental 224 342 [343]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [778] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175 361 342 103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

175
361
103

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation 621
of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of 622
community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The 614
only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons.

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, 621
from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain 614
any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and parti- 114
cipated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV).

(15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and rea- 614
sons. 608

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a 778
family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduction from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

[177]

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

T 114 /xxxiii cont./

His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [114] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/"/untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthēus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

Gi A 101 A G 101 162 361 103 A G 103 361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthēus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

G 361 A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A
G
103
361
113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A
[114]

G
361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G
361
439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G
Gi
A
101
361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G
Gi
A
[113]

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
174
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A Gi 101 /17 cont./
dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people A [101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming 361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first A [131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A [113] [114] [103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

36 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

36 13 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 13 167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 13 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

A
G
SS. /91 cont./
114
128
101

Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

000 /92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

SS.
101
121

If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

A G 101 439 /117 cont. /

buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175 113 291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

2: Schrenck--246 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J. A 114 103 113 Gi 175 131 F.J. 175 114 A F.J. Gi 101

/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

2: Schrenck--257 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

Ainu AB6 ●
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J./123 cont./Many
175 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled
648 across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The
A Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince
[167] Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the
E.J. Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in
[361] 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the
A
EJ
[177]

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.
A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the
E.J.
●[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were
F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely
175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to
654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

FJ. 175 654 [113]

/123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175 The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys A [177] Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on A [101] the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

A [113] [114]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/124 cont./

175
[113]
[114]

2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

175
101
[113]
[114]

in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

175
101
113

4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

/125 cont./

175
10
[113]

1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

175
103
Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

175
103
114

3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

[113]

/125 cont./

3. (cont.)

175 under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Apercu
103 général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832),
●114 in which (p. 187) there is also mention of
[113] the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariïn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity
[113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

/125 cont./

175
103
114
[113]

3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

175
103
It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

[113]
1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands,
103 Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

175
114
103

3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï," whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/."-- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that *in fact Ainu were involved*, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

A
K
175
563
484

/127 cont./

with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

A
K
114
101
175

/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K
103
175

And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A
101
175
114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A
175
114
101
103
113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

A
175
114
113
101
103

/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A K 101 175 Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A K [114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

A
FJ.
103
114
175

/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

OOO explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A
175
101
G
[101]

/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakä, Eluntschun, and Kuä," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

A
175
114
101

1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuä as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A
175
114
101

/129 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A
101
175
[648]

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuā" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A
[113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A
[113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A
[113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
G
[103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G
[113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101

after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuñ, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

A FJ. 101 175 [113]

/193 cont./

1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A FJ. [113] [114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A FJ. [113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Kraschenninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

A FJ. 101 A FJ. [114]

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

A
FJ. /193 cont./
10 with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same
114 "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

A
FJ.
[113]

6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) abovementioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

A
FJ.
[113]

1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan A82
Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

A
FJ
101
114
[113]

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)
Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

FJ
101
114
K
101
192

K
[181]

2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S.
101

In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

2: Schrenck--432 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6

/311/

000

III. Ethnographic Part

First Half: Fundamental Conditions and Components of the External Life

Section 4

Slight and uneven density of the indigenous population of the Amur region. Consequences of the devastations of past wars and more recent epidemic diseases. -- Choice and change of dwelling places according to the season of the year. Winter and summer dwellings. Hunting and overnight tents. Storehouses and depositories.

SS. 114 128 Before I begin the description of the life and activities of the Amur peoples, I must first say a few words concerning the treatment of the material. Since here it is a matter of my own observations and experiences and my knowledge of the individual Amur peoples, as has already been pointed out in the introduction, is very uneven, the parallel consideration of all the Amur peoples beside one another strictly carried out up to here in the first two parts of this work will have to be curtailed, inasmuch as many of them with whom I had only all too fleeting a contact will have to be excluded from special consideration and mentioned only incidentally and comparatively. This will be especially true A [114] of the Ainu, whose life and activities in recent times, since Japan has become generally accessible to the Europeans, have been described very exhaustively, whereas I became acquainted with them only in passing on Sakhalin. This is likewise the case for the Sungari and the upper Amur peoples, of whom I saw only a few individuals, and for many of the dwellers along the left SS. 128 tributaries of the lower Amur River. In the following pages, therefore, attention will be concentrated more and more upon the peoples of the lower Amur region and, among them, on the Gilyak in particular.

2: Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABC

SS /318 cont./
161
175
114
Gi
Gi
161
361

Gilyak	in 39 villages (26 on the right bank and 13 on the left)	1400 souls
Manguntsen (Olcha)	in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left)	1300 souls (3)
Goldi	in 114 villages (77 on the right bank and 37 on the left)	3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes		2000 souls

SS
[113]

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi
161

In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

000
SS
Gi
[113]

4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on The basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

A
[113]

5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

A
[113]
[114]

6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A /318 cont./
161
114
113

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS
161
114
162
Gi
[101]

These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

SS
161
114
36

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

G
[563]
Gi
[103]
[361]

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

175 342 354 352 129 171

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

7/1 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

Gi 291 294 177 415

/406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439]

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag
in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchã River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

/452 cont./

A
172
173
323
192
114

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

G
Gi
325
174
Gi
[177]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A
G
325
17

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

A
[439]

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A
114
325
17

A /569 cont./
114 cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in
325 general their method of forging is "approximately the same as
17 in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was
A seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categoriza-
325 tion and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond
17 doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

G /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils
325 and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part
17 of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of
ODD political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

A 325 114 174 648 /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinso's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

G 174 167 648

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G 174 648 325 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi 325 177 Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K
823
A
439
823
186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A
439
435

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

G
A
K
439
17
325

A
[131]
[114]
[113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G
A
K
174
325

G /576 cont./
224
171

In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A
G
224

It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
225
114
[192]

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

000

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy
224 and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of
114 the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up
[192] snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the
musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance
G with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am
A inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a simi-
224 lar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among
A them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein-
[411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, ex-
cept that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was
A mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear
411 pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to
439 them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging
325 skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant
178 lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded
as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and en-
A couraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however,
224 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure,
181 not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood
433 chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give
648 them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy
and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them,
too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more
abundant and better existence through a more active practice
of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account
in trade with the Gilyak.

G The situation is different for the other neighbors of the
224 Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for
433 hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious
and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers
between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have
remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads
G in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely
[439] necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy them-
selves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting
along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from
sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

/622 cont./

000
G
175
648
622
292

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

A
175
648
622

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

A
175
114
648

G /734 cont./
*796 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the
184 Tymy Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a
175 glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/.
796 Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed
A 796 accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube
•114 with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)
A [113]

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113]

2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

A [113]

3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," [176] in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the [114] Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion [181] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she 304
was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I 888
was seeking information about tattooing. So I said [115] ●
to her.

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *cuchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order [757] to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom.

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers 304
to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them [177]
up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIV.

A CALL TO THE MOUNTAINS.

To hear strangers to this part of the globe talk, one would imagine that many of them suppose this mysterious race to be so hirsute as to be clothed from head to foot in hair like the brute beasts of the forest, and so unintellectual as to stand no higher than the chimpanzee in reason. But when they come into direct contact with the Ainu they soon find it necessary to revise their ideas in both these respects. For they are found to be no more hairy, no more monstrous and savage than the ordinary dwellers of the north in Russia, and quite as rational as other mortals. It is want of opportunity to progress and lack of a general education that has kept them behind others. The capacity is there and so is the desire. But like their numbers so their influence may be regarded as a negligible quantity, and they have to take quite a back seat among their more fortunate and pushing compatriots. 115

"Parapita" means in the Ainu tongue "eloquent," and truly "eloquent" this man certainly was, especially when in a temper. His native place was Usu in Volcano Bay, one of the most beautiful localities in Hokkaidō and destined to be a very important watering-place in the near future. For more than thirty years this man and his wife acted as our servants, and a very good cook the lady made. Being so long with us, we got to know them quite well. The man was very conservative and felt keenly the position the Ainu were being made to take, though he was very quiet over it. To me he would speak nothing but Ainu, and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 this just suited me, as I was so anxious to learn his tongue. I am bound to say that his mode of thought and some of his peculiar actions sometimes astonished me.

This couple brought up a family of five children in our house at Sapporo, and we saw two of them grow up, languish, and then die. Modern civilization which involves being shut up in a closed house, such as ours is, does not seem to me to agree well with the constitutions of these children of nature. The freedom of the hills, with the exercise and open air life this gives, to which their forefathers were used, suits them far better. Being shut up too much in a close atmosphere makes them weak and prone to consumption. I have known several fine lads, who had been trained as school teachers, gradually fade away and at last die of this dire disease. They could not stand the close application and warm rooms in the schools.

Parapita was a thoroughly honest man. He came to me one day with some money in his hand. "What is this?" I asked. "Ah," he replied, "this is the commission the shop-keepers have given me for buying things for you from them! I think it belongs to you, Sir!" "Thank you," I said. "It was a present to you personally, and although I suppose it came out of my pocket, please keep it." But it was some time before I could prevail on him to retain it. He said he thought it was not honest money! Parapita's education had been somewhat neglected!

"What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh" is an aphorism as applicable today as ever it was. It bespeaks heredity in both body and mind. When we engaged this worthy couple we told them how nice it would be for them to have a good comfortable room and be sure of a fixed, regular wage. And to our satisfaction they decided to come to us. But none of us quite knew what we were let in for, as the sequel will show. After some nine months with us, we got up

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

one morning and found our man had completely disappeared and no one could tell us when, where or why he went. He was gone, and there was nothing more to be said. After three days he came back to us looking remarkably tired and washed out. Though I had never known him to touch alcohol in any form, I thought he must have gone off on a spree and had a drunken bout. But he declared it was not so. He told me that he had suddenly experienced "*the call to the mountains*." I had never heard about such "calls" before, so this explanation made me open eyes and ears. He told me that when such calls came, there was nothing for it but to obey immediately. He said that there was an irresistible force which drew and pushed him into the hills. So go he must. "What do you do there?" I asked. He said that it was very difficult to explain, but the name he told me was *Chiassuruani*. Philologically this means "being made to know the news." He said that it consisted in conversing with and seeking the aid of the superior spirits, running wild, jumping, howling and rolling. And he certainly looked as though he had been doing all this. Our conversation ended in my giving the old fellow permission to go whenever that irresistible impulse came upon him, for I was sure he would go just the same with or without leave. He left me in a happy frame of mind and did his work well after it. He used to go at intervals till almost the last, though his visits grew gradually further and further apart. He died some five years ago. This spirit has not by any means yet disappeared, for even the most educated of the men are seized by it in degree at times. One of them, the very best educated man I know among them, has to be let off twice a year for a week on end, but he tells me that he goes quite away by himself and does nothing but fish with a hook and line, and pray all the time.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVII

MY FRIENDS TEE AND ARIMAKNA

Among my very early friends was Tee. This Ainu was a very silent man and of a meek disposition, and, except when hunting bears, was quite gentle in all his ways. I often think of him as one of nature's gentlemen. Both he and his wife were most courteous and kind, and I enjoyed staying with them. They lived in the very last house of the village farthest up the Saru River. There were no Japanese among the Ainu up there at that time, so their customs and language were pure Ainu. Whenever I think of the quiet, free, unanxious life they lived up there and compare that time with the present I cannot help sighing. But those halcyon days departed when the tax collector and modern civilization came in. I quite enjoyed seeing their life of quiet security and simplicity, alas, now gone for ever. It was only a very short time ago that I was asked by an old man whether I thought the old free-from-care times would ever return. He said he was very tired of the present state of things and thought there was something wrong somewhere! And surely he was right. 115

One day I told Chief Penri that I wished to go up the track by the river and visit the other villages, but he greatly surprised me by saying that he could not take me up. "In that case, I suppose I must go alone, then," I said. But he begged me not to go. "Why don't you wish me to go up?" I asked. After a good deal of talk, he told me that he had received instructions from an official that he was to take me no higher up the river along the track. "The Japanese were re- 117

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
● 115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

become a full-grown man and has no doubt, gone off 539
to seek a wife. We are fully satisfied that it should be so, so let us return to our own native land." Such was the speech I heard from the top of that beautiful big ash tree. But when they saw us, they congratulated me on having found a wife, told me who I was, and how all my family had been massacred, and declared that we were to become the first parents of a new clan.

"The eagle—my fosterparent—said to me, 'The name of thy native land is "Sea-end." It is a very rich country and you had formerly many prosperous ancestors there. However, certain evil demons came and ravaged it. And you alone remained alive. But the gods took counsel together, for they were pleased with the old inhabitants, because they made many fetishes which they offered to them and which were graciously accepted. And so it was that in olden times your ancestors flourished.

"'Then the gods took further council together as to finding a god who should nourish you, and the choice fell upon me and my wife. My name is *Kepa-Chiri*, i.e., eagle. If, therefore, you desire to prosper in your country you must make a fetish and worship before it, saying: "O bird, who didst nourish me! O chief of the Eagles!" If you say this, and also make fetishes for the God who is master of the earth, then the divine Ones will look upon you from above with favour and will bless you and your country at all times. You will never be in want.' So here we live and our people increase. All the eagles told us has come true, and we are happy. It is marvellous! This is the origin of making fetishes at 'Sea-end' and setting them up." Thus does the legend end.

In looking over some fetishes one day, I happened 115
upon a pair of fine bird claws and was told by the owner that they were taken from a "White-tailed Eagle." In talking the matter over with him, he informed me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now
539 measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who
825 at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is
825 of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226

mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, baggage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpected and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 114 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The [115]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manu-
[122] script. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro
292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret
114 girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because
789 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934
[611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese*
[582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru
● 115 River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

7tMunro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
304
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

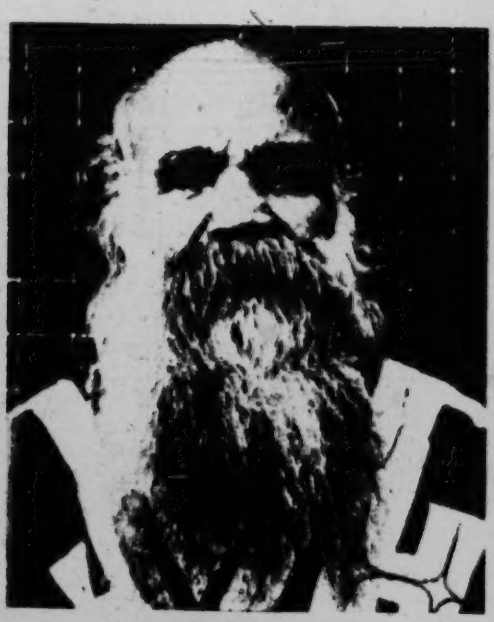
PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
115

1.



2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour. 764 602

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W. [595]

[1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their

A dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[115] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-
[224] sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

/327 cont'd/

173 occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [177] these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the
free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke.

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

124 importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of
128 the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

128 In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed
121 in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there
115 is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

114 My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of niem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

621
423
311
[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of
796 the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi* ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event
[562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle-
[782] ment." INUKAI, 1954, p. 81. "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as the first catch of the season'". Ibid., p. 83. Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp.
[562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the
226 text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst
796 in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as
[115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or
796 *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise
[821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

Glossary

Akinaiba -- trading zone

Ashinpe -- A minor fine.

It is imposed in practically all offenses. Not a mere fine but a gift used to be pardon of God.

Basho -- estate

Bashomochi -- estate holders

Chigyosho -- tenure

Kaihō -- A term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties.

trading

A short form for Kaihō Sukui Kōeki, "trade for opening up and assisting."

Mekkakiri -- A ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief.

Nawa-Tojibune -- roped ships

Omusha -- A ceremony of greeting after a long absence. Later became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season.

Otona -- the chief of a village

Shamo -- mainlander

Tsugunai -- compensation, atonement, arbitration charge

Unjōkin -- A certain fee for the right to certain trade monopolies.

Utare -- kinsfolk

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
133

MAP 1

[Frontispiece, facing P. 1]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

000

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

NEW SERIES—VOLUME 50, PART 4
1960

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON
Department of History, University of Florida

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA 6

APRIL, 1960

[P. 1.] [Title Page]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

Copyright © 1960 by The American Philosophical Society

[P. 2]

Library of Congress Catalog
Card No.: 60-9589

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

Translator's preface 3
Author's preface 6
Part One: The early period of clan government 10
Introduction 10
I. Ainu society 12
1. Economic life 13
2. Social organization 16
3. Social regulation 19
4. Summary 22
II. The war of 1669 23
1. The development of Japanese-Ezo relations 23
2. Cause of the war of 1669 27
III. The revolt of 1789 30
1. Growth of the *Basho* contract system and the change in Ezo economic relations 30
2. The growth of Japanese controls in Hokkaidō 34
3. The abuses of the *Basho* contracting system and the "incident" of 1789 38
4. The disposition of the revolt of 1789 44
5. Summary 46

Part Two: The early period of direct control by the Japanese Government 48
I. The reasons for the assumption of direct control 48

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

114

Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

101

Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[text continues bottom of P. 3(B)--analyst]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

I. The development of Russian colonization 48
2. The development of Japanese national interests in the Ezo area 49

II. The growth of a government policy in Ezo 51
1. The importance of a native policy 51
2. The attitudes of the government toward Ezo 55
3. Government organization in Ezo 56
4. Appendix 57

III. The colonial policy of the Japanese Government 58
1. Improvements in the trade 59
2. Encouragement of industry 62
3. The management of the Kuriles 63
4. The management of Karafuto 64

IV. The native policy of the Japanese Government 67
1. Ceremonial arrangements and protocol 67
2. Relief measures and policy 69
3. Medical treatment 70
4. Guidance 71
5. Education 72
6. Law 76
7. The alteration of customs 77
8. Summary 80

Bibliography 82

101

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

101
133

175

In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[Text continues bottom of P.4(B)--Analysis]

[P.3(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
131

MAP 2

[P. 4 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

agricultural settlements reached farther and farther north until by the end of the ninth century the Tsugaru Straits had been reached although not until the end of the twelfth century was the entire area of north Honshu pacified, while the great remaining frontier area of Hokkaidō was not brought under complete control until the nineteenth century. Yet while it took the Japanese centuries to consolidate their grip on the islands, and while this slow northward struggle had the most momentous consequences for the history of Japan, this frontier, with all it implied, often escaped the 175

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

records or even was ignored by the historians. This 175
is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns
were fought in the ninth century when history was only
an official annals dominated by an inward looking court,
and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to
great events which took place so far away from what
was regarded as the only possible fount of history—
the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even 114
in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese 175
have been indefatigible historians—few men have ap-
proached the subject. It is as though in American

114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed
175 and never studied in detail and as though there had never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, a carefully wrought major history of the final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the island of Hokkaidō but one which surveys the history and society of the last resistors to the pressure of
114 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore much more than "the history of native policy within colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a painstaking reliable analysis of a part of the history of Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime aquiring the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts, topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world literature on the subject. To his work Professor Takakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that, during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but] as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an accurate understanding of its historical development." He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and completed it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in revision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my research until I concluded that only by living in Japan and having access to the materials could really sound research on this particular phase of Japanese history be done. This was out of the question and I realized that a good translation of Takakura would be of more value than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much time to it as I could from teaching and from administrative tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length of time taken was due in large measure to my concern that a complex subject should be made as clear as translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long as the text by incorporating it within the text, and finding accurate equivalents for many archaic and local Japanese words and for many native terms, some of which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6

Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology. 114

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is at hand, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan. [175]

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion. 000 [122]

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance 114

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho, Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[Text continues top of P. 6(B)--Analysis]

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[Text continues bottom of P. 6(B)--Analysis]

[P. 6(A)]

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan. 101

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 804

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver): 804 436

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a 121

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value. [804] [436]

[P. 6(B)]

A 121 Colonial policy. The purpose of this research is to present some data concerning the study of native policy within the frame of colonial policy.[1]

J 175 648 From one standpoint, the history of Japan is that of the continuous expansion by colonization of the Yamato race. Japan's colonial activities had been especially vigorous in recent years. Formosa and the Pescadores Islands were taken in 1896; southern Saghalien was added in 1906 and Korea was absorbed in 1910. Now, comparing Japan's situation prior to the acquisition of Formosa with its situation after the inclusion of Korea, we find an increase in land area of approximately 300,000 sq.km., or 76.6 per cent and a population increase of some 17,200,000 Koreans, 3,700,000 Formosan Chinese and Formosan tribes and 1,520 Saghalien natives. Japan's policy towards these people has not only a significant bearing on their lives but will determine whether or not our colonial management is successful. The sudden development of our nation in recent years has made it inevitable then that there be frequent contiguity with natives and the success of our native policies affects the success of our continental venture and therefore the existence of the Japanese nation. Now, as systematic study is needed to rationalize a colonial policy, so is scientific study needed in order to form an ideal native policy. However, since the systematic study of colonization is a recent development and still in the process of establishing itself as an independent discipline, the study of native policy, which is a division of colonial policy, is only occasionally referred to and then merely in individual cases and, as yet, no consistent principles have been established by the processes of gathering materials and conducting comparative studies.[2] The natural procedure ought to be

J 121

J [114] [648] [1] Colonial studies cannot be said to have achieved sufficient progress even in Germany where they are most advanced. In 1909 C. Ballod in his essay, Die wissenschaftlichen Ansichten über Kolonialpolitik, in Schmoller, *Die Entwicklung der Deutschenvolkwirtschatslehre in neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1909, stated that colonial study is a product of the nineteenth century. Later G. Zoepfel, who contributed to the establishment of colonial study as a discipline in his *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (section on "Kolonien and Kolonialpolitik"), says that today there does not exist any scientific explanation of colonial policy which pays equal attention to all colonies and he notes these studies. In the fourth edition of Zoepfel edited by P. Leutwein it cannot be said that the earlier weaknesses of the book are supplemented.

[2] A scientific basis for native policy was established by the English scholars Sir G. C. Lewis, H. Merivale, and E. G. Wakefield. But in Germany where the study of colonization first emerged the consideration of administrative policy, economic policy, and native policy were confined to A. Zimmerman's book, *Kolonialpolitik* (Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1905). In Japan native policy has been discussed as a part of native administrative policy and colonial labor policy. Professor Yanaihara's study of political interference in native social life as a native policy to the exclusion of other factors was an appropriate but unique piece of work. See his *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku* (Colonization and Colonial policy), 363 ff. My own so-called "native policy" involved broad fields including those of political, economic and social interference and although it

J [121]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu.
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3

one of analyzing the individual cases and then proceeding to comparative studies and synthesis, always avoiding undue haste in both comparison and synthesis. Such care in procedure is particularly needed in native policy studies for they are not only affected and complicated by the nature of the colony and of the individual settlers, but depend, to a great degree, upon the state of aboriginal civilization which is difficult to observe and this consequently renders more difficult any comparison and synthesis based on such observations. In recent years those Japanese who studied colonization have followed the example of other countries and adopted European and American methods of study. It is true that the acquisition of Formosa in 1896 is the beginning of the modern period of Japanese colonization. But colonization or colonial activity has been a phenomenon in Japanese history since the founding of our country and we Japanese have had abundant experience, in native policy, without turning elsewhere for cases and methods.

J 121
J 114

In the embryonic stage of our history there were the Kumaso and Hayato in the southwest and the powerful Ezo in the northeast who were a source of anxiety to the government of Japan. The Ezo in the Ōu [North Honshu] region who had great power and interfered often with the expansion of Japan ceased their rebellions in A.D. 878 and were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century,[3] while the Ezo of Hokkaidō, who were one of the branches of the Ōu Ezo, ended their rebellions in 1789 and their descendants, who are the Ainu, are still in the process of assimilation.[4] The arrangement and critique of these valuable

E 175 648
J [121]

may not be classified as a separate field of study, I hope my position may be allowable if only from the standpoint of presenting materials on each of these aspects and then observing the mutual interrelationships of each one. Furthermore, colonial policy, though not designed to advance the happiness of natives by sacrificing that of the mother country, bears a moral responsibility in the future in that it ought to plan for the progress of the natives without, of course, damaging the welfare of the mother country. Therefore, it is important in discussing native policy to discuss every part of it relevant to native life. I believe my stand in this is acceptable.

[3] Kida Teikichi, Honshu ni okeru Ezo no matsuro (The last days of the Ezo in Honshu), *Tohoku Bunka Kenkyū* 1 (4).

[4] *Kumaso* and *Hayato* are legendary names applied to the earliest inhabitants of southern Kyushu. Contemporary assumptions hold that they were migrants from Indonesia who very early established themselves in this area although there is no evidence as to their origin or their path of migration. They seem to have been assimilated quite early in the history of the Japanese state and there is considerable doubt as to whether or not *Kumaso* and *Hayato* refer to an identical people. Without attempting to resolve this point I would like to point out that *Hayato* is an abbreviation for *Hayabito* or "Haya people" and that *Hayato* was used as early as the first century as a catch-all phrase for a number of groups including the *Hayato* themselves. The earlier name *Kumaso* seems to stem from *Kumabito* or "Kuma people" and *Sobito* or "So people." The *Kumabito* meaning "inhabitant of a rural district" lived in the province of Higo in Kyushu and the character *Hi* came to be read as *Kuma*. In contrast the inhabitants of mountainous regions of Kyushu were the *Sobito* or "dwellers in the hill

E 101 114

[P. 7(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3

J 121 The arrangement and critique of these valuable experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

E 101 114

shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau work *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

J A 101 114

The term *Eso* is somewhat easier for identification. *Eso*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emush*" and "*Yumasu*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi no Emishi* or "fighting Koshi" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchū, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidō, or all of Japan north of the Tōkyō area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shō*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu;* yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai* a designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Ezo* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*na*" was added to *Kai* and these *Ezo* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aina, Ainu, Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai—Kaina—Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidō and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidō are indeed related to the Ezo of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyū* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

A
J
121
E
F
175
648
636
E
F
121
636
J
A
[101]
[119]

---

realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso*, *Hayato*, *Ezo*, and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
E
121
636

one of assimilation, and in tracing our native policy in Hokkaidō we are able to use concrete examples of various measures taken at these different colonial stages and to study their suitability. For convenience in procedure, it is possible to divide the colonial activities in Hokkaidō, following Leroy-Beaulieu, into: commercial colonial period, exploited colonial period, and resident colonial period or, as classified by Supan,[6] native colonial period, mixed colonial period, and settled colonial period or again, according to the actual policies followed, the non-assimilating period, the assimilating period, and the period of social welfare policy. However, as I intend to concentrate on the description of actual facts rather than abstract explanations, I prefer to divide the colonial era into five political periods:

E
E
121

1. The early Matsumae clan period.
2. The early Bakufu direct control period.
3. The later Matsumae clan period.
4. The later Bakufu direct control period.
5. The Kaitakushi and San Ken Dōchō period.

By analyzing the facts of each period and by observing the forms, reasons, and characteristics of policy in each period, and by then comparing all this with other examples I shall attempt by induction to uncover basic tendencies. My reason for using a division by political periods is that politics affects policy, at least in form, and native policies are no exception. The scope of each of these periods is the same as that in the *Shinsen Hokkaidō Shi* [*SHS*] [Revised History of Hokkaidō] although they are not necessarily coterminous.

E
175

The early Matsumae period: A period of seventy-five years, beginning in 1514 when Kakizaki Mitsuhiro moved into the present Fukuyama area after having united the fortified settlements scattered in southern Hokkaidō. This was after he had become the leader of the mainlanders in Hokkaidō and had been entrusted with full power in Ezo by the Ando family.

[6] A. Supan, *Die Territoriale Entwickhung der europäischen Kolonien*, 307 Gotha, Perthes, 1906.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu
Feudal Japan AB2
Japan AB1

with full power in Ezo by the Andō family.[b] It runs to December of 1798 when East Ezo [Hokkaidō] came under the direct control of the Bakufu.

600
F
175

The early Bakufu direct control period: A period of twenty-three years from 1799 when the Bakufu [shogunate-military administration of Japan] assumed direct control of East Ezo till December of 1821 when the Bakufu abandoned its direct control and the Matsumae clan resumed direction of Ezo affairs.

The later Matsumae clan period: A period of thirty-three years from December of 1821 when Hokkaidō came again under the rule of the Matsumae till June of 1854 when the Bakufu established a commissioner at Hakodate.

The later Bakufu direct control period: A period of fifteen years from 1854 till April of 1868 when the Meiji Government established a court at Hakodate and gave it the management of Hokkaidō.[c]

J
175

Kaitakushi, Sanken Dōchō period:[d] From the time the Meiji government assumed control of Hokkaidō till 1899 when in April of that year the "Hokkaidō Aboriginal Protection Act" was enacted.

Although, after this last period, many problems still remain, germane to a discussion of native policy and colonial policy, this study will be limited to the era prior to the time Hokkaidō began to lose its colonial characteristics. Any study comprising the time following 1899 should be limited to a critique of the "Hokkaidō Aboriginal Protection Act."

---

[b] See J. A. Harrison, *Japan's northern frontier*, 4–5, Gainesville, Univ. of Florida, 1953.

[c] On 15 August 1869 the ancient name Ezo was abandoned by the Restoration government and that island was named Hokkaidō (The Northern Sea Circuit).

J
[101]

[d] In 1869 control of Hokkaidō was given to the *Kaitakushi* or Colonial Bureau, a separate division of government especially established to settle and develop Hokkaidō. In 1881 the *Kaitakushi* was dissolved and Hokkaidō was divided into the three departments of Hakodate, Nemuro, and Sapporo, and was governed from Tōkyō. In 1886 this division was ended and Hokkaidō was made an administrative entity of ten provinces with the capital at Sapporo.

[P. 9 (B)]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan NB3

PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF Clan Government

E

INTRODUCTION

175 The *SHS*[2] delimits this period[1] from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enfoefment from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

E A 648 175 On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654–661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.[2]

E [10]

[1] *SHS* 2: 2–3 [Revised History of Hokkaidō - ANALYST]

[2] *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

PART ONE
The Early Period of
CLAN GOVERNMENT

EA 175 C48

This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakkatsu.[2] There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo[3] and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.[4] We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.[5] On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

E [10]

from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

[3] During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remunerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Inarimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

[4] *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin.

Ruijū Sandai Kaku [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kamma. *Nihon Iziki* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

[5] *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

[P. 10 (B)]

AE 175 648

the government [a] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

A [172]

[a] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2–3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

E A [226]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

AE 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

EA 628 175 648

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57–58.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E 175 [171]

The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidô.

F E A 121

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

A 114

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidô lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidô as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

A 199
A [192]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar- 119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropokuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

[P.13(B)]

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, [291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes*.

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P.14(A)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
[323] the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
291 fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
[492] hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be 226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota* [685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> 224 There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
204 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
229 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

[P. 16 (A)]

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[298] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi*
361 [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 622 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the 192 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

622 192 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shibankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and *Kozukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kozukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*." "*Bankinneshippa*" comes from "*Dankenne Nishipa*" meaning "the leader" and "*Shibankinne*" is from "*Shi-pankenne*" which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:[39]

Ainuto*pake* or to*pake*
Ikiri*pake* (guru)
Utara-*pa* or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)
*Sapa*neguru or *Esapa*neguru (the person who is to become the head)
Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa, pake, sapa,* etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Atpa* (guide); *Punginegurn* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Porochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative, [769] worshipped the common ancestral god.[40] In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.[41] The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.[42] Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word "*Hashio*" probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fūdoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabanekuru* or *Kotankoroponnishiba* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

[39] John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

[40] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōwa; Nihon hen* 1: 384.

[41] Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirosada, *Higashi Ezo Yawa* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

[42] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fūzoku Taikei* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

---

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.

[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

[45] *SHS* 2: 303.

[46] *Hokkaidō Kyōdojin*, 5.

592 man and wife and their unmarried children. The
[591] married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other
[928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not dif-
[586] ficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. How-
[622] ever, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was
[562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to a male guest.[50]
[837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu
[621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the
[567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polyga-
595 mous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokusu.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki:*

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[558] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare,* existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare,* the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare.* When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][82]

[82] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of "*Usshiu*" usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the posses- [556] sion of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yûkara Kenkyû* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyô under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sôya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yûkara Kenkyû* 2: 231, fn.

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [780] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itô Yûichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P. 20(A)]

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily 696 carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*

[60] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 237.

[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.

[62] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 241.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair [681] or the nose. There were other penalties for minor offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

[439] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

[P. 21 (B)]

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidô, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a v lage group increased in excess of the number that uld be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
[627] servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

Early Japan AB3 For example,

A 105 64 [175] Look at the region along The Ishikari River before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

A E *175 *648 [563] The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai* * and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

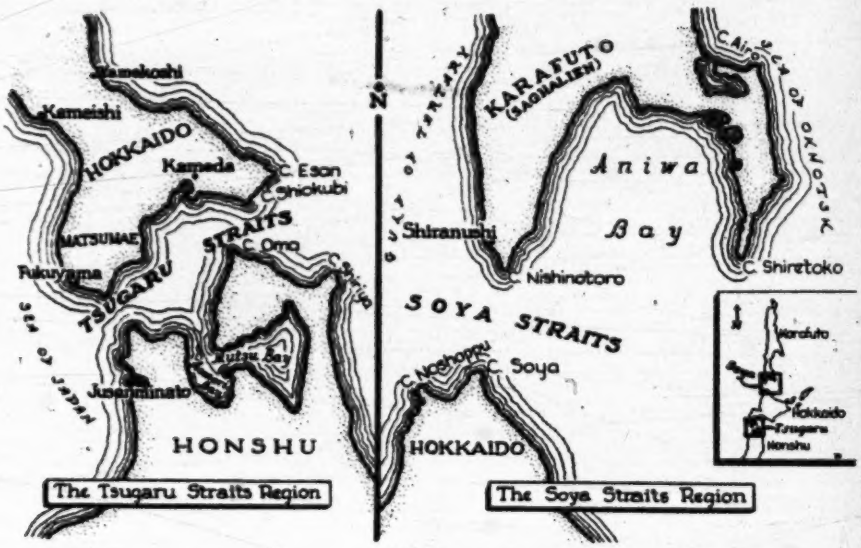
A E *175 *648 614

JOO Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

* *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
131



MAP 3

[p.24 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

[p.24 (B)]

EA
*175 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade
*648 relations of benefit to both parties. Therefore, the
439 relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu started as a trade relationship which was, in effect, an extension of the Ōu relationships. Some students of economics maintain that there exists among barbarian peoples one stage in which there is no trade with other peoples. Yet, as far as we know, the Ezo have always traded with
A [501] neighboring peoples using for that purpose canoes propelled by mat sails and paddles. Trade across Tsugaru strait between Japan and Hokkaidō started quite early. The *SDE* vol. 3 written in 1356, says that the Ezo living near Matsumae "Went out to trade at
E [504] the ports of Tsugaru in the Ōu region." Tosa in Tsugaru (an auxiliary naval port located at the mouth of Tosa Bay in Tsugaru) was the center of trade between the mainland and Hokkaidō. It was the largest seaport in Ōu with ships from both Ezo and the capital of Japan going in and out the harbor. The importance of this port in the Ezo trade is testified to not only by the *Tosa Ōrai*[1] [Tosa Courier] but by the legend "On Zōshi Shima Watari" in the *Otogi Zōshi*[b] of the Ashikaga period which holds that the Ushiwaka Maru set

[1] Fukushi Sadazō, Tsugaru Tosa Meisho Ki (A record of notable places in Tosa, Tsugaru), *Tōhōku Bunka Kenkyū* 1: 51–52.

[b] *Otogi Zōshi* is a collection of popular folk and fairy stories which circulated in the period 1300–1600. *On Zōshi Shima Watari* is a legend of the escape of Minamoto Yoshitsune to Hokkaidō.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

[P.24(c)]

E
A
*175
*648
439

sail from Tosa for Ezo.[2] There are many records after this date containing notices of Ezo vessels putting into Akita and Tsugaru to trade. In a letter dated February 20 of the year 1565 written by the Jesuit Missionary Father Luis Frois to a Father in India [3] there is mention of the Ezo coming to trade at Akita and the Spaniard Sebastiano Vizcaino [4] who explored the Northern seas in 1611 reported that during the months of July and August the Ezo came to Japan to trade. As the Japanese encroached on the Ainu, the center of trade between the two people crossed Tsugaru straits and came to rest in the Watarishima area. After the Ezo incidents of the period 1455–1457 had been settled, the number of merchant vessels putting into Ezo steadily increased. They were after fish, fur, and game and as trade increased so did the number of market centers. Esashi, Matsumae, and Hakodate were the most active trade centers with the trade itself penetrating deep into Ezo.[5] On the east coast a trade post was established

E
[49]

[2] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 336.

[3] Murakami Naojirō trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Correspondence of Christians in Japan) in *Ikoku Soshō* 1: 192. Frois wrote this letter after learning of the visit of the ancestor of the Matsumae (Kakizaki) to the Andō clan at Hiyama in Akita.

[4] Murakami Naojirō trans., Bisukaino Kinginto tanken Hōkoku (The report of the expedition of Vizcaino to the Gold and Silver Islands) in *Ikoku Soshō*, 113.

[5] "At that time (when the Matsumae moved to Fukuyama) there were no officials on duty nor were there visits from foreign vessels.

Early Japan AB 3
Feudal Japan AB 2

E
A

*175 at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the
*648 same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at
439 Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

A
F
[668]
A
E
628
439
*175
*648

Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

---

E
[439]
[485]

vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Ezo Koku Shiki.*

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A
E
*175
*648
439
628

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

A
E
*175
*648
656
439

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

A
E
*175
*648
439

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

A
E
*175
*648
439

These items constituted the revenue of the clan chief and while not inclusive of the tax receipts from gold mines gave a fair idea of sources. After 1672 the proceeds from hawk sales and the gold-mine taxes fell off so that the continually prospering Ezo trade became the main source of Matsumae income. After the clan became independent the stipends of their followers, the number of whom was increasing, were, as in other clans, in the form of rice allotments but unlike other clans the Matsumae gave rice stipends only to the lower retainers. The higher retainers were called *Bashomochi* [estate holders] for they received as stipend a part of the clan land or else they acquired a *Chigyōsho* [tenure] in one of the many *Basho* [estates] into which the Ezo territories were divided. Since these estates were located in unfriendly areas and yielded no income from products of the soil the right of the *Bashomochi* in his tenures was merely the privilege of trade monopoly in the area. This was then a distribution [*in rem*] to retainers of the right of monopoly held by the Matsumae which right and distribution was recognized by the Bakufu.

A
E
*175
*648
439

This stipendary estate system, generally called *Basho* or *Akinaiba* [trading zone], was established during the period 1596–1614.[10] The boundaries grew gradually. Some were the size of our present gun or even kuni. Exploitation of the *Basho* was not limited to trade alone. There were gold mining, hawk roosts, abundant salmon, trout, and timber. However, these were directly controlled by the clan lord and without his explicit permission could not be exploited. So the living expense of those who had the right of *Bashomochi* was obtained directly from the trade which, in the beginning, was managed directly, in each *Basho*, by the clan or by the estate owner.

Every spring merchant ships from various countries came to Matsumae and the clan or the estate owner would take trade goods from these ships, put them on smaller boats, and proceed to their respective estates. These small boats called *Nawa-Tojibune* [roped ships] had a capacity of about 300 koku. They were canoes with thick boards fastened to their sides with birch fibre, there were no nails, and they were able to take shelter in the numerous small inlets of the coast. These canoes indicate a small scale trade. The trading post of each *Basho* was set up at the spot where it was convenient both for the Ainu to gather and for a small boat to beach. At these posts the Ainu traded the goods which they had accumulated during the year either by their own efforts or through trade with other tribes. Prior to the establishment of permanent trading posts business was carried on aboard the canoes or in temporary huts or even in Ainu huts. Either the owner of the *Chigyōsho* or his representative was on the trading boat and in the sense that the *Chigyōsho* owner was looking after the Ezo in his area the trip

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A E *175 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426]

A E [43] [276]

E [171]

---

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A
E
*698
*115
439

2 CAUSE OF THE WAR OF 1669

The chief characteristics of a commercial colony are its impermanence and the lack of political disputes between the governors and the governed. This is particularly true when the colony is not a market for the surplus goods of the homeland but is established in order to exploit the products of the colonial area. The Matsumae, in their early period, did not, as has been mentioned, rely on military power but achieved their purpose with the natives by peaceful means—by the development of trade and transportation which was financially vital to the clan. It was therefore not necessary for the weak Matsumae clan to attempt to control the powerful Ezo but merely to maintain a peaceful economic relationship. To achieve this aim it was more needful to impose regulations on the Japanese than on the Ainu and the Matsumae consistently avoided quarrels with the natives by establishing a boundary between the two peoples and by prohibiting Japanese from entering Ainu territory. A decree of Hideyoshi says, in part: "Crews and merchants coming to Matsumae from other countries shall treat the Ezo as their own people and refrain from doing them injustice," while in a decree from the Bakufu to the Matsumae the clan is thus enjoined: "Injustice to the Ezo shall be strictly forbidden." The attitude of the Matsumae themselves can be seen in the injunction observed by that clan since the days of Yoshihiro: "To govern without the use of force." With the exception of those natives who lived in Matsumae territory or who, living very close to it, intermingled with Japanese, no regulations were imposed on the Ainu, they being treated as equals although foreigners. They kept their own customs, used their own language, lived in their own society under chiefs elected by them, observed their own rules, and were independent of the Matsumae power. The Matsumae sent no officials into Ezoland and although the *Chigyōnushi* [*Chigyō* proprietor] or his representative crossed into aboriginal territory they remained in that territory only long enough to conduct trade and returned on the completion of their business. There was then no political relationship between the Japanese and the natives. This situation is well described in the words of Hafukase, a powerful chief of Ishikari to a delegate of the Matsumae during the Ezo war of 1669: "Lord Matsumae and I, the chief of the Ishikari, have nothing to do with each other. I will not interfere with the affairs of the Matsumae, so let the Lord Matsumae not interfere with affairs of ours." [12] The only action the Matsumae took when disputes arose among the powerful chiefs was to send a delegate to mediate. But the continued development of trade induced a political relationship and as their economic strength grew so did the influence of the Matsumae over the natives. In regions such as Ishikari, where food was abundant and trade with the Japanese not extensive, the power of Japanese mer-

E
[656]
E
[184]

[12] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10 and *Sapporo Kushi*, 182.

[P.27(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB 3

A
E
*648
*175
439
[184]
[291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A
E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

A E
*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

A E
[436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

A E
3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the
*648 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who
*175 had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
226 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the
439 productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow
661 for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo
[423] had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

A E *648 *175 226 439

Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

A E E *648 *175 439 [136]

Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

F [316]

A F *175 *648 628

Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

---

[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Izo* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

[P.29(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A F

*175 2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his
*648 plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering
669 this country will be taken care of.

728 3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

A F

[436] 6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

A F

*648 Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the
*175 chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east
[651] coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

A F *175 *648 439 441

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

F A [426] *175 *648 439

---

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[426]

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

[434]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
F17
*175
*698
439

of trade, and the formerly dominant *Chigyōnushi* became a class reliant on the collection of these tolls and taxes for their income. Those *Chigyōnushi* who were not in debt also found the *Basho* system advantageous for they now received steady remuneration from capable and wealthy merchants and were themselves relieved of depending on the risk of trade. It is not clear when this change took place except that it was during the time of Matsumae Norihiro as seen in the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* [Record of Ezo under the Matsumae]: "Recently fishing in Ezo has been very poor and even though smaller numbers of vessels are sent they show no profit. Therefore, arrangements have been made to have one ship represent several interests. There are some who have permitted merchants to take over their *Basho* and they collect taxes from these merchant vessels." By the time of Suehiro not only the *Chigyōsho* of the clan members but also those directly under the head of the clan had been taken over by contractors who now operated the entire Ezo trade.[3] There is a theory that this process corresponded to what happened in Japan where the downfall of feudalism was accelerated by the invasion of commercial capital and that therefore it is a necessary concomitant of the collapse of feudalism.[4] However, as long as feudalism is defined as "a social system based on the interrelationships of land ownership during a stage of early agricultural techniques,"[5] it is not possible for the condition of the Matsumae clan, whose lands had not even entered the agricultural stage, to be compared with the stable conditions which existed in Japan. Furthermore, the feudal power of the Matsumae was, economically speaking, limited to such a small area that it was impossible for their samurai to enjoy the benefits of an exploiting class. The criticism that arose later, that the Matsumae followers did not act as warriors should, was not because they became merchants as happened in other clans, but because they had never really been samurai to start with. So the growth of the contract system did not entail the fall of the samurai of the Matsumae. Economically speaking, the samurai became a separate and a totally parasitic class. During the latter part of the Tokugawa period when all the economic activity of Japan fell into the hands of the merchant class the Matsumae clan underwent the same process but it was not the growth of the *Basho* system that eliminated the Matsumae samurai as a class. It should be understood that the Ezo trade was not carried on by merchants

F
[171]

[3] Sugano Kazutaro, Shonin no gyogyōka kau (The transformation of merchants into fishing industrialists), *Hikone Kōshō Chōsa Kenkyu* (Hikone commercial higher school studies), No. 8.

[4] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi Basho Ukeoi Seido Kō (Some consideration on the Matsumae Ezo *Basho* contract system), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in economic history), No. 28.

[5] "Kaizosha" in *Shakaika Daijiten* (Dictionary of social science), 1068.

[P. 30(B)]

A
*115
*648
439

only after the *Basho* system developed, for indeed merchants had been operating in Ezo from an early date. Note that in the war of 1669 the number of samurai attacked by the natives was very small and that, while the *Chigyōnushi* were the entrepreneurs of the Ezo trade, the actual operations were carried on by merchants, either through consignment or as employees, and these merchants gradually became the entrepreneurs. These contractors obligated to pay a certain fee called *Unjōkin* had the right to certain trade monopolies within the *Chigyōsho* and their name of *Basho* contractor probably arose from their obligation to pay as *Unjōkin* a fixed amount of the profits from the *Basho*. The majority of these *Basho* contractors were traders or fishermen from Japan who were permitted to engage in trade after signing a guarantee which stipulated the terms and amount of *Unjōkin*. These contracts ordinarily ran for three, five, or seven years, a period known as the first term, and on their expiration either the old contract was renewed or assignments were made to new contractors. The operational change from samurai to *Basho* merchant was most significant in the development of the industrial system in Hokkaidō. At first the methods and aims of the contractors were similar to those of the *Chigyōnushi*. Trade was carried on at one's risk and posts called *Unjōke* were established at contract areas under the direction of managers (who undertook the entire responsibility of the post), interpreters (who not only interpreted but looked after Ezo affairs), clerks and watchmen (who manned the watch stations set up at the fishing grounds). Rice, sake, yeast, salt, tobacco, pans, knives, needles, used clothes, dry goods, thread, lacquer ware, barrels, earrings, and pipes, all of which were in demand by the Ezo, were sent to these posts to be traded for marine products, handmade goods, and other materials which the Ezo had formerly traded to their neighbors. The Ezo goods were sold in the markets of Japan. The system was established gradually[6] and owing to its development the Ezo market expanded and the amount of goods in Ezo increased in quantity and variety. Just prior to the existence of this system the income of the Matsumae derived from the Ezo trade was placed at 2–3,000[7] ryō. But the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, written in 1739 gives a total income of 3,200 ryō based on the total taxes on merchant vessels and the summer and autumn taxes from Ezo.[8]

---

[6] The details of the *Basho* contract system are dealt with in the following works. On those points where I hold a different opinion I will publish my own research later and will refrain now from any discussion.

Shirayama Tomomasa (see note 4 above).

Minami Tetsuzo, Matsumae Han jidai ni okeru ukeoi seido (The *Basho* contract system during the Matsumae period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (5).

[7] See para. 3 of this chapter.

[8] *a*) in gold 1200 ryō from the Shiribetsu lumber tax. *b*) in gold * 1200 ryō from the tax on merchant ships. *c*) in gold * 300 ryō. *d*) in gold 1400 ryō from the tax on foreigners. *e*) in gold 1700 ryō from the tax on herring stations. *f*) in gold

A
*175
*648
439

The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[9] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

F
[226]

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu.*

[9] *Unjō* payments.

[9] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Issen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

A
F
[177]
[226]

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

[15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

B
*175 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing
*648 grounds were actively worked.[16]

439 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae
A
F
*175 were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring
*648 roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (accord-
439 ing to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi*
433 (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal,
[316] bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

A
F
*175 The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly
*648 native goods which could be sold in the markets of
439 Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the
436 natives and sell the native products for the highest
F price obtainable in the mainland markets. The con-
[661] tractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

A
[136] [20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

A
[224] [21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, seal-
[226] skin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

A
*175
*648
439
436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

A
*175
*648
226
177

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading [28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
[501]

A
*175
*648
251
177
439

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

A
[227]

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

A F *175 *648 251 177 439 A F *175 *648 [412] 464 439 A F *175 *648 439 A [426] A F *175 *648 177 441 226 [426] A [251] A F *175 [452] *648 177 226 439

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A F *175 commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working 177 as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony *648 to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders 439 from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from [469] the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. [437] The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also A F enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae. *175 Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae *648 were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo* 437 *Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are 452 paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it [439] was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

*175 3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale *648 production was possible and the entrepreneur himself 439 took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as A F the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

*175 These three types of products brought about a *648 change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo 433 who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those 554 Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to 437 the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A
F
*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
*648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
433 and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
554 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
437 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
*648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638]
[669] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A
F
[439]
[431]

A
[622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

A F *175 *648 622 used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

A F [439]

A 622

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

A F [171]

> In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

A F [579] A F

*175 *648 These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

622 554 156

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

> West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.
> East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F

*648 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those
*195 Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and
then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after
622 the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of
Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to
A 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits.
F In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and
*648 from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fuku-
*195 yama bearing gifts.
622
489 In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reach-
ing to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came
[431] to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and ex-
change gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"*
A [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu*
[293] *Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"*
sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word
"uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu*
[initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739
the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu"*; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial
A character and its emphasis became exclusively that of
F a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into
[796] a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus,
rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives.
A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

A [39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi
where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo
chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many
[302] years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner
but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and
does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at
the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the
yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This
was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

A F *175 *648 622 484

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

A F *175 *648 431 622

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

A F *175 *648 574 576

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

A [195]

---

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.

[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.

[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.

[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [203] [206] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem marim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 431 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and A [203] be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

Feudal Japan AB2

A E *C48 *175 439 178 527

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

A E [576]

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

A E *C48 *175 439 527

A E *C48 *175 439 [177]

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

A F *C48 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to A [162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of A F *C48 *175 161 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa [164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government A F *C48 *175 177 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to A F *C48 *175 651 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi,* "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in A [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799. A F *C48 *175 177

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 685

> In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F [621] *648 *175 681 [622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

A *648 177 *175 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 491

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

F A *C48 *175 441

portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

F A *C48 *175 624 439 441

The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.[54] But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

F A *C48 *175 439 441

[54] It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "*Uwanorikin*." In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

F
A
*648 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it
*175 operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an
439 important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These
441 contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A
*648 The contract system became less important in later
*175 years but the chief objective was still profit in trade.
[579] Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the
439 suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—
431 indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they
A
[301] were given a set of earrings."

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would
*648 return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as
*175 they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had
436 taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children
439 and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A F
*648
*175
436
439

600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅚ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

A F
[457]

The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[57] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[58] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[57] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[58] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

[P. 40(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648 shō of Musaban rice.[59] Trade was not necessarily
*175 carried on in accordance with these standards. Ac-
436 cording to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth
439 more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."[60] Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

F
446 Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both
[273] the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was,
661 next to rice, the most important trade staple and we
437 read in the *Tōyuki:* "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels
441 with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake
*648 was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki:* "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.[61] There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki*. They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

[59] *Ezo Koku Shiki.*
[60] Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].
[61] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 6 (2): 31.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F *648 *175 466

laborers increased, a new position called *"Kozukai"* was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465]

For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

A 465 *648 *175

Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

A [599]

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

A F *648 *175 466 661

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

A F *648 *175 466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 661 939 *175 A [191]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi*, No. 276: 901–902.

A F *648 *195 439 661

There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

and also:

A F [577] A

The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

F *648 *195 577 661

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

F [683]

[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51–52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46–48.

A F was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* *648 Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

*175 Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses 577 of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they 661 would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebel- [584] lious natives were questioned, it became apparent that [579] rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri [184] and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. A F Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be [582] poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought [466] would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 577 661

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tôyû Zakki we read that,

A F *648 439 *175

Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sôya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryô in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryô on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryô in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryô.

F *648 *175 624 661

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tôi Shûran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A F *648 *175 439

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi*: "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."[75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidô ni okeru shôgyô shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidô), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[76]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[76] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*648 persons were killed including the supervisor, manager,
*175 interpreter, and guards, and the stores were looted.
509 The rebels then went to Menashi and instigated the Ezo there to revolt. Here thirty-six of the guards were killed and also the thirteen members of the crew of a contractor's vessel which lay in Churui. The rebels then fortified themselves in preparation for a battle with the clan troops. However, the *Otona* Ikotoi of Akkeshi and Chief Tsukinoe of Kunashiri persuaded the Kunashiri rebels to give themselves up while the Menashi group, following the advice of the *Otona* Shonko of Noshappu, surrendered and the revolt ended on July 17 without a battle. Those found bearing most guilt for the incident, some thirty-seven, were sentenced to death.[77]

4. THE DISPOSITION OF THE REVOLT OF 1789

A
509 The 1789 revolt in Menashi and Kunashiri compared with that which occurred in 1669 was only a local affair
*648 on a small scale and was easily subdued. However,
*175 just at this time it was becoming apparent that Russia was expanding south along the Kuriles. This aroused
F the attention of the more alert and there were those who
*648 thought that the Russians, to win the natives and further
*175 their expansion, were giving the natives all they asked for and rumor went so far as to assert that the Russians
178 had instigated this rebellion.[78] For these reasons the Bakufu took a particular interest in the incident and sent an investigating commission to Ezo while, at the same time, ordering the Matsumae to be more cautious in the future. The Matsumae clan itself, after the revolt, realized its faults and while cautioning the Ezo not to let such a thing happen again and at the same time ordering them to visit their lord in Matsumae as provided in the rules, also instructed the natives to report any unfair dealings in trade. The contract of Hidaya Kyuhei was cancelled and Murayama Denbei was ordered to look after his natives while a number of improvements were made in the regulations regarding the Ezo. Following is a report sent to the Bakufu in 1790.

F
*648 IMPROVEMENTS IN EZO

*175 1. Remote areas in East and West Ezo are not to be contracted to outsiders but are to be directly controlled by
656 the clan. Officials shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo and primary attention is to be devoted to winning their favor.
439 2. Hitherto persons from other clan territories have been permitted to engage in the Ezo trade. Hereafter,

[77] The details of this incident have been omitted since they may be found in *Hokkaidō Shi* and *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[78] In the *Ezo Shinkai Kikigaki* [Records of Newly Opened Areas in Ezo], written in 1805 and preserved in the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University, the 1789 incident is described as follows: "Fourteen or fifteen years ago the people in Moscow, with the intention of getting control of the island, tried to win the favor of the people of Kunashiri which is an island off Hokkaidō, using the Christian religion as a tool. The effect can be seen, for many people in Kunashiri, including the Ezo, have formed into groups . . . and revolt."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
*175
656
439

except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[79]

A
F
*648
*175
[178]
439

The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the stationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

A
r
647
*648
*175

[79] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

A F 649 written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

*648 *175

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.

2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.

3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.

4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods."[80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

A F *648 *175 Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

656 The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

A E [681] This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus A [674] crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

---

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The A F [649] captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *C48 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

A *C48 621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *C48 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

A F *C48 177 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[P. 46(A)]

A F *648 177 was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

*175 439 [437] Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into the new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [46A]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439 This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

E
*698
*175
439

to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to, and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

A
[641]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*C48
*175
441
177
A
F
171

From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

[P. 47 (B)]

1:Takakura 5 H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL
By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF DIRECT CONTROL

A F *C48 *175

It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN COLONIZATION

F 175 101

It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources"[1] but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters[2] to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.[3] While these attempts were

A *C48 *175 [177] A [171] A [177]

[1] Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

[2] Murakami Naojirō, trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

[3] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

[P. 48 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

PART TWO

The Early Period of Direct Control BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

A
*648
*175
A
F
*648
*175

wrecked by the great persecution of Christianity by the Tokugawa Bakufu, they did spread a knowledge of Ezo-land among Europeans and the records of abundant gold and silver combined with the legend of the unknown golden islands moved them to send exploratory ships. They were disappointed to find the real Japan different from that island of gold "Jipangry." Among the more famous were: Sebastiano Vizcaino,[4] a Spaniard who explored the coasts of Ōu and Ezo in 1611 and went deep into the Northern Sea for that island of gold and silver located at 37.5° N. and some 380 to 390 miles east of Japan, which island had been reported in 1582; the Northern Sea Exploring group under the command of de Vries who in 1629 got as far north as 42°, some 600 Danish miles east of Japan, and who in 1643 explored the Kuriles and the coasts of Ezo.[5] But the islands of gold and silver turned out to be nothing but islands of vision. All their explorations ended in failure but the notices of Ezo stirred up a further interest among other people.[6] These were: Spanberg,[8] a Russian who explored the Kuriles and the Ezo coastal regions in 1738, 1739, and 1742; J.F.G. de la Perouse[7] who explored and mapped the coasts of Alaska, Korea, Manchuria, and the Straits of Mamiya and who entered the Japan Sea in 1787 under orders from the French King Louis XVI to explore the coast of Japan which deed James Cook the Englishman could not complete; and W. R. Broughton[8] who followed the Englishman G. Vancouver in surveying the Japanese coast in 1796 and 1797. Vries anchored at Akkeshi in September of 1644 to the surprise of the Matsumae retainers who were dispatched there.[9] Spanberg appeared off Oshika gun in Sendai territory in May of 1739 and his other ships showed at Atatsu mura, Nagasa gun in Awa kuni, and at Shimoda mura, Kamo gun in Izu kuni to the consternation of those areas.[10] But these scattered voyages were only for purposes of exploration and did not result in much public attention in Japan. On the

[4] Suematsu Yasukazu, *Kinsei ni okeru Hoodō Mondai no shinten* (Evolution of the northern problem in recent times), 19.

[5] *Ibid.*, 23.

[6] See *Japan's northern frontier*, appendix one.

[8] Spanberg's voyage was an offshoot of the Bering expedition and its objective was to find a sea route from Kamchatka via the Okhotsk Sea to the Amur River or to Japan and to establish, if possible, relations with Japan. Many savants were on this voyage. See pp. 36 and 50 of Tabohashi Kiyoshi, *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku Kankei shi* (History of the foreign relations of Japan in modern times).

[7] Fukase Shunichi, Ezochi ni okeru Rapesu meimeichi ko (A study of La Perouse's Ezo place names), *Hōppō Kyōdo* 1 (1): 21.

[8] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku. . .*, 299.

[9] *Tsūkō Ichiran* [A review of Japan's communications with the outside world] 6: 324.

[10] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku. . .*, 57.

[P. 48(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2
Historical Russia RA2
A
F
*C48
*175
T
648
175
H
648
175
H
[799]
[872]

other hand, Russian penetration of the northern areas which was extending from Siberia to Kamchatka was attracting attention and raising problems.

The Russian invasion to the east started when the Cossack Timoviev Yermak and eight hundred men invaded Siberia and conquered the inhabitants in 1581. With the Cossacks as the chief force, Russian influence gradually extended eastward and reached Eniseisk in 1618, Yakutsk in 1632, and by 1646 the Okhotsk Sea. Thus, within sixty years Russia reached across the great Siberian plain to the Pacific. In 1650 Russian influence intruded into the Amur River region and a conflict arose with Chinese forces at Albasin. The invasion in that direction was stopped by the treaty of Nerchinsk and it consequently turned eastward when, in 1697, V. Atlasov conquered Kamchatka. Russian expansion eastward was not motivated by dreams of islands of gold and silver or by the urge for adventure or for scholarship, but by the tremendous fur wealth of the area and this expansion was planned and aided by Peter the Great who came to the throne in 1689. This continuous northern exploration finally reached the Aleutian Islands via Kamchatka. It can be termed a colonial activity which had as its aim a trade with the natives for those furs which the natives hunted.[11] In 1711 the Russian advance reached the Kuriles. As soon as it was discovered that these islands abounded with skins, the Russians explored the area, surveyed the islands, collected information from natives and castaways, landed on several of the islands, changed their names, and levied one skin per inhabitant per year. In 1747 they dispatched missionaries to Shimishu Island and established a primary school for children as part of a long-range program. In 1765 they arrived at Uruppu Island and in 1785 they landed at Etorofu Island where they stayed for a year.[12] Though a fundamental factor in the development of Russian colonization was the active assistance of the central government, especially that of Catherine I, the actual control was in the hands of the wealthy traders of Irkutsk, Tobolsk, and Yakutsk. These men dispatched trading and hunting ships, collected skins, and dominated both Cossacks and natives. But there were many in the trade who were ignorant and vagrant, aiming only at a quick profit without any permanent plans. They mistreated the natives and repeated the pattern of the early stages of colonization by other countries in that, relying on force, they not only maltreated the natives but slaughtered anyone who objected to their orders. This created a native antipathy to them and armed conflicts occurred, notably that in which the natives of Etorofu and Rashōwa islands banded together to attack and slaughter

[11] *Ibid.*, 10.

[12] *Chishima Ainu*, 25. Takakura Shinichirō and Shibata Sadakichi, Waga kuni ni okeru Chishima chizu sakusei shi (The history of the cartography of the Kuriles in relation to Japan), *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku* (Reports on research in the culture of the northern area) 3.

[P. 49 (A)]

1:Takakura; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Historical Russia RA2
Feudal Japan ABQ
H
C48
175
A
[239]
[177]

the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.[13] With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

F
*C48
*175

Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185–1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.[14]

[13] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku*. . ., 87.

[14] As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenarai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
F
*648
*195

Therefore, long after the Matsumae became an independent clan in the Tokugawa period and made the *Sankin Kōtai*, they were still treated merely as the chiefs of a subordinate territory and the leaders of barbarians. The rebellion of 1669 came as a shattering surprise to a dream of peace but it inaugurated Ezo studies. As the post rebellion immigration to Ezo increased information increased. It came not only from the tales of travelers, workers, and castaways but from explorations like that of the Kaifū Maru which, in 1688, on the orders of Tokugawa Mitsukuni, surveyed the entrance of the Ishikari River. In 1718 Arai Hakuseki published his geographical work *Ezo Shi*.

It is, therefore, only natural that as recognition of Ezo had grown there grew a demand to open the region for the development of the national economy. It is interesting to note that this demand for opening up the area coincided with the beginning of mainland commercial capital control in Hokkaidō. Some of the popular writers on Ezo were: Namikawa Temmin who wrote the *Hekikyōroku* [Record of the open Frontier] but who died before it was published and who, in the time of the Shogun Yoshimune, restorer of Tokugawa power and friend of industry, had urged the need for pioneering the Ezo territory; Fukami Genyu who, for writing directly to the Bakufu in 1722 urging the cultivation of the Ezo, was punished; Sakakura Genjirō who in 1736 advised the Bakufu to work the gold mines of Ezo and who in 1737, backed by the Bakufu, began two years of exploration out of which came his *Hokkai Zuihitsu* an analysis of Ezo and its products. There is no way of knowing in detail what Fukami Genyu's views were but Temmin and Genjirō insisted that Ezo be opened and colonized not from the point of view of national defense and foreign invasion but for exploitation of the great natural resources of Ezo.[15] The intrusion of aliens in the north and the Russian penetration in particular stimulated these demands and were a great spur to moving the Bakufu to action. However, the administrative attitude was not changed from one of indifference till 1771, six years after the Russian frontier arrived at Etorofu Island. This delay was because it was not until 1771 that the Bakufu knew that the Russians had arrived in the Kuriles and that it knew then was through a letter to it from B. M. A. A. Beniowsky, a Hungarian, who had escaped from the

F
[185]

---

frightens the animals. They hunt and eat animals of the mountains and fields as well as fish. They indulge in fine wines and beautiful women and live lavishly. It is a strange country of no law and dissolute habits." It sounds like a description of hell. The year the play was written was about the time when Ezo rebellions were becoming widely known and it is possible that Chikamatsu adopted that kind of scene in line with popular interests. The material itself seems to have come from "On Zōshi Shima Watari" found in the *Otogo Zōshi*. See Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu researches), 336.

[15] Takakura Shinichirō, Temmei izen no Ezochi kaitaku iken (Notes on colonization in Ezo prior to 1781), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (1 and 2).

[P. 50 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*698
*175

Russians and had reached Tosa via the Japan Sea. In this letter Beniowsky warned Japan against Russia's penetration southward. The Matsumae clan who were responsible for affairs in the north had first heard in 1759 of the "red-clothed strangers" who had established a settlement at Kurumesekotan. After that year the Matsumae were to hear often of the "red Ezo of the Kuriles" [the Russians]. In 1779 the clan sent officials to meet the Russians at Akkeshi when the Russians requested trade. But both the Matsumae and the Bakufu kept this a secret and neither announced it or made any arrangements for it.[16] But this sort of thing could not be neglected endlessly. Kudō Heisuke, physician to the Sendai clan, urged a Russian policy in his *Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō* [Report on rumors about the Red Ezo], published in 1783, after he had heard of the Russian invasion from Minato Genzaemon the former Matsumae accountant and from others. Hayashi Shihei emphasized both the opening and the defense of Ezo in his *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu* (1786) after he had heard of the situation from an interpreter in Nagasaki. Kudō's suggestion was accepted by the Prime Minister Tanuma Okitsugu and the contractor Yamaguchi Tetsugoro and others were sent to Ezo to explore that island, the Kuriles and as far as Saghalien.[17] This move was based on Kudō's advice *vis-à-vis* the Russians and the need for colonizing Ezo and not particularly as a defense against Russia.[18] The Bakufu laid plans for the opening of Ezo on the basis of this investigation and was about to carry out these plans when Tanuma was thrown out of office. The exploring group was recalled and the only result was a plan. The report of the group written as the *Ezo Shūi* [Views on developing Ezo] was given to Mito Mitsukuni. This report was an important factor in rousing public opinion against the Russian invasion and for the colonization of Hokkaidō. Among those most aroused was Honda Toshiaki the teacher of Mogami Tokunai who had been a member of the party and had gone as far as Etorofu. Honda, on the basis of his knowledge of foreign studies plus Mogami's information, wrote several articles on Ezo and acted as adviser to the Bakufu on the subject.[19] His opinions were not neglected as he had a close personal relationship with the dominant Mito clan. In addition to his arguments for exploitation of Ezo he put great emphasis on the necessity for national defense. The prevailing opinion in Japan held that the Russian

---

[16] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Anei izen Matsumae han to Rojin to no kankei (Relations between the Matsumae clan and the Russians before 1772), *Shigaku Zasshi* **27** (6).

[17] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō no chosha Kudō Heisuke (Kudo Heisuke as author of "Aka Ezo fusetsu kō"), *Shigaku Zasshi* **26** (5).

[18] Ōtomo Kisaku, Temmei go roku nen Bakufu no Hokumon chōsa (The Bakufu's investigation of the Northern gate in 1785–1786), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 2: 201.

[19] Hōnjō Eijiro, Tokugawa Bakufu no Kezaigakusha Honda Toshiaki ni kenkyū (A study of the Tokugawa economist Honda Toshiaki), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū*, No. 29.

A F *648 *175

advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.[20] Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (*a*) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,[21] and (*b*) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.[22] It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

A F [439]

The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.[23] Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

A [519]

[20] Ōtomo Kisaku, Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.

[21] *Matsumae Shi*.

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, 481.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
*175

to the records of the Bakufu investigations in 1791 and 1792 the situation was even worse than before the revolt and in fact the bad administration of the Matsumae never improved.[24]

It was clear then that the problem of Ezo could not be left to a small clan. On the basis of the investigations of 1791 and 1792 the Prime Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu was preparing to open Ezo when, in 1792, the Russian envoy Laxman came to Japan and the Bakufu, busy with coastal defense, put off the plan. Then later, on the basis of a secret report from the Mito clan made by Ōhara Sakingo who, during a visit to the Matsumae clan in 1795–1796, got the idea that the clan might secretly contact the Russians,[25] the Bakufu sent three groups of officials to report on Ezo in 1798. Based on these reports, the Bakufu made up its mind. The first step was to put East Ezo from Urakawa to Cape Shiretoko with the adjacent islands under direct control. This was ordered to be done for a period of seven years in 1799. Later the region from the east of the Shiriuchi River to Urakawa was added and in July, 1803, East Ezo came under the permanent direct control of the Bakufu. In 1807 all of Ezo was placed under the direct control of the Bakufu. It is clear then that the cause which precipitated direct central government control over Ezo was a desire to prevent Russian penetration and to add the resources of Ezo to the Japanese economy.

II. THE GROWTH OF A GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EZO

A
F

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF A NATIVE POLICY

*648
177
*175

As has been made clear in the preceding part the motive for direct central government control over Ezo was the prevention of Russian aggression. It was therefore quite natural that the government concentrated on defense activities and ordered the Nambu and Tsugaru clans to fortify their territory. To accomplish this aim the government provided transportation facilities, built roads, established inns, set up a postal service and provided for post houses, kept government vessels at sea on patrol, developed sea routes and, in order to make best use of these facilities in event of emergency, kept both land and sea routes under government control. However, since the island was vast and, of course, surrounded by water, it was difficult to fortify the area against foreign invasion with the handful of people sent there. In addition it was formidable from the standpoint of climate and provisions to station troops there. Therefore, the government announced that Ezo was a Japanese colony and in order to meet the expense of administration not only lifted the prohibitions against free entrance to Ezo but actively encouraged immigration and colonization. But a great many laborers were

F
[168]

[24] *Ibid.*, 370.

[25] Mori Seizō, *Kindai Bungei Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in the literary history of recent times), section on Ōhara Sakingo.

needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"* but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

A
F
*668
*175

mercial colony and government control was weak and the natives considered as aliens, the most important policy was considered to be one of appeasement. This is the reason why these savants treated the Ezo problem from a political standpoint. These men were essentially physiocrats who did not conceive of the Ezo as economic beings of immediate use but as a people who through conciliation could be made useful in the future. But as the threat of Russian invasion from the north grew so the need for a definite policy became greater. Kudō Heisuke who was the first to warn of the Russian invasion has this to say: "If this matter is neglected and the people of Kamchatka come into Ezo that island will come under the control of Russia and no longer take orders from our government. Were this to happen we would never be able to restore our relationship with the Ezo."

Hayashi Shihei in his *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu* goes even further. Ever since the Japanese first started to go to Ezo he says: "The people there have all come to respect our country and at present their sentiment is very strong in favor of becoming subjects of our country." Therefore, he adds:

F
[441]
[577]

> If our government would take some measures in this respect they would readily become our subjects. [However,] I have heard that the low-class merchants of the trading stations from time to time treat the natives unfairly. And on the other hand I have heard that the Russians, in treating with the Ezo use no arms, do not exercise force, give them pepper and quilted clothing to keep them warm from the cold, offer sugar or wine to please them, and fire cannon for demonstrations, thus trying to win the favor of the Ezo. It is the custom of European countries to bring under their control other countries thousands of miles away and add to their benefits. And it is said that recently Moscow is eying Ezo for the same purpose. Therefore, we should lose no time trying to bring the Ezo under our complete control; otherwise the Russians are bound to come in, sooner or later, and when they do it will be too late for us.

Thus, he warned of the possible danger if Ezo were neglected. He adds that appeasement of the Ezo is not only vital for national defense but that it is a humane duty to educate them and that the reason the Ezo are ignorant is that no one has taken the trouble to help them. "Even in the cases of China, Korea, or Holland which are all now civilized countries one can see that originally they were in [illegible] same situation as Ezo." Yet, because for many thousands of years wise men have devoted themselves to educating the people, these countries have become "civilized countries." There is no doubt that, if such men could be found in Ezo, that land would become civilized but, since there seem to be no such men there, "we should take on the task of educating them and teaching them humanity and how to produce goods. This would be in accord with the wishes of the gods."[2] This latter however, was not the main argument of Hayashi.

Actual inspection was to reveal the vile administra-

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*C48
*175

tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

F
[170]

> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

A
[131]
[132]
[171]

> The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well-developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

A F *698 *175

products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772–1780 have forseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.[4]

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."[5]

A F [177]

F [114]

Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ōhara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gūdan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages:

F *698 *185

1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

A [243]

[4] Seiiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 2: 171.

[5] Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[262]
[273]
[276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[821]
[776]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
*175
185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
[651]
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

[P. 54 (B)]

A F *68 *175 185

treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

A F [439]

However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

A [291]

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2
A F *C48 *175 185

lence"[6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods,"[7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful"[8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

A F *C48 177 *175 185 A F [439]

Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

---

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hokikyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175
185

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

A
[565]
[595]

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

F
[659]

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

F
636
175

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
636
*175

ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

A
F
*648
621
177
*175

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [Village headman].

A
[622]

[P. 56 (B)]

A F *648 62 177 *175 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho.* To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho.* While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai.* It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [124] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *648 *175 At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

[273] [206] 1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 177 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] [301] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A [681] F [826]

A F *648 *175 177 627 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 177 627 [492]

hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692]

5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 671 681 177 A [624]

6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

F [923] A [177]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 177

7. It is desired to introduce Japanese-style houses and to this end the Ezo are encouraged to work hard. Clothing should also be earned and saved. And since there will be no custom of atonement in the future, it is not necessary to hide such treasured goods as cups in the mountains. These things should be kept in the house. It is suggested that in the future the Ezo move into Japanese villages in groups. We need people to till this broad land. The use of a sickle is a tedious and fruitless business whereas if the grass were simply burned in autumn not only would a lot of labor be saved but the ashes will serve as fertilizer to yield a better crop. Now at present, the Ezo live separately and isolated from each other and this makes it difficult to organize them and help them. Furthermore, the custom of hiding treasures in the countryside makes it impossible to burn off the grass. It is not necessary to move the Ezo at once but do it gradually. When it is done the labor situation will be greatly improved.

A [464]

8. There are bound to be some lazy and idle ones among the Ezo who will not work as well as cripples who must be given special work. These people will be given empty rice sacks by the posts and they will be taught to make straw sandals. Since the post will buy all their work, it should be of some help to them, enabling them to buy sake or whatever they wish with the money earned. These rice sacks will be given to anyone on request. The *Otona* should make this clear to all so that even fishermen during the periods of stormy weather or the winter months when they have extra time can make use of this time by weaving straw ropes and nets.

The above instructions are hereby given for the fifth time through the interpreters to the *Otona* and *Kozukai*.

August 1799 Ōhashi Zenshirō

F *648 *175 114

This instruction is just one example taken from the Tokachi *Basho*. Its content simply ignores the sentiments of the natives and its reasoning in many instances is self-complacent. It is doubtful whether the intent of the officials was understood by the Ezo. However, we can see what policy was adopted and also that the officials were earnest and serious in their attitude.

A F *648 *175

III. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

The Bakufu took extreme care in executing its policy. For example, when the decision was made to assume power, orders were issued to the Matsumae stating that those managers, guards, and interpreters who wished to do so could retain their positions, that the Matsumae had to settle all accounts with the Ezo, even if such settlement involved prolonged negotiation, in order that the Bakufu inherit no disputes and that a statement be issued forbidding mistreatment of the Ezo.[1] The Bakufu particularly cautioned its own officials as to their attitudes and when the Commissioners were appointed they were under instruction to make native relations their prime consideration.[2] Furthermore, in

[1] Higashi Ezochi goyōchi ainari sōrō ni tsuki kore made aitsutome sōrō tsushi bannin e moshiwatasu sho (Instructions to former interpreters and guards on the occasion of East Ezo becoming a Bakufu estate), Habuto Seiyō, *Kyume Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 542-543.

[2] Ezochi goyogakari no ōse watasarare sōrō kakitsuke (Written orders concerning the placement of Ezo under the Bakufu), *ibid.*, 323.

[P.58(B)]

A F *648 *175

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A [439] [431]

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A F *648 437 624 *175

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

---

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A [651]

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

A F *648 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *648 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *648 *175 465 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 469

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [465]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A [463]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A F *648 *175 436 437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakiuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seiri Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutamechiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

1:Takakura, H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*115
436
437

since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (*a*) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (*b*) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (*c*) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

A
F
*648
*115
436

It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

A
F
*648
*175
436

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A
[438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

A
[1M
511]

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

---

[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chokyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chokyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *698 *175 436 [133]

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

A [184]

A F *698 *175 457 436

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

---

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

A [432]

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittāte kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsū onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

1:Takakura - H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A
F
*648
*105
457
436

of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A
[C51]

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon:*

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho,* and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[29] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[29] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [203] [439]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

A [436]

Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
	(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
	(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

[P. 62 (B)]

A *648 *175 [161] [511] After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish, and the population which had been some 300 in 1799 increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the destruction of those natural resources upon which the Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about an improvement in industry. Farming was also encouraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been entirely prohibited since it required work during the fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing and, since these products were abundant, there was no need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on cereals was far superior to living on meat. According to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani at their own request. While it seems that the crops grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu abandoned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802. Actually it seems that the real reason the government changed its mind was that it did not favor anything which required more of a labor force than did hunting

A [241] F [181] A [262] F [241] A F *648 *175 241

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

[24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

F [241]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
AF
*648
*175
241

and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.[27] It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,[28] and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

AF
*648
*175
199

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.[29]

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

---

[27] The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no Nōgyō (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[28] "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . . ."

A
[243]

[29] Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezō Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

[P. 63(B)]

F A *C48 179 *195 511 *Ezo Zakki* [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

A F *648 *175 439 The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was A [184] taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided F [675] to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to F [202] permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the F [656] office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu:

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*648 *175 439

change conditions would remain much the same and they were told to report any dishonest conduct on the part of merchants to inspectors, thus placing a check on the actions of the contractors.[33]

4. THE MANAGEMENT OF KARAFUTO

A
*648 *175

In 1807 as a result of its satisfactory progress in East Ezo the Bakufu assumed control over all Matsumae territory. Partly responsible for this was the fact that, although the Russians had landed in Karafuto in 1789, the Matsumae had taken no positive action there and

[text continues top of P. 65(A)--analyst]

nection with this the following instructions have been received:" 1) Existing laws shall be rigidly observed. (2) The vessel to be used for the voyage shall proceed to Ezo flying a Japanese flag. The utmost effort shall be exerted to prevent damage to the ship from unfavorable weather. Measures to be taken in the event of distress due to hull damage shall be the same as taken in the past and the interpreters will so inform the Ezo. (3) The Ezo shall be encouraged to increase the output of goods to be sent to Nagasaki, if any. Strict controls will be established against illegal trade and the movements of merchandise closely checked so that, regardless of whether or not the goods are native products, they shall not be illegally disposed of. This instruction being but recently issued it shall be announced immediately. (4) The oft repeated instruction that the Ezo must not be approached with evil intentions shall be observed. (5) Interpreters and guards shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo residing in their *Basho*. However, the *Unjōya* shall be primarily responsible for caring for the ill and needy Ezo. (6) No illicit trade shall be had in silk as per instructions and no goods shall be purchased directly [from the Ezo]. (7) Personal greed is to be restrained and the Ezo are not to be plundered but trading at the *Basho* shall follow the accustomed forms.

The undersigned fully acknowledge these instructions. In case of a violation which may become apparent later not only the interpreters and guards of a *Basho* but also the contractor will be punished. A report shall be made to the office upon a safe return from Etorofu."

Date

Etorofu *Basho*
Takadaya Kahei (seal)
Name and seal of Manager, Interpreter and Guard.

Addressed to the officials at Okinokuni.

[33] Instructions to the Ezo. (1) The three prohibitions shall be observed. (2) The Shogunate shall be respected and parents cared for. Families are encouraged to live in harmony and observe the law. (3) Quarrels are prohibited. Let friendship reign. Plotting will not be tolerated. (4) When a boy reaches a certain age he is to be allowed to take a wife. However, polygamy is prohibited. (5) Despite the fact that the contract system has been adopted, no change whatsoever shall be made in matters of fishing or trading. It is therefore requested that all Ezo work hard under the contractors toward the goal of eternal prosperity. (6) There have been no changes in our policy toward the Ezo. However, should something be thought unreasonable or should doubtful matters arise, the incident is to be reported to the guardhouse. (7) The reason that government officials are being sent to the island is to insure that the livelihood of the Ezo is protected. This considerate conduct should be fully appreciated and all efforts are to be made in the future to keep the Ezo from difficulties. (8) Illness should be reported to the post to which doctors have been dispatched and medicine sent. This information is to be conveyed to the Ezo and it should also be known that any sighting of a foreign vessel is to be reported to the *Kaishō* and action taken accordingly. *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 592–593.

[P. 64(B)]

A F *698 *115

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

A F *698 *115 939

A [100]

---

[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese cbins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

A [323] [011]

A F *648 *175 439 177

and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.[38] The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.[39] Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orokko for animal skins. The Orokko would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sôya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.[40] Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.[41] The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,[b] similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

A [480]

A F *648 *175 439

F [C56]

found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidô. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidô Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidô), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

[38] *SHS* 1: 79.

[39] "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[40] Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto banin e aitazune sôrô kakitsuke sashiage sôrô ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kôki* 7 in *SHS* 5: 806 ff.

[41] "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764.

[b] J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsô, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.

A F *698 *175 439

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *698 *175 452 439

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [349] A [567]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [651]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [567]

A
F
*648
*175
439
452

must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the trade be continued under strict supervision. He proposed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.[46] Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

F
[656]

Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otona* in Sōya and Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

F
*648
*175
439

The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.[47] The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.[48] His motive, according to

[46] Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjin yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

[47] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[48] The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93–94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*698
*175
439

the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.[49] This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

F
A
C36
177
439

I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

A
F
*698
*175

1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to

ni Santanjin no gi aitazune sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

F
[A36]

	1802	*1809*
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

[49] *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

A F *648 *175 A F *648 *175 177

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

A F *648 *175

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

A [484] A [221]

---

[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyuuci Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

F [636]

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 1: 9

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 576 431

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of: (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

A F *648 527 576 *175

A F [431]

A F *648 *175 576 671

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

A [681]

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[7] *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A *648 576 527 178

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

A F [657]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

F *648 *175 657 431

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

A F *648 *175 657

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

---

[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

A F *648 *175 659

Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."[11] It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.[12] The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorourusho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

A F *648 *175 251

1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

F A *648 *175 251 659

Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

[11] Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozaemon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozaemon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Otona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

[12] Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni tāisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92-93.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6.
Feudal Japan AB2

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

[P. 70(B)]

A
E
*698
*175
758
[731]
A
E
*698
*175
657
759
465

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations

were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

[P. 71 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960. AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizumoeuma seiichi. . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kinnura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

[P.71(B)]

F
*648 Japanese language was cancelled and its use was en-
*175 couraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral
177 instruction was given along with reading and writing
185 while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage
A [595] polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been
A [681] turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught
A F [577] the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

A F
*648 Education instructions in these matters and com-
*175 mendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given
576 permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and
A [554] he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

F A
*648 The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had
461 noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-
577 working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan 1182

F
A
*648
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*648
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

---

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami. . . . *Kyume Kōbi*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

[P. 72 (B)]

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu
Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

T 698 797

I have previously noted that Russian missionaries were at work in the Kuriles attempting to convert the natives. In 1747 the Abbot Hokouncheski of Kamchatka sent the priest Iyosap to Horomushiro Island where he baptized fifty-six natives, and in 1756 a church was built there to promote missionary work. In this manner Russian influence gradually advanced southward along the Kuriles. This came to the attention of the Bakufu in 1786 when an investigating party submitted a detailed report on the religion of the Russians residing on Etorofu.[31] Great anxiety arose when it was learned that the belief of the Russians was none other than that of prohibited Christianity. Honda Toshiaki on hearing of this situation from Mogami Tokunai stated,

F [654] F *698 797

> it is the Russians who have brought about the present situation. They are quite popular with the natives. It is said that the Russians are setting up crosses and are preaching to the natives of the sacred character and the effectiveness of the cross when worshipped. . . . The Russians are joyful whenever a native worships this sacred cross and they give him many presents and encourage him in his faith.[32]

T [797]

T F *698 797 177

He continued in his warning:

> If the present situation continues to prevail, it is said that the Russians will bring images of Christ to be worshipped by the natives saying that worship of these images will bring fulfillment of wishes as quick as lightning and they will teach the words of prayer to the Ezo. This prayer is that of Christianity which is strictly forbidden in our country and the image of Christ to be sent to the Ezo of Etorofu for worship is similar to that image used on a copper plate in Nagasaki on which people trod during the investigations of Christianity. The contradiction would be too great were the Ezo left free to worship this same image.[33]

---

[31] "As can be seen by the illustration, it is called a cross or a *Kontatsu*. Since the believers were devoted to and worshipped idols similar to those of the prohibited perverted religion, an investigation into its theory was conducted and the following was revealed by a Russian:

There is no special secret in the religion of the Russians. The religion consists of worshipping the Creator, conducting oneself righteously, and, in order to teach the gospel to the ignorant, idols are used. The form of the [Japanese] number ten resembles the cross. The Buddha *Hokomaderi* was a virgin and a wise woman who, receiving the Holy Spirit, gave birth to a baby boy. This boy, with the hope of serving the people, went about teaching his doctrine. However, he was punished on a false charge. Despite adversity his doctrinal teaching continued and he came to life after he was crucified and he assured the people that heaven was open to those who would observe the fivefold moral code and practice the five religious austerities and who would conduct themselves righteously. Priests of this religion do not shave their heads nor do they remain unmarried." *Ezo Jui.*

T [797]

[32] Honda Toshiakira, *Sekijin Nihonkoku e hyōchaku ni nazora e kinnen shigeshige torai suru ni ihi aru koto* (Frequent visits of Russians to Japan in recent times under the guise of being castaways). Written in 1791.

[33] Mogami Tokunai dict., Honda Toshiakira ed., *Hokuhen Kinpiroku* (Secret records of the northern territories). Written in 1795.

[P 73 (A)]

Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

> 1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

> 1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
> 2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
> 3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
> 4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.
>
> April, 1804[35]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
1799
1797
*648
*175
[177]

ploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.[87] There are, however, no records of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to prosylyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288–1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824–833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku[88] went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokuwa*:

A
F
[1788]
A
[177]

> There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

F
*648
1797
*175
1792

It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkoji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather then disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.[89] He is also

---

[87] *Dai Nihon Shi* 242, Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutsu.

[88] Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku Natazukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

[89] I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

F
*648
797
*175
792

reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[40] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

---

[40] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshū into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshū is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyō Kikyō*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

A
[533]
[539]
[788]

Nembutsu Shonin *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu skohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* *Epakashimuko Taka*)
Sooner or later all men must die once
(*Tonashikamoreika* *Arishinu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* *Raiwa Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yaaki Shi Seihere Oniyara Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there and live as he pleases
(*Omansekutoha* *Yaeramu Ainine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiko Otare* *Enu Kashikewa Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Tahan Mushirikata* *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etsuhako* *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* *Kashiketa Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funu Hetsune* *Shomaorai Ruhone*)
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namuamidabutsu* (*Namuashitaki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko. Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

F *698 797 *175 792

Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith [41] and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers." [42] The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yawa* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakindonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done." [43] Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

A [177] [264]

F *698 797 *175 792

> the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

F [795] [577]

[41] (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Itsuka* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tanashikine Ikutsuku Pirikano Kentomo Otsuta Shitsukasuman Nehita Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

[42] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 15.

[43] *Kokutai* No. 1.

F
*648
797
*175
792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A
F
797
*648
*175
796

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F
[797]
[792]
A
[279]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F
A
[173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

A
F
797
*648
*175
776

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F
671
*648
656
*175

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F
A
*648
681
656
671
*175

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

F
A
[173]

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F
[778]

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F
A
[797]
[776]

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

F A *648 681 656 671 *175 the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681 Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was disrespectful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyuuri Kôki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

A F *648 177 *175 On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114] meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224] [58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301] [57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [52] [58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

A
[184]

A
[484]
562
[177]

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kazukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*G48
177
*175

similation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshū (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.[62]

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of a race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

---

A
178

[62] "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkauchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyōmei Kōki*, Suppl. 7, Kunashirito ittai no gi moshiage sōrō kakituske (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), *SHS* 5: 802-803

[P.78(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
*698
179
*175

people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."[63] Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Otoshibe and Nodaoi "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekkakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.[64] When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.[65] It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.[66] Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

> It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōyayoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

> It was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

[63] Ezo goyogakari. . .

[64] "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezochi Kikō*.

A
[576]

[65] The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fūzoku Ryakuki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

[66] See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

[P. 79(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A
[241]

[67] Uchida Ginzô, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Sôshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chôwayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shôshi* 3.

A
[302]

A
[156]

[71] *Kyume Kôki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fûzoku Kaikogi ni tsuki moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

A F *648 177 *175

It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki*;

A [101]

The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

---

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

A [241]

1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functionmg and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

A
F
*648
177
*175

ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, means Japanese.[73]

In Yamazaki' Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

> The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

So, although the natives preferred to be called Aino instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed "*murakata*," they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattooes on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannen Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatasu Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo *Basho* in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

A
[302]

8. SUMMARY

With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

I
[636]

[73] Italics by Takakura.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
177
*175

in the Japanese language and the natives were educated with the aim of "eventually turning them into Japanese" while farming methods were taught in order "to accustom them to the ways of the Japanese." Humane ways were preached and schooling given to "develop their culture gradually." To those natives who wished it, Japanese clothes were given, their heads were shaved, and permission was granted to follow the customs of Japan. Efforts were made to abolish such practices as polygamy. But this hasty policy of assimilation too often ignored the pride of the Ezo and, at least on the cultural side, it was dropped. This did not mean a return to a policy of non-assimilation but a more cautious and gradual carrying out of parts of the assimilation policy. The attitudes of the natives were respected. Trade was regularized and conducted in good faith in an effort to abolish the past evils of trade, while medical and other relief facilities were improved. These changes were inevitable because Ezo was changing from a commercial colony to an exploited area with a resultant need for government control, for the maintenance of native manpower and for convenient use of that labor power. The sudden adoption of this new policy was a result of the foreign situation developing around Hokkaidō at the turn of the nineteenth century—a situation which resulted in the assumption of direct control by the central government of Japan. There was every fear that Russian expansion included this area and that a prime Russian tactic was appeasement of the natives. But from the economic standpoint, these measures went too far. While it was undoubtedly necessary to establish a new administrative structure the attempt to assimilate the natives into the Japanese way of life while at the same time expanding the market for Japanese merchandise, increased the difficulties of using the natives as a labor force. The intelligence level of the native population was raised. The encouragement of agriculture gave the Ezo the means to furnish for themselves certain important goods such as tobacco, sake, and clothing hitherto imported from Japan. The Ezo manpower devoted to agriculture deprived the Japanese of native manpower for use in newly established Japanese industries. Above all, since the profit was realized not in the Ezo trade but in the Japanese market for Ezo goods, there was no need to expand the native market for Japanese goods. Actually this assimilation policy was a policy of national defense and it was not based on sound economics. For this reason of defense the Bakufu was most careful not to enforce assimilation and it trod so carefully in this matter that in 1802 it instructed its agents to call off the policy of encouraging agriculture and of changing native custom. The general effect of the policy change plus the improved fairness in trade led to an increase in native labor power available to Japanese industry on the island but uneven enforcement of this later policy

[P.81(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175

made it most difficult to raise the general living standards of the Ezo.

It was out of sheer necessity that the central government took over the administration of Ezo and because of serious financial difficulties it could not afford to carry out desirable administrative and fiscal-economic policies there. The original estimate of expenditures had been 50,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for official salaries, and 5,000 koku land rent to the Matsumae per annum. By 1802 it was necessary to economize on these sums and the Hakodate Magistracy had its budget reduced to 25,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for salaries, and 3,500 koku for the Matsumae. Of the total amount, about 20,000 ryō was realized from Bakufu income in Ezo and the Hakodate Magistracy, in an attempt to cover the remaining sum, thought to establish a self-sufficient economy by buying rice for the island from the clans, reselling it, and using the profit to cover the deficit. Until this got underway, however, Hakodate had to depend on government subsidy. However, the Fiscal Agency of the central government decided to cover only the 5,000 ryō deficit in administrative expenses and to place the sum needed for official salaries and the Matsumae subsidy on a separate budget. In effect the major portion of the expense of governing Ezo had to be met out of the income of Ezo which is the very reason why the Ezo policy of the Bakufu, no matter how ideal in intent, suffered under severe restrictions placed on it by economic factors. Therefore, when tensions with Russia lessened and when it seemed apparent after the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 that Russia's colonial policy was not necessarily based on peaceful means and consequently the importance of appeasing the natives was reduced, it was but natural that the government shift its policy from one of appeasement to one of making a profit. This transformation is reflected in the abolition of the direct trade in East Ezo and the gradual relaxation of administrative controls in favor of economic benefits. In the end all policies were cast out except those which conformed with the economic principles of the central government. Obviously the concomitant expansion of industry and the increasing importance of exploiting the economy of Ezo changed the native picture.

It is not my intention to write that the various policies of the Bakufu were ineffectual. Through the efforts of the Bakufu, a native policy was established, Japanese sovereignty in Ezo was confirmed and an administration of a fair degree of order was erected. The evils of the preceding period were ended while the installations of that period were continued with a view to protecting the natives. The beneficial efforts of the Bakufu took deeper hold in those remote areas of East Ezo-Kunashiri, Etorofu, etc., where the Bakufu had concentrated its efforts, than in Western and Northern Ezo where the Bakufu faced greater difficulties.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6

114 113 I have used many materials which are not easily available and to avoid undue complexity I omitted from the text any detailed explanations of the manuscripts which are cited. Therefore, this appendix is not only a bibliographical guide but a supplementary commentary on the text. I am concerned here only with manuscripts and rare books. Manuscripts of minor importance which are in the library of the Hokkaidō Administrative Office are not herein commented on and my selection of rare books is, of course, a subjective one. Basic guides to these materials are:

113 *Hokkaidō Chō Kyūki Mokuroku* (List of old records in the Hokkaidō administrative office) edited by Takada Fujie and myself and published by that office in 1932.

Kokusan Shinkō Hakurankai Hokkaidō Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Kaisetsu (Comments on the exhibits in the Hokkaidō History Hall at the National Industry Encouragement Fair) published in 1926.

Goryōkaku Nai Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Mokuroku (List of exhibits in the Goryōkaku History Hall).

Wherever the name of the owner of a manuscript or book is not given then it is owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

KŌNŌ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Ainu Chōsa Zairyō* (Materials for study of the Ainu). A collection of extracts from old records. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

MOGAMI TSUNENORI, *Akkeshi Ran Moshiage* (Report on the Akkeshi rebellion). Mogami's report on the troubles of December 1799 when Tashanishi, chief of Kushiro, killed a houseboy. Also contains supplementary materials on the chief Ikotoi of Kunashiri who secretly contacted the Russians and on the assassination of Tashanishi.

KUSHIHARA MASAMINE, *Igen Zokuwa* (Every day guide to the Ezo). 5 books. Records kept on the life and trade of the Ezo by Kushihara who, in 1782, was sent to Sōya in the relief trade.

MATSUMOTO JUNŌ, *Ishikari Tokachi Ryōgawa Kikō* (Travels to the Tokachi and Ishikari Rivers). A travel diary for the period June 1875–July 1876. The Kaitakushi official Matsumoto went up the Ishikari River to its sources, then across to the Osara River, thence to the Tokachi River, then to Otsu and finally to Sapporo by way of the Urakawa coast. This was Matsumoto's last journey and the most detailed exploration of the Ishikari-Tokachi area. At the conclusion of this trip Matsumoto resigned his post and never returned to Hokkaidō. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Usu On Basho Otazune Kajō Shojō (Report on the problems of the Usu *Basho*). A report made by Wakaya Uhiyo, contractor for the Usu *Basho*, on the condition of each of the markets of that area for the period February 1854. It forms part of his collected writings *Bunka Do Oscumatsare Sho*.

Urakawa Shichō Sho Shorui (Papers of the Urakawa Branch Office). When the Urakawa Branch Office of the Kaitakushi was abolished in 1874 its record came into the possession of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

ONŌDERA TOKUKEN, *Ezo Kikan Furoku* (Supplement to the wonders of Ezo). Onōdera had, by order of the head of the Sendai clan, traveled to Shimaki in West Ezo and written of this journey in *Hokuyū Nisen*. *Ezo Kikan Furoku* treats of the natural products, the people, and the history of Ezo and Karafuto. It contains, in detail, the routes from Matsumae to East Ezo and North Ezo and from

[P. 82 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Sôya in West Ezo to Shari. Tokuken's ordinary name was Kenji and his pen name was Ôkoku. He was instructor at the Seidai clan school.

Ezo Kembun Shi (A history of personal experiences in Ezo). 29 books. On the customs, languages, legends, habits, and economy of Ezo, and with material on Russia and Karafuto. Many illustrations. Probably done sometime in the first two decades of the nineteenth century although neither date nor author is known.

Ezo Koku Shiki (Private records of the Ezo). On economic conditions, products, and the native customs by one who had once cut timber in the remote Ishikari mountains. Probably done in the latter eighteenth century. It also is known as *Ezo Koku Yawa*.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI, *Ezo Sôshi* (The book of Ezo). 5 books. This is a veritable encyclopedia on Ezo. Religion, geography, natural features, ceremonials, wives and concubines, health conditions, languages, the economy, etc. are all touched upon. There is a foreword written by the author in 1799. This work has been transmitted under various names such as *Matsumae Fûdoki* and *Ezo Koku Fûzoku Ninjô no Sato*, which latter has a preface by Honda Toshiakai written in 1791. Mogami was also known as Shiki and Tsunenori and his pen names were Ôkoku and Hakkosai. Along with Bakufu officials he explored Ezo in 1785 and the following year he went to the Kuriles. By 1810 he had made seven trips to Ezo and was recognized as the outstanding authority on that region. Among his other works on Ezo are *Ezo Sôshi Kohen* and *Matsumae Ki*.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI, *Ezo Sôshi Kohen* (Sequel to *Ezo Sôshi*). 3 books. This is a collection of stories omitted from *Ezo Sôshi* and has a preface written in 1800. The first volume deals with the Russians, the second with the Santan and the third with the government of Ezo.

Ezo Zakki (Ezo miscellany). 3 books. Also known as *Ezo Zuihitsu*. A collection of various materials about Ezo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The first book deals with administration, the second with the census and products of Matsumae, Hakodate, East and West Ezo, and the third contains much material on the economy.

BABA SADAYOSHI, ed. and trans. *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*. The correct title is *Tôhoku Dattan Shokoku Zushi Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* and is a translation of the Dutch of Nicholas Witsen's *Beschryving Van Oost en Noord Tartaryen* first published in 1785 and later revised and published in two volumes by Pieter Boddaert. Baba, who was translator to the Edo Astronomical Observatory, started this work in April 1809 by the order of the High Commissioner of Nagasaki and the finished product was presented to the Bakufu in the fall of that year. The work is a compendium of information on Northeast Asia and especially Hokkaidô.

Ezo Zassho (Ezo miscellany). 2 books. The first book is a collection of materials on the marketing procedures, customs, habits, and traditions of the Ezo while the second has various documents, among them the "Ansei Bunsei nenkan Ezo Kokô hyô."

Ezo Shûi (Ezo gleanings). 5 books. In 1785 the Bakufu sent Yamaguchi Takashina, Iohara Norikata, Satô Yukinobu, Minagawa Hidemichi, and Aojima Masanori, all civil engineers, to Ezo to investigate, among other things, the road and the mining situation. They stayed for a year and the results of their work drew the attention of the Bakufu to the northern regions and, at the same time, added to its knowledge of them. The results of their work was published as *Ezochi Kaitaku Ikensho* in February 1786 by Matsumoto, Lord of Izen. Their suggestions were never carried out owing to the discharge of Tanuma Okitsugu and therefore these men

[P.82(B)]

113 edited *Ezo Shûi* in October 1786 for the information of themselves and other scholars. The first two volumes deal with geography, the third with people and products, the fourth with language, and the fifth with the Russians and the Santan. Very valuable material.

Ezo Shima Ki (The story of Ezo Island). This is part of the ninth section on geography of the *Zokusoku Gunsho Ruijû* and treats of Ezo customs. Probably written between 1751 and 1764.

MURAKAMI SHIMANOGYÔ, *Ezo Shima Kikan* (The wonders of Ezo Island). This was written in 1799 under the alias of Hata Awagimaru. It describes, explains, and illustrates the customs and products of Ezo and is indispensable for Ezo studies. The author, born at Ise, became a Bakufu official engaged in Ezo matters during the years 1789–1817. He did much work on the cartography of Ezo as well as write the *Higashi Ezo Chimeikô*. Recent research indicates that the best book on Ezo customs, the *Ezo Sangyô Zusetsu*, was also written by Murakami. *Ezo Miyage* which was revised and published by Ishigawa Kôsai in 1900 is actually a transcription of *Ezo Shima Kikan*.

MURAKAMI SHIMANOGYÔ, with supplementary materials by MAMIYA RINSÔ, *Ezo Jôyôshû* (Materials on the everyday life of the Ezo). The customary ways of making clothes, storing crops, cooking, building houses, boats, and so on are explained in every detail and with accurate sketches. This is the best among the works dealing with the life of the Ezo. *Ezo Sangyô Zusetsu*, *Ezo Gahô*, *Ezo Zasshi*, *Ezo Gachô*, *Ezo Fûdoki*, *Hokui Shugei Sôshoku Zusetsu* and *Ezo Shima Zunaso* are each transcriptions of all or parts of *Ezo Jôyôshû*. According to the preface of *Ezo Sekei Zusetsu* which is owned by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Tôkyô, this work was done by Murakami originally and later supplemented by Mamiya Rinsô.

Ezojin Kôshi Hôsho Ki (Record of awards to dutiful Ezo children). A record of the filial actions of Hero of Kunashiri Island and of Abepana of Wenbetsu, both of whom were honored by the Bakufu for their filial piety.

MIUEMON, *Ezo Dan* (Tales of Ezo). A transcript of the tales of the farmer Miuemon of Esashi. Brief stories of Matsumae geography, the customs and work of the Ezo, the arrival of Russian ships at Akkeshi and the Ezo rebellions of 1669 and 1789. There are many errors in the story of the rebellion of 1789 and its results are not mentioned. These stories may have been dictated in August 1789 and the scribe may have been Takano Shiin, Magistrate of Mito.

MATSUMIYA KANZAN, *Ezo Dan Hikki* (Narratives of Ezo). 2 books. The first volume contains forty-five separate items on Ezo customs and vocabulary. The second volume relates the rebellion of Shakusham as told by Kanuemon, interpreter to Matsumiya Kanzan who had gone to Matsumae as an inspector in June 1630. This is the first detailed description of Ezo customs. *Ezo Ki*, *Ezo Danwa Ki*, *Ezo Wadan* are copies of this work. The second volume has been copied as *Ezo Sôdô Ki* and as *Ezoron Kiji*. The *Kita Ezo Fûdo Sôkô* of Honda Toshiaki is identical with this work.

Ezochi Kaitaku Shookakitsuke Shôo Ukagahi Shorui (Record of instructions and requests in regard to the development of Ezo). A report by the Commissioner at Hakodate made at the request of Mizuno, Lord of Izumi and member of the Council of the Bakufu. It is concerned with the history and the possibilities of the development of Ezo. It has materials on Northern Ezo, cultivation of land, the Hakodate office, contracts, construction, collection and marketing of goods, emergency shipping, analysis of techniques, problems of coinage and rice and gold supplies etc. There is a sixty-two-page appendix on records, questions, and instructions. The contents are part of the fifth volume of the *SHS*.

Ezochi Kinhan Kokoroe Kata. Instructions on the performance of duties. Issued by the Matsumae to their subjects.

[P. 83(A)]

113 Dated 1832. Owned by Hokkaidō Imperial University Library.

Ezochi Kinban Kokoroe Kata. A revision and reissue of the above during the Later Matsumae period.

MUTŌ KANZŌ, *Ezo Nikki* (Ezo diary). Mutō's account of a journey taken in company with the auditor Mitsubashi Tōuemon to Sōya and back by way of Shikotsun in 1798. An appendix contains stories of the Matsumae Ezo and an account of the salmon industry.

Ezo Nikki (Ezo diary). Written by Yamazaki Hanzō an official of the Tsugaru clan who, with his soldiers, performed guard duty in the Hakodate-Muroran area from March to November 1804 and in Etorofu in 1805 and who returned to his home in 1806. In 1807 he was on duty at Sōya when Russian ships put in an appearance and he returned to Hirosaki in that year. This is his diary of those days. Selections from it have been transmitted as *Bunridō Kaiki*.

KOYAMA NORINARI, *Ezo Nikki* (Ezo diary). The diary of a Bakufu official who accompanied Natsume Chōzaemon from January to October 1808. He arrived in Etorofu in April 1808 by sea, did a short period of guard duty there and returned to Edo by the land route. It is written in excellent Japanese and contains many songs. Koyama is known as a pupil of Kagawa Kageki. This work is also known as *Norinari Ezo Kikō* and *Kojima Norinari Ezo Nikki*.

GOTŌ KURAYOSHI, *Ezo Nikki* (Ezo diary). An account of a journey to Hakodate, Sōya, Nemuro and the east and west coasts taken February–September 1858. Nothing is known of the author.

FUKUI YOSHIMARO, *Ezo no Shima Fumi* (A journey to Ezo Island). An illustrated diary by the Assistant Administrator of Ezo who had traveled through Eastern Ezo in 1803 with Habuto Masayasu. The title is posthumous. Fukui also wrote *Tōi Shūran*.

Izumi, Sakan, ed. *Ezo no Tomoshibe* (The lamp of Ezo). A collection of official papers, concerning the Tokachi region between 1850 and 1871, combined with the *Tokachi Nisshi Shō* of Matsuura Takeshirō and the *Matsumoto Jurō Shuki*. It is a great edition of the old records of Tokachi. Published in 1929.

UEHARA KUMAJIRŌ and ABE CHŌSABURŌ, *Ezo Hōgen "Moshiogusa"* (The dialects of Ezo and a literary miscellany). An explanation of and commentary on the Ainu language treating of the earth, the heavenly bodies, people, the human body, the mind, physiognomy, daily life, materials and tools, animals and birds, grasses and trees, commodities, idioms. Probably the first Ainu dictionary. The authors were interpreters for the Matsumae and wrote this in 1792. It has an introduction by Mogami Tsunenori. Later on Uehara learned Russian and the *Ezo Gosen*, published in 1854 as an Ainu-Russian vocabulary, may have been edited by him.

NIIYAMA TADASHI, *Ezo Fūdoki* (Record of Ezo customs). The evolution of the Matsumae Ezo, frontier fortifications, the villages of Ezo, the Russians, the Santan, products, trade, and customs—all are included in this work which is written in Chinese. Niiyama visited Matsumae in 1788 and it is said that this book was written there in 1789.

SEKITOMO SHIHEI, *Ezo Fūdoki* (A topographical record of Ezo). 7 books. The author's preface is dated November 1793. The book describes in detail the geography, customs, products, etc., of the Matsumae and the Ezo. Owned by Hakodate Library.

Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki (A summary of the insurrection in Ezo). A description of the 1669 rebellion written by a member of the Matsumae clan. Important material.

Ezo Miyage (Souvenirs of Ezo). Materials on the Ezo situation by an unknown author. He had traveled to Akkeshi and Kunashiri in 1671 and 1672 aboard the official ship *Seitoku Maru*. A copious description of customs.

[P. 83 (B)]

113 *Etorofu Shi* (History of Etorofu). Part of *Moi Tōkanki*. Deals with customs, food, the sea, homes, marriage, funerals, ships, weather, tools, products, and the language. The author may be Saitō Kurata who went to Etorofu in 1807.

Obasho Sakai Chu Kokoroe Sho (Notes on the management of *Basho*). The papers of Kashiwaya Kihei, contractor for the Kunashiri *Basho*, concerning the cancellation of his contract in 1848 and its renewal in 1849 when the management rules were changed.

Orei Ezojin Tetsuzuki Shirabe Sho (Documents on procedures for receiving gifts from the Ezo). Documents on the Niikappu *Basho* relative to the transfer of 1822. Included in the *Ezo Zassho*.

Kahei Ukeoi Chunainai Bannin Kokoroe Sho (Takada Kahei's instuctions to his guards during the period of his contract). Materials on the Shibetoro *Basho* in Etorofu.

Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan (A record of personal experiences in Kamikawa). Written by Hizuka Takamasa, assistant to the Kaitakushi, as a record of what he heard and saw during his inspection of the boundaries of Kamikawa, Sorachi, and Kabauto.

KŌNŌ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Kyūdojin Chōsa Shorui* (Miscellaneous investigations concerning the aborigines). A collection taken from magazine and newspaper articles. Now owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

HABUTO MASAYASU, *Kyumei Kōki* (The veritable record). Habuto was appointed Commissioner in Ezo in 1790, Commissioner at Matsumae in 1802, and he resigned his positions in 1807. The nine volumes of this work contain all the events that occurred during his tenures from the assumption of direct control in 1799 to his resignation. The eleven-volume appendix consists mostly of official documents he handled during his tenures. This material was published in *Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijū*, Part IV, but many errors were made in the transcription and, when *SHS* was published, the fifth volume was devoted to a correct text of this work.

RINSŌ MAMIYA, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (An illustrated description of Northern Ezo). Place names, topography, products, the natives of Karafuto, clothing, homes, food, tools, customs, religion, etc., all are described as well as the customs of the Orokko and Sumerenkuru. Rinsō was born in Hitachi, served the Bakufu from 1805 onward, explored Ezo, supplemented Ino Tadataka's maps of Ezo, explored Karafuto in 1808 in company with Matsuda Denjirō at the order of the Bakufu. He submitted reports of this latter trip, returned to Karafuto in 1809 and finally reached Manchuria. *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* is the record of this last trip. It has alternative names—*Dōchū Yoroku*, *Hokui Bunkai*, *Hokui Kikō*, *Kita Ezo Chibu*. It was published in 1855 in four volumes by Harimaya of Edo and, without the illustrations, is part of the appendix on Hokkaidō of *Nihon Meishō Chishi*.

Kita Ezochi Hottan Nukigaki (A brief summary of the origins of the Northern Ezo area). A report about members of the Matsumae clan and their experiences on Karafuto. Written by the clan at the request of the Bakufu official Murata Tetsutarō in March 1800.

Kimura Shikyō Hikki (Diary of Kimura Shikyō). Kimura of Hitachi wrote this diary of a round trip to Ezo between April 3, 1798, and February 3, 1799. The trip was made under the alias of Shimono Gensuke and in company with Kondō Morishige. He had been to Matsumae previously in 1793 along with Takeishi Minzō at the order of Tachibara Suiken of Mito and on this earlier trip had written *Hokō Hiroku*.

Anzei Konen Gyogyō Yatoi Kyūryō Sonota (Wages of fishing employees and other matters in 1857). A collection on the wages of fishermen and the price of commodities in 1857, on the fish catch in Sōya *Basho* in 1857–1858 and on other matters. Owned by the Hakodate Prefectural Office.

Gyoba Kankei Shorui (Materials on the fish markets). The files of the contractor Satō Iranaemon of Utasutsu and Isoya.

[p.84(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Detailed records of the procedures that resulted in the abolition of the contract system in 1869–1870.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Kinsei Ezo Jinbutsushi* (Materials on the contemporary natives). 9 books. Personalities and peculiarities of Ezo which the author collected on his trips to every part of the island. The manuscript lay long unnoticed and was finally published in *Sekai*, Nos. 98–110.

Kusuri Basho Toriatsukai Kakinuki (Notes on the management of the Kusuri *Basho*). A selection from the records of the pre-Bakufu direct control period. It treats of the annual calendar, purchasing and selling, management experiences, the treatment of officials, wage scales, gratuities to employees, etc., of the Kusuri *Basho*.

Kusuri Basho Hikiwataihi Ikken Kaki Mono Utsusshi (Materials on the transfer of Kusuri *Basho*). The investigation reports and the files, relevant to the transfer of this *Basho* in 1822.

Kunashiri Basho Kakiage (Documents on Kunashiri *Basho*). The regulations, progress made and the contemporary situation in this *Basho*. Drawn up in September 1868 when it was transferred.

SEKIFUJI FUJIKAGE, *Kankokuroku* (Record of an inspection trip). 4 books. Materials embodying the results of an investigation into the topography, customs, people, boundaries, soil, and products of Karafuto. Sekifuji made the trip in 1856–1857 at the order of Abe, Lord of Ise, head of the Fukuyama clan and Councillor to the Bakufu. Included is the diary kept on this trip by Sekifuji who was also known as an eminent disciple of Rai Sanyō.

NIIDA MAGOSABURŌ, *Kansei Ezo Ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Diary of the investigation into the Ezo rebellion of 1789). 3 books. Niida was a Matsumae clan official who was commander in charge of quelling the outbreaks at Kunashiri and Menashi in 1789. As a consequence this is a first-class source for this event.

KUBOTA SHIZŌ, *Kyōwa Shiki* (A personal and official diary of the year 1844). 5 books. The diary of Shizō who traveled from Shikotsu to Sōya and from there to Matsumae. via Shibetsu and the east coast, in 1856, at the order of the Councillor Hotta Masataku, head of the Sakura clan. An interesting record.

Tempo Jugonen Kōshiyō Tomo Kakikomi Nikki. The diary of a Matsumae clan official, Okahira Katsuma, kept from the time he left Matsumae throughout his period of duty at Sōya in 1844. Owned by the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Goryō Ansei Roku Hitsujitoshi Nenchū Shokado Gōmokuroku. A collection of reports and files from Niikappu Basho, offered to Takeuchi, Lord of Shimano and Governor of Hakodate, when he visited there on an inspection trip in 1859.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Sdikō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a second trip to Ezo). On this trip Matsuura went to Karafuto as servant to Nishikawa Shuran, medical doctor of the Matsumae clan on Karafuto, in 1846. The diary is now the property of Kōnō Hiromichi. From the time he was sixteen onward Matsuura traveled constantly. Beginning in 1845, he made three trips to Ezo areas. Later he was chosen by the Bakufu to do geographic investigation in Ezo and during this commission completed *Ezochi Sansei Chiri Torishirabe Zu*. He produced other works on Ezo and was known as the greatest Ezo expert of his time. In the Meiji era he was appointed to the Kaitakushi and was responsible for selecting the official modern names for the subdivisions of Hokkaidō.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a third trip to Ezo). This trip was taken in 1849 to Kunashiri and Etorofu.

Sansei Shitsu (An appeal in the name of salvation). The author, Kuwada Wa, had been engaged in vaccination work in Ezo in an effort to save children, cows, and horses. Deeply sympathetic with the poverty of the Ezo and the need for

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

educating them, he published this as an appeal to the public in the spring of 1858. Owned by the Hakodate Library.

TAKATSU YASUSHI, *Shōhokuroku* (A story of the extreme north). In 1808 the Aizu clan had military duty at Sōya, Rishiri, Karafuto, and Matsumae by order of the Bakufu. This is the diary of Takatsu, chief of staff of these guard troops. The diary came to light in 1844 and was published by Takatsu's pupil Takahashi Muneaki. Takahashi later accompanied the Bakufu scholar Koga Kiyori to Tsushima to accept the Korean envoys and write the *Taikō Nikki* as a result.

Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shimanokami Sashidashi Sōrō Kakitsuke. This is a report submitted by Norihiro, Lord of Matsumae, to the assistant administrator of the Bakufu in 1715. It is also known as *Ezo Shima Monogatari* and *Ezochi Fūzoku*.

Shiragi no Kiroku (Archives of Shinra). A genealogy of the Matsumae family, edited by Saitō Naomasa. Collected by Matsumae Kagehiro in 1643 and presented to the Bakufu. Published by the Hakodate Library.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Jinshin Yoseki*. A collection of materials on regulations, suggestions, advices, and applications relative to the development of Ezo, gathered by the compiler. Published as a series in *Sekai* beginning with No. 104.

Suwa Damiyōjin Eshi. 3 books. Scrolls dedicated to the Suwa shrine in 1388 by Kōzaka Enchū, secretary to Ashikaga Takauji. They contain a full account of the rebellion of the Andō family in 1324 and also have materials on the Hokkaido Ainu. Though brief, they are an excellent source for Ezo at the end of the Kamakura period.

HONDA TOSHIAKI, *Sekijin Nihonkoku e Hyōchaku ni Nazorae Kinnen Shigeshige Toraj Suru ni Ihi Aru Koto* (On the frequent visits of Russians to Japan in recent times under the guise of being castaways). The author points out that these visits under the pretense of distress were for purposes of trade. He discusses the threat posed by Russia and urges the opening of trade and the development of the Ezo area. He repeatedly emphasizes the profit to be gained by the cultivation of the Ezo. Dated May 1791.

Sōezochi Gyōgai no gi ni Tsuki Kokoroe Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke (A report on the importance of the Ezo area as a frontier). A report by Kondō Morishige that resulted from his exploration of Western Ezo in 1807 under the direction of the Bakufu. The entire report is contained in Murao Motonaga, *Kondō Morishige Jiseki Kō* in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

Ansei Hinotatsudoshi Sōya e Sashitatejō Todome (Dispatches and documents on the Sōya area, 1856).

Sōya Shihainin Otazaune ni tsuki Osoremagara Moshiage Tatematsuri Sōrō. A report by the manager of Sōya in response to a Bakufu request for information on the Sōya *Basho* in January 1856.

Ansei Ninen Sōya Basho Ohikitsugi Mokuroku. An inventory of the Sōya *Basho* tendered by the Matsumae to the Bakufu when the latter took over the *Basho* in 1855. Describes the Sōya *Basho* in detail. Owned by Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

Ansei Santatsudoshi Sōya Yori no Raijō Todome. Documents transferred from the Sōya office to the Mombetsu office in 1856. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative office.

KONDŌ MORISHIGE, *Zoku Ezo Sōshi* (Sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi*). 4 books. This is, in a sense, a sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi* of Mogami Tokunai. Kondō wrote these volumes on the geography of Ezo, the Kuriles, and Russia with references to the Santan and Manchuria. The work is dedicated to the Bakufu and the preface is dated August 1804. The contents are almost the same as Kondō's *Henyō Bunkai Zukō*.

Ansei Sanyonen Tōbanyo Moshitate Sho (Guard post materials for 1856–1857). Mombetsu documents for the period 1856–1857. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

113 HIRAZAWA MICHITSUGU, *Taka no Ha Kaze* (The wing of a hawk). Under the orders of Abe Masatsune, head of the Fukuyama clan, Hirazawa managed the Shiranuka, Akan, and Ashiyoro areas of Kushiro in 1870. This is excellent material on the contemporary situation. Published in 1920.

KŌNŌ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Takabatake Toshinobu Shi Banwa* (The personal story of Takabatake Toshinobu). Oral narrative of Takabatake Toshinobu who was appointed in September 1870 as officer in charge of developing the Sorachi and Kamikawa regions. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

ŌHARA SAKINGO, *Chihoku Gudan* (The northern allegory). 3 books. In 1795 Ōhara was invited by the Matsumae to come to Fukuyama. He left there in 1796 with the suspicion, reported in this book, that Michihiro was secretly contracting with the Russians. He reported this to the Bakufu. Ōhara was born in Sendai and became an excellent painter. He is also the author of *Hokuchi Kigen* which discusses the possibility of foreign aggression against Ezo.

Tsugaru Ittoshi (History of the unification of Tsugaru). 13 books. A collection of important documents of the Tsugaru clan dating from 1655 to 1780(?). It has good material on Hokkaidō including the *Matsumae Usudake Yokurukoto*, *Matsumae Ezo Hōki* and others. It contains the reports of Maki Tadaemon and Akimoto Rokuzaemon who investigated the rebellion of 1669. It was edited by Aisaka Noritake and Itō Sukenori, officials of the Matsumae clan, in 1731.

Tsugaru Kibun (Anecdotes of Tsugaru). 2 books. The first volume treats of the customs and the names of the villages of Ezo and of the language of Tsugaru. The second deals with the Tsugaru region. Neither author nor era is known. It is assumed to have been written between April and October of 1757 and certainly in 1758 because of its description of the smallpox epidemic. Also known as *Ezo Matsumae Bunsho*.

Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki (Duty regulations for 1806). Regulations for the Tsugaru officials on duty in Ezo. Owned by the Hirosaki Library.

Matsuura Takeshirō, *Teshio Nisshi* [Teshio diary]. Selections from the diary of an exploration of the Teshio River, during June 1857, which was undertaken at the order of the High Commissioner of Hakodate.

Tatematsu Kanieshi *Tōyuki* (Record of a trip to the East). 2 books. In the preface the author states that he left Edo in 1783 for Matsumae in order to visit old friends and that he stayed at Esashi for a year during which time he made notes on Ezo. There is good detailed treatment of the customs and especially of the economy of Matsumae at this time. The author was commonly known as Kahei or Yauemon. He was from Owari and a comic poet. His trip seems actually to have been made as a secret investigation of Matsumae at the instigation of the Bakufu official Tsuchiyama Sōjirō.

FURUKAWA TATSU, *Tōyu Zakki* (Miscellany of a trip to the East). 30 vols. The diary of a journey to Tōhoku and Matsumae by a member of a Bakufu inspection party in 1788. Volumes 11 through 18 treats Ezo customs in detail and have many illustrations. They have been published as Vol. 12 of *Kinsei Shaki Keizai Sōsho*.

TŌ CHIBUN, *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo). 2 books. The first volume contains very sharp observations and descriptions of the topography of each of the *Basho* from Matsumae to Kunashiri. The second volume is a miscellany of the things the author heard and saw on his trip. There is an annex with two articles. One is on the island of Karafuto; the other is on drugs produced in Ezo. The foreword is dated October 1801.

Tōi Hisohiso Yobanashi (Night whispering stories of Eastern Ezo). 17 books. Volumes 1 through 12 are documents on the negotiations with Russia from 1804–1813. The other volumes deal with conditions at the big *Basho*, such as

[P. 85(B)]

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

Shiraoi, in the period 1808–1811 along with mileage from Hakodate and details on population, products and houses.

TONEI GENSHIN, *Tōkai Santan* (Three stories of the Eastern Seas). The diary of a trip from Sōya to Shikotsu and Hakodate and back to Japan in company with Tōyama Kagenobu with much material on what the author heard and saw in Ezo in the years 1805–1806. A biography of Mogami Tokunori comprises an annex. The author was born at Jōshū and later was known as Arai Seisai.

ŌUCHI YOAN, *Tōkai Yawa* (Night stories of Eastern Ezo). 3 books. A detailed narrative of the customs, habits, geography, legends, and anecdotes of the Ezo by a medical doctor on the staff of the Commissioner at Hakodate from 1854 to 1859. It was published by Bunenkaku at Edo in 1861. There is a preface by Suzuki Yoshnori and Maeda Kain. There are many illustrations by Tazaki Sōun and Hashimoto Gyokuran. It has also been published by Hakubunkan as an annex to Section Nine of Matsubara Nijusankaido's *Nihon Meishō Chishi* but this latter edition is not accurate.

Ansei Sannen Shogatsu yori Tokachi Koku Goyodome. Documents on the Tokachi area for the period 1856–1860. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Tokachi Koku Kyūdojin Shorui (Materials on the old natives of the Tokachi region). A paper from the Tokachi region dated May 1856 on the Ezo custom of fostering children. It is contained in the *Ezo Zassho*.

Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu (Outline of the Tokachi region). Edited by the Shizuoka clan detachment that was charged with duty in Tokachi from January 1870 to August 1871.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Tokachi Nisshi* (Tokachi diary). A selection from the diary of a journey from Ishikari to the Ishikari River, Tokachi, the Saoro River, and then to Ōtsu at the mouth of the Tokachi River, undertaken between February 19, 1858, and March 19, 1858. Originally a part of the *TES*.

Tokachi Basho Moshiage Sho (Report on Tokachi *Basho*). A report submitted by Kudō Sadauemon, an official of the Matsumae clan as a result of an inspection tour of Tokachi 1855. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Dojin Yuraiki (On the origins of the natives). A collection of materials on the dispute between the Ishikari *Basho* Ainu and the Yūbutsu *Basho* Ainu on the right to fish the Chitose River, rights which antedated the pre-Bakufu direct control period and which were dissolved in 1808. The title comes from the volume on the origins of the Yūbari Ainu and the Isari-Muisari Ainu called *Yūbutsu Ishikari Kyōkai Muisari Yuhari Kyōkai Kyū Jikki*.

Niikappu Moshiage Wakecho (Report on Niikappu). Estimates of the annual expenditures, population, prices of native goods, market volume and wage scales in 1859. Prepared by the official Inoue Genshichirō for the Commissioner at Hakodate as the result of an inspection trip. Contained in *Goryō Ansei Rokuhistuji no Toshi Chu Shōkado Wake Mokuroku*.

Bunsei Gonen Niikappu Basho Hikitsugi Sho. Materials on the transfer of Niikappu *Basho* in 1822. Chiefly concerned with native relations. Part of *Ezo Zassho*.

Nishi Ezochi Ishikari Obasho Ezojinninbetsu Narabi ni Kaihō Kata Shihainin Bannin Kasegi Kata Ninzu Shikomihin Shussanbutsu Shirabe Shojō Utsushi. A report prepared in February 1854 and the best source for conditions in the Ishikari *Basho* at that time.

Nishi Ezochi Takashima Nikki (A record of Takashima in West Ezo). 4 books. A diary by an unknown author who was in the company of the Bakufu official Inoue Kanryū during a trip from Takashima where, in 1808, Inoue had been in charge of that island, to Matsumae. The diary is interspersed with poems and has an Ezo vocabulary as an appendix.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Nishi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of West Ezo). 6 books. Selections from the author's *Tōzai Ezo Sansenchiri Torishirabe Kikō* [*TES*].

[P.86(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi Hikiwatashi Ensetsusho* (Address on transferring the Western area in 1822). A speech delivered by a Bakufu official on the occasion of the transfer of Western Ezo in 1822. A good source for the *Basho* customs of the period.

Nemuro Kyūkanshi (The old customs of Nemuro). Selected documents on the Nemuro *Basho* for the period 1856–1858. Edited by Matsumoto Jūrō, senior Kaitakushi officer.

Nemuro Nenchū Gyōji (The annual routines and ceremonials at Nemuro). A detailed record of the routine of the Matsumae officials on duty at Nemuro. Kudō Kodanji passed through Nemuro in 1829 and either got the original of this or made a copy.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Nosshappu Nisshi* (Nosshappu diary). Selections from the diary of his journey from Atsushi to Nemuro in April 1858 by way of Kiritappu, Hanazaki, and Nosshappu. Originally a part of *TES*.

Hakodate Goshūnō Kadowakechō. An account book presented by the Matsumae clan to the Commissioner at Hakodate in 1854. It deals with the tax receipts from the seven local *Basho* of Hakodate and with the tax regulations.

Bunridō Kaiiki Nukikaki (Selections from the *Bunridō Kaiiki*). Selections from the Ezo diary of Yamazaki Hanzō with an annex of miscellaneous materials on Ezo. Owned by the Hakodate Library.

Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki (Journal of a trip in Eastern Ezo). Treats of the roads from Matsumae to all parts of Eastern Ezo, geography in general, native chiefs, contractors, products and prices and mileages. Written in 1856. Author unknown.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of Eastern Ezo). 8 books. A collection of materials from his numerous journals covering the situation in Eastern Ezo from Yamakoshinai to Nosshappu during the late 1850's.

Hidaya Kyūki (Records of Hidaya). A copy in 2 books. A copy of old records covering the period from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century and largely concerned with the contracts of Hidaya Kyuhei who had the lumber contracts in the Kunashiri, Nemuro, and Atsushi *Basho* and who had achieved a great reputation in the development of Hokkaidō. The copy was made by Kōnō Tsunekichii.

MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Fukuyama Hifu* (Archives of Fukuyama). A collection of historical materials of the Matsumae clan edited by Matsumae Hironaga from private and official records. Done in 1780 at the direction of the head of the clan. We know there were sixty volumes which covered chronology, official business, religion, genealogy, law, lists of clan subjects, geography, fauna and flora, currency, the Ezo rebellion of 1669, and so on. No complete set survives but what is left represents the best record we have for the period 1443–1780. Hironaga, assistant clan chief, was the best scholar of the clan and has a number of other works to his credit—*Matsumae Shi, Matsumae Nenreki Shōkei, Mojin Seidan, Ezo Retsuzō Furoku, Fuku Ou So.*

MUKŌYAMA ATSUSHI, ed. *Heishin Jōtetsu*. 3 books. A collection of Bakufu documents on Ezo covering the first half of the nineteenth century. It forms a part of the *Seisai Zuihitsu* which itself dealt with the institutions, origins of the culture, the changes in customs and the internal and external affairs of Ezo. *Seisai Zuihitsu* was written and edited by Mukōyama who had first inspected Ezo in 1854 and who died in 1856 while on a journey in Karafuto.

MATSUDA DENJURŌ, *Hokui Dan* (Stories of Ezō). 7 books. Written by Matsuda Shirozaemon, a Bakufu official who had administered the affairs of Hokkaidō during the twenty-four years of the Bakufu direct administration of Ezo from 1799 to 1822. He stayed there for nineteen years and he wrote these books for the purpose of transmitting to his posterity his experiences in service and his observations there. Another title of this book is *Matsuda Shi Shiroku Hikki*. The author, whose old family name was Asami, was born

[P. 86(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 in Echigo and adopted by the Matsuda family. His given name is Nisaburō and later he changed it to Denjūrō. He served in East Ezo, Edo, Sakhalin, Matsumae, Esashi, Hakodate, and Sōya, and greatly contributed to the exploration of Karafuto and to the development of trade with the Santan.

SAKAKURA GENJIRŌ, *Hokkai Zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous accounts of the Northern Seas). 2 books. The first volume is a detailed treatment of the customs and manners, products, and geography of Matsumae, and the second of the customs and language of the Ezo. This is supposed to be the best of the materials concerning Ezo (in abundance of detail). At the end of this book, the author's distinguished opinion of the exploration of Ezo is attached. Written by Sakakura Genjirō, an employee of Gotō Shōzaburō (a gold merchant in Edo who came to Matsumae to investigate Hokkaidō in 1737 and 1738 at the request of the Bakufu in order to open up gold mines there). There are many copies of this book such as *Ezo Ki*, *Ezo Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Matsumae Karasu*, *Ezo Ridan*, *Ezo Kimon*, all of which have the same content as the original. *Ezo Kōki*, another edition of this book which is included in *Nippon Bunko*, lacks the author's opinion of Ezo explorations along with other materials.

SAKAI TADAKUNI, *Hokkaidō Junkōki* (A journey around Hokkaidō). 3 books. An official report by Sakai Tadakuni, an inspector of the Colonial Bureau, who made a tour of investigation of Iburi, Hidaka, Tokachi, Kushiro, Nemuro, Kitami, and Teshio starting in May of 1879. In the former four areas he describes the actual scenes, especially emphasizing the conditions of the salmon fisheries. In the latter three areas he gives a detailed account of his observations including the climate, products, transportation, and education. The third book deals with the customs and manners of the Ainu. Another title of this book is *Sakai Tadakuni Hokuchi Rikōki*.

Hokkaidō Dojin Chinjutsucho (Petition by the native of Hokkaidō). In September 1894, a petition was made by a person who came to Tōkyō accompanied by an Ainu and who stated that the natives of Hokkaidō were ill-treated. This event attracted the attention of people, and became the motive for proposing a bill for the protection of the natives by Suzuki Atsumi and others in the Eighth Diet Session. This book is a collection of the petitions and the documents given in answer by the Hokkaidō government in the Diet Session. Owned by Hokkaidō Imperial University Library.

Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Tairyaku Shirabe (*HDHS*) (A survey of the customs and other miscellaneous affairs of the natives in Hokkaidō). A survey of the daily life of Ainu by Sakai Tadakuni, a Kaitakushi official, done at the request of the government in 1877. Useful for the life of the contemporary Ainu people in Tokachi and Hidaka provinces. Included in *Hokkaidō Junkōki* by the same author and in *Ezo Zassho* 2 edited by the Colonial Bureau.

KIMURA KENJI and TAKEISHI MINZŌ, *Hokko Nichiroku* (A diary of a journey to the North). 1 book. A diary by Kimura Kenji and Takeishi Minzō, country samurai who, by a secret order of Tachihara of the Mito Clan came to Matsumae and made private inquiries into the reception for Laxman, a Russian agent, by the Bakufu. This reception was held at Fukuyama in 1792. The diary includes their observations at Matsumae and gives an account of the state of the Clans in the Ōu area. I have used an extract from the book, owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

ŌUCHI SEIEMON. *Hokusui Taimon* (A dialogue on Ezo). In May 1838 Ōuchi Seiemon, a merchant at Nakaminato, Hitachi, visited Matsumae and Hakurō to make private inquiries at the request of Mito Mitsukuni, the lord of the Mito Clan. This, written in the form of question and answer, describes his observations. The listener is supposed to be Kunitomo Zen-an, the President of Shōkōkan. This

[P.87(A)]

113

book is also called *Ezo Jōjitsu*. This includes an appendix of accounts of the travel by Seiemon.

TOYODA RYŌ, ed. *Hokuto Shi* (History of Hokkaidō). 5 vols. Edited by Toyoda Ryō, the manager of Shōkōkan, at Mito, at the request of the Bakufu. Toyoda's other name is Tenkō. He was commonly called Hikozirō, and his pen name is Shōbō. This book describes the history of Ezo and Northern Ezo from Age of the Gods to 1854 when the office of the Magistrate of Hokkaidō was established. Written in Chinese. It has a preface written in August 1854. Published in 1870.

Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari (Narrative by Hokuto Sanjin). Written at Edo in 1846 at the dictation of one whose pen name is Hokuto Sanjin and who returned from Matsumae in 1845. This book includes also as an appendix a later narrative of matters in Ezo which is based upon Sanjin's staying at Hakodate from 1851 to 1852. Owned by Hakodate Library.

MOGAMI TOKUNAI and HONDA TOSHIAKIRA, ed. *Hokuhen Kinpiroku* (Secret history of the northern frontier). This book, written by Honda Toshiakira from the original manuscript by Mogami Tokunai, elucidating the ambition of Russia and the loose management of Matsumae, advises the Bakufu to prepare for an emergency. In the preface, the author writes: "On January 28, 1795, Honda Toshiakira finished this book."

Hotaru Nai Honjin Shinorigaedome, 1867–68 (Official records related to the Otaru Office). 1 book. Official records of the main office of Otaru which are concerned with Ebisuya Hanbē's resignation in 1867 from that office. Hanbē was dismissed in April 1865 from the job of contractor and appointed as a traveling tax collector at the office of Otaru. This is in the Kimura Collection, Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Matsumae Ezo Ki (The Matsumae Ezo record). This presents useful stories of Fukuyama Castle, streets, taxes, merchant vessels, products, and so forth. The author and the date are unknown. But the late Kōnō Tsunekichi suggested the following: "The copy of a book which was submitted from the House Matsumae says: 'In the lifetime of the Lord of the Isle, my great-grandfather, there were gold mines at Unbetsu, Tokachi, Shirioshiuchi, and Shiriuchi.' This great-grandfather means Matsumae Kimihiro VII. Kimihiro's great-grandchild was Matsumae Tsunehiro X who died in 1720. Therefore, it is clear that this book was written before 1720. The copy says also: 'Because of the order of 1716 to present hawks, last winter eight pairs of year-old hawks and this spring, one year-old hawk were presented.' This story accurately corresponds to the narrative of 1716 in *Fukuyama Hifu* and that in *Matsumae Kyōjiki*. Therefore, the book was written in 1717. On the twenty-third of June in the same year, inspectors came to Matsumae and returned on the fourteenth of July. From this fact, we can suppose that this was written by these inspectors."

HOTTA MASAATSU, *Matsumae Kikō* (Matsumae travel diary). In June 1808 Hotta Masaatsu, a Councilor of State, Lord of Settsu, and the Lord of the manor of Katada, went to Matsumae at the request of the Bakufu, and made a tour of inspection as far as Usu in the East and Esashi in the West, and returned to Edo in October of the same year. This is his diary of this tour, written in fluent Japanese, sometimes including Japanese odes ("Waka"). This book has been called by several names such as *Matsumae Kikō, Katadakō Chishima no Ki, Ezo Kikō*, or *Ezo Michinoki*. Included in the sixth volume of *Sendai Sōsho*.

MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Matsumae Shi* or *Hokui Shi* (A work on Matsumae). 10 books. A work by Matsumae Hironaga with an introduction written by the author in 1781. This work, a detailed description of Matsumae Ezo, consists of a brief genealogy of the House of Fukuyama and parts on the Ezo government, customs, and manners of the Ezo, geography,

[P.87(B)]

113 birds and animals, fishes, grains, vegetables, and money and goods.

Matsumae Zuishō-Roku (Records by merchants of Matsumae). A guidebook including the distances, products, taxes, etc., of villages in Matsumae and Eastern and Western Ezo. The year of publication is unknown, but supposedly is around 1781. There are many copies of it which have marginal notes. It is also known as *Hokuhan Fudoki*. Owned by Hakodate Library.

Matsumae Hisatsu (Hidden stories of Matsumae). Written in 1839 at the dictation of Tokuuemon, the chief shipping agent of the Takadaya firm. It describes in detail the industries in Ezo while Takadaya was active there, geography of Matsumae Ezo, meritorious deeds of Takadaya Kahei, and the case wherein Takadaya Kinbei was charged in 1833 as a smuggler. It also includes accounts of the political injustices in the Matsumae Clan, and rumors concerning the succession to the House of Matsumae. This is excellent material since it shows the social and economic situations in Ezo during the period of direct administration by the Bakufu and of the administration by the Matsumae Clan.

Matsumae Fukuyama no Shookite (Laws and regulations in Matsumae). A collection of the laws and regulations issued by the House of Matsumae during the period between 1678 and 1805.

Mizou Ki or *Oku no Nikki, 2 vols.* (Diary of a journey to a far place). A diary of a journey made in 1799 from Edo to Horōizumi in East Ezo and back by Tōyama Kinshirō, an agent of Matsudaira Sadanobu.

Murakami Awaji no Kami Kaiho Jōshin Ki. A report to the Lord of Awaji which is part of the collection "Ansei Santatsumi no toshi rokugatsu yori uwayakushu mimawari no tame tsuko toriatsukai oboe."

Murayama Denjirō Rireki Tairyaku Shirabe (A brief record of Murayama Denjirō). A collection of the documents concerning the history of the Abeya, the commercial and financial group of the Murayama family, who were contractors for the Bakufu in Ishikari. The original copy is owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Murayama Denbei Rireki (Personal history of Murayama Denbei). A personal history of Murayama Denbei III, the founder of the Abeya who, occupying a position as an official in Edo, led the commercial world of Hokkaidō by undertaking big contracts in several places in Karafuto and in Sōya and Shari, as well as in Ishikari and Eastern Ezo areas such as Kunashiri, Nemuro, Akkeshi, Kushiro. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

SHIEN SHUJIN, ed. *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narratives of the hairy aborigines of the eastern region). It consists of *Higashi Ezo Kikō* written by Yamazaki Hanzō, a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1806, and *Etorofu Shi* by Rekisai Sanjin, also a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1809. It was edited by a clansman of Tsugaru who expressed his opinion that, without understanding its geography and manners and customs, Ezo, an important frontier for the Tsugaru clan, could not be secured.

Mombetsu Kaikon ni Tsuki Shokakitsuke (Documents concerning the encouragement of clearing lands at Mombetsu in 1858). The encouragement was promoted by the Bakufu officials stationed at Mombetsu in the territory of Sōya. These were collected from *Ansei Gonen Kaikon Kata Sho Kakitsuke, Ezochi Goyōdome, Muragaki Awaji no Kami Dono Gokaiho Chū Shokakitsuke*, etc. Owned by the Daichi Library in Hokkaidō.

Mombetsu Basho Saichū Toriatsukaishō (Records at Mombetsu). The documents collected at the office of Mombetsu, Kitami, in August of 1864. These include a copy of prohibitions, laws, orders delivered at *Omusha*, a list of the boundaries of the lands transferred, a list of the prices of arrow-feathers, of bear liver and hides, and the hides of other kinds of small animals in Northern Ezo, a record of

[P.88(A)]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

the wages paid to the natives, a record of names and places, distances, number of the native families, fishing places, etc.

Yririuto Ikken Oukesho (A written acknowledgment in the Yririu Island Case). This consists of a written acknowledgment of the settlement of the conflict which occurred in 1833 between the office of Akkeshi and that of Nemuro in connection with fishing rights at Yririu Island and a record of administration in Ezo and a list of the amount of products which were offered by the office of Nemuro to Kudô Sadauemon who inspected there in 1855.

Roi Goyôdome (Conflict with the Russians in Ezo). Five documents concerning the conflict with the Russians who were active in and around Ezo and arrested by the agents of the Bakufu office at Ushiyoro, Karafuto during the period from 1864 to 1867.

TOYOSHIMA SANUEMON, *Ôko Ezojin no Hanashi Kikirutae Hikae* (Observations of the old Ezo). Observations by Toyoshima Sanuemon, an interpreter since 1818 at the office of Kushiro. It includes the contemporary situation at Shiranuka in exploitation, the names of the resident natives at such places as Abashiri, Ashigoro, and Kushiro, in the period of Bunsei, "List of the names of the Guards in the Territory of Kushiro," "The Prices of the Products which were Bought from the Natives," both of which were written in 1807, a note on the names and distances of the new roads in Shari which opened in 1807, and the names of the places and distances in the Territories.

Nakano Genroku, *Waka-Gojiron Missho* (Secret note on Tanka). To make a good Tanka, a 31-syllable Japanese poem, the spirit of the first part of it must be conveyed to the last part of it. On referring this concept to politics, the author discusses the defects of the Bakufu administration in Ezo, especially the evil effects of summary trials.

Watarishima Hikki (Watarishima notebook). Description of the manners and customs of the Ainu in Eastern and Western Ezo, including some rare stories concerning Ainu in the last part of the book. Although written in the style of stray thoughts and notes, it is a notable work in its detailed description of the manners and customs of the Ainu. Undoubtly written in 1808, but the author is unknown. Kyôsuke Kindaichi, in his *Yûkaro no Kenkyû*, states that this may have been written by Mogami Tsunenori.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Tetsuzukisho (Documents concerning a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). Describes the official treatment of Inoue Genshichirô in the Bakufu office at Nemuro, who was the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate and made an inspection of Nemuro in 1859. It includes an official address offered to him from that office.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Nikki (Diary of a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). A collection of documents which consist of a pay-bill for the natives from the Bakufu office at Nemuro, which was offered in 1859 to Inoue Genshichirô, the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate, a petition from Zinsuke, the chief adviser at Nemuro, concerning the case of Nishibetsu and the diary of a tour of inspection by Genshichirô and his party.

OKAMOTO KENSUKE, *Okamoto Kensuke Jiden* (An autobiography by Okamoto Kensuke). This covers the period from Okamoto Kensuke's childhood to 1869. It is rich in useful materials for the study of the history of the exploitation of the northern frontier. It includes the fact that the author explored the perimeter of the northern part of Karafuto in 1865 and a full account of an episode that occurred at the time of the Meiji restoration when he advised Shimizutani, a chamberlain, to make an effort to promote the exploitation of Ezo. It also describes his activities in Ezo as a judge and has many other stories. Another name of the author is Shihaku. He was called Bunpei at first, and later he changed it to Kensuke. His pen name is Ian.

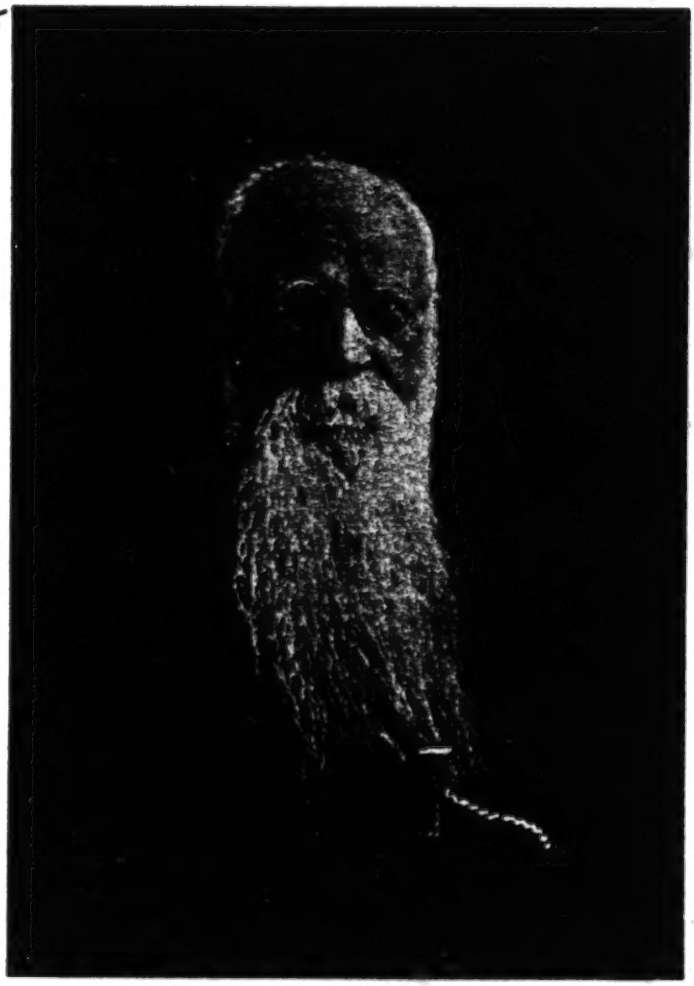
[P88 (B)]

1: Takakura AB6 Ainu

175
648

/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



THE VEN. DR. JOHN BATCHELOR

[frontispiece]
[pi]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU LIFE AND LORE

ECHOES OF A DEPARTING RACE

BY

THE VEN. DR. JOHN BATCHELOR

KYOBUNKWAN
TOKYO

[Title page]

[p. ii]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	Introduction: Some Fundamentals.....	1
I.	The General Appearance of the Ainu ..	7
II.	The Status of Ainu Women	13
III.	The Haunted Man	17
IV.	Battles with the Japanese	23
V.	The Ainu and Oroks at War	29
VI.	The Village Community	35
VII.	Women and their Tattooing	45
VIII.	Clothing	55
IX.	In the Home of Chief Penri	59
X.	That Wicked Missionary	69
XI.	Women and their Work	75
XII.	Manners and Etiquette	83
XIII.	On Sustenance	89
XIV.	A Call to the Mountains	97
XV.	About Mascots	105
XVI.	The Origin of the Ainu; and the Creation	113
XVII.	On Earthquakes	127
XVIII.	A Woman Changed into a Bear	133
XIX.	Chief Penri on Snakes	141
XX.	Chief Penri's Mother Dies	149
XXI.	A Journey to Hades	161
XXII.	Hut Building and Dedication	167
XXIII.	The Two Household Gods	175

[P. iv] [p. iii is blank]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAP.		PAGE
080 XXIV.	The Birth-Tree, and Customs at Childbirth	183
XXV.	On Marriage	195
XXVI.	The Bear Festival	205
XXVII.	My Friends Tee and Arimakna	213
XXVIII.	On Names and Name-giving	229
XXIX.	The Vines of Heaven, and Sympathetic Magic	243
XXX.	On Rain-making, and the Heavenly Bodies	253
XXXI.	Witchcraft and Ophiolatry	263
XXXII.	Shamanism and a Shaman's Seance	275
XXXIII.	Stories of Love, Vengeance and War	287
XXXIV.	A Fight with a Marine Demon	297
XXXV.	A Grandfather, Grandson, Demon and Demi-god	305
XXXVI.	About Hunting	309
XXXVII.	The Pine-marten, Aconis and Skylark	315
XXXVIII.	A God and Man Contest in Magic	319
XXXIX.	Warring on Trees, and the "Wild Dance"	325
XL.	On Pathology	331
XLI.	A Little Boy Delivers his Two Brothers from a Monstrous Demon	337
XLII.	Animism and Necrology	345
XLIII.	On Tree Worship	351
XLIV.	A Woman, Losing her Twelve Sweethearts, at last Marries a Metamorphosed Bear	357
XLV.	Wood Fetishes and the Slaying of the Demon of Disease	361
XLVI.	On Cosmology and the Demon of Thunder	367

[P. v.]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAP.		PAGE
XLVII.	Some Shooting Incidents	373
XLVIII.	A Legend Telling How a Cruel, Bad-Tempered Man was Punished by the Gods	381
XLIX.	Fresh and Salt Water Genii and Ghouls	387
L.	The Bat or Flittermouse Fetish	395
LI.	On Catching Fish	399
LII.	On a Journey	407
LIII.	Ainu Heroes	413
LIV.	Possession by Foxes	423
LV.	Another Fox Story	433
LVI.	A Remarkable Story of Ainu Love and Tragedy	437

[p. vii is blank]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
The Ven. Dr. John Batchelor.....Frontispiece
An Old Ainu Friend..... 6
Moustache-Lifters..... 9
Ainu Women Dancing..... 14
An Ainu Chief..... 22
Northern Ainu Pit-Dwelling..... 30
A Small Hut..... 34
Women Pounding Millet..... 34
A Tattooed Woman..... 44
Winter Clothing, Salmon-Skin Shoes, Sandals..... 52
Necklace, Man's Coat and Woman's Coat..... 54
Elm-fibre Coat..... 55
A Hood, Apron, Leggings..... 58
Chief Penri..... 58
Chief Penri's House at Piratori..... 60
A Rat Trap, Set, and a Rat Trap, Underview..... 65
A Pothook..... 67
Plan of Chief Penri's House at Piratori..... 67
Two Old Ainu Women..... 68
Weaving Cloth and Doing Embroidery..... 74
A Carrying-Sling..... 75
An Ainu Granary..... 88
Ladles for Stirring the Cooking-pots..... 89
Pothook..... 95
Parapita..... 96
A Kite Mascot..... 104
A Woman Rearing the Family Bear Cub..... 106
A Bear Cub's Cage..... 106
A Knife and Sheath..... 108
An Ainu Chief about to Worship the Fire Goddess..... 112
Old Mrs. Bright, Chief Penri's Mother-in-Law..... 116
A Stone Axe..... 118

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PAGE
A Stone Knife 121
Dressed in Her Best 134
Chief Penri's Favourite Pipe-holder and Tobacco-box 142
Mrs. Penri's Birchbark Tray 148
Grave-mark of an Ainu Man 154
A Wooden Cup and Bowl 156
The Sacred East End Corner of a Hut 166
Some Common Fetishes 174
The Household Fetishes 178
The Willow Totem 184
Nusa or Inau Clusters 187
A Cradle 192
Blunt Arrows 208
At the Bear Feast 208
A Drinking Feast 208
A Bear's Head Set Up on High 210
Fetishes Made at a Bear Festival 211
Mr. Tee 212
Samaria and Her Granddaughter 228
Ainu Types of Young Women 248
Our Old Home for Ainu Sick, Sapporo 252
A Snake Effigy 258
Bow, Quiver and Arrows 258
A Shaman 262
A Shaman and His Wife 274
Japanese Drawing of an Ainu Storehouse 286
A Fisherman's Cluster of Fetishes 296
A Fisherman in His Sea-going Boat 298
Chief Penri and His Two Bear-hunting Brothers 304
Setting a Spring-bow (Two Pictures) 308
Old Mrs. Penri's Water-bucket and Ladle 314
Making a Mat 318
A Hearth Rake and an Eating-bowl 321
One of the Village Fathers 324
A Fetish Offering 327
A Man's Embroidered Coat 330
Old Swords 336

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PAGE
Two Friends of 1880 350
An Old Sachalien Friend 356
Fetish Specimens 360
Modern Hunters 372
A Good Friend 380
A River Boat 386
A Marek or Fish-spear 399
Spear for Taking Fish 401
One of My Stopping-places 408
Shrine of Yoshitsune 412
Ainu Men and Women Dancing 422

IN FULL COLOUR

Elm-bast Garment and Leather Belt 56
Two Men Greeting One Another 82
Bridegroom's Token to His Betrothed 82
Bride's Token to Her Betrothed 82
Old Ainu Warrior 126
A Daughter Being Given in Marriage 194
Betrothed 194
An Angry Bear 204
An Old-time Man 242
Kutri 436
Yai-mah 436
Kutri and Yai-mah Courting 438
Wenku of the Stiff Arm 440
Arashik of the Weak Eye 440
Kutri and Yai-mah's Home 444

[P. X] [XI IS BLANK]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

The lore, legends and customs collected in this book 114-
have a pathetic interest as being almost the last echoes 538
to be heard of the old life of a declining and fast disappearing race of men, who have never had a literature and are therefore leaving absolutely no written records behind.

Many of the chapters first appeared in the *Japan* 114-
Advertiser, published in Tokyo. Several of the subscribers to that paper have been so good as to express a desire to have them in book form, and the author has gladly fallen in with the wish, especially as his former book, "The Ainu and their Folklore," has long [113]
been out of print. He only hopes the reader may find as much pleasure in reading these old "Echoes" as he himself has had in collecting them. He first came in contact with the Ainu as a young layman in the year 1877 and has ever since been in very close contact with them. In the year 1879 he joined the Church Missionary Society, of London, and from that time till 1924 remained in connection with that Society. Having then more than attained the age limit, he retired, but is still on the spot, doing what he can privately to help the Ainu on. Dr. Batchelor has also received the very high distinction of being made an honorary member of Hokkaidō Government and is in receipt of a pension in recognition of his work among the Ainu race.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776
powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775
present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828
mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775
need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114
when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

105 There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to [197] point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

101 The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

101 171 It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

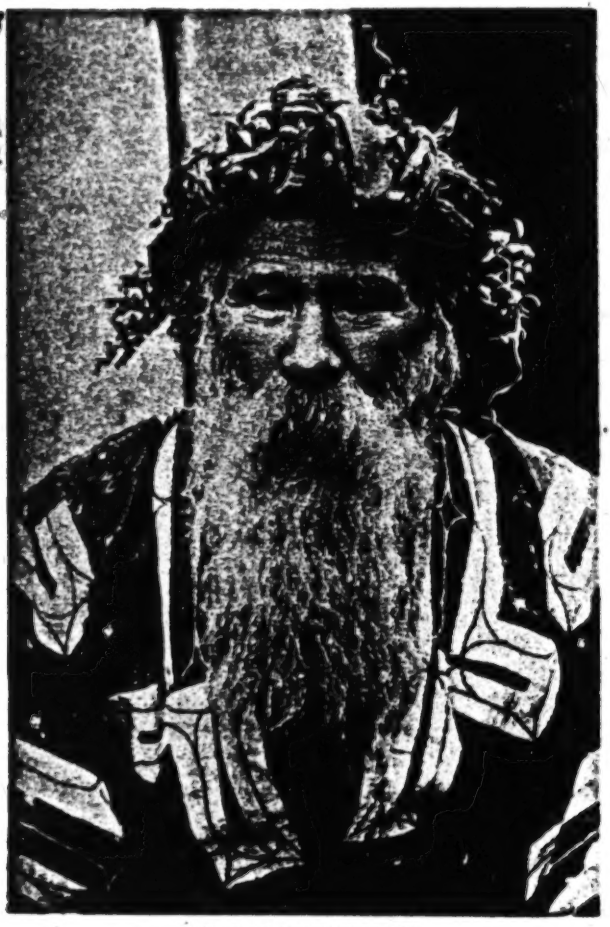
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than them. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

161
162
178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU

On coming to Hokkaidō, a visitor will probably be surprised to find that as a rule the skin of the Ainu, both men and women, is lighter than that of the ordinary Japanese, particularly of the South. Yet a few will be found among them of a coppery brown colour and some quite dark like the North American Indians and natives of Alaska. One young Ainu man who a few years ago went to Alaska hunting otters and who had been detained by the American authorities as a poacher, declared to me, when he returned, that some of the words the Alaska Indians used were very like his own. But, as he had quite forgotten which they were, I was unable to compare. Knowing nothing of the language of that people, I can offer no opinion. And, I will add, some of our visiting friends have remarked, "Why, the Ainu are just like North American Indians." It may be so. I cannot tell. 142 171

In stature the people are moderately short, the men averaging five feet five inches and the women five feet in height. Those less than this are said by some to be descendants of the so-called dwarfs to be mentioned later. These are called "short backed people." They are sturdy and well set up. Their arms and legs are thick and their feet and hands big. Their muscles are large and they have well developed chests and great width of shoulders. The hair of the head is prolific and coarse, its colour being black and brown. They have beautiful teeth and large round, bright brown and dark eyes. They are upright in 142

[P. 7]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A-2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
142 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[165] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the
[597] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard
[511 and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming
171] from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

It will be seen in the next chapter how a certain 562
haunted man professed to despise his departed spouse and how he said that now she was dead and buried he never wished to see her again. But it must not be supposed from this example and one or two more I might cite if necessary, that the Ainu men are misogynists, for they are not so. However, they sometimes tell a remarkable story of the creation of Hokkaidō (Yezo), which hits very hard at any talkative woman's capacity for chattering. It is also sometimes quoted by the hearth to children, in order to inculcate the [861]
principle of working rather than talking. Hokkaidō, we may remind ourselves, is a fine island about the size of Ireland. It has good, rich soil, great abundance of wood, and much coal and other minerals. It has also extensive plains and is well watered. But the western coasts of the island are much more rugged and precipitous than the eastern, and the legend now about to be cited has to do with this fact. It is as follows.

"The island of Yezo was made by two deities, one 539
of whom was a male, and the other a female, and they 562
were sent by the Creator of the world. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, while to the male deity were assigned the south and eastern parts. For a time they vied with each other in their tasks to see which would get through first. But as the female was proceeding with her work she happened to meet with the sister of Aeoina, and in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat
562 with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and
[181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *nupe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [22]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER III

THE HAUNTED MAN

Anra, which being interpreted means "Black Lily," 888 is a tall, well built, full-bearded, shaggy-headed, bright-eyed, and remarkably dignified old man. He is a pure Ainu, whose untamed nature leads him to dwell much in the free and easy ages of the past and long for their return. His thoughts are constantly dwelling upon his nature gods and his rough yet kindly, uncivilized departed forebears. He is a lovable old man, full of quaint ideas.

Though seventy years of age when I first came to be at all intimately acquainted with him, now more than a decade ago, he still walks with a quick, firm step and carries himself as straight as an arrow. When not in drink, which, I am sorry to say is only when he can get no *saké*, and especially when he thinks he is quite unobserved, he wears a depressed, far-away, anxious look on his face. However, when he is kindly spoken to, his fine brown eyes sparkle and twinkle with animation and delight, and his wrinkled brows smooth themselves out with pleasure. He then looks as though he feared neither gods nor men.

Like his parents and grand-parents before him, Anra has his home on the top of a high hill overlooking the sea, so that what with the rushing river below him, the whistling of the winds among the trees above him, and the roaring of the mighty ocean beyond him, the noise about his dwelling is at times loud and weird beyond description.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

Once when I was in this man's district, he came to see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, 787
wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made 838
of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. 158
One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with 156
visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

158 defeated and in disorder, but only to return in greater force some other time. After these bouts he lies on his bed many days in a state of exhaustion and semi-unconsciousness. He told me that his father and mother before him, as well as his wife a few years ago, all died thus afflicted. Could I please do something for him? Could I exorcise the demons and purify his dwelling-place?

The old man took me to his hut, where I tried my best to sympathize with him and endeavoured to make him understand that it would be far better for him were he to go down into the plain below and live among other people, where the air was not so rare, and the roaring of the waves and rushing of the winds were not so likely to bring the sound of those voices. But such advice was absolutely useless and it did not do the slightest good to tell him that the apparitions were imaginary only. I then took another tack and spoke to him of his dear departed wife. I suggested to him that it would be a happy time when he was reunited to his beloved lost one. But here I soon found that I had only "opened my mouth to put my foot into it," as the saying goes.

It was truly a very great mistake on my part to speak of his deceased wife. At the mention of her the old man's ire gushed forth like a mighty sulphur-bearing torrent. The air was full of brimstone. I have never seen an Ainu so indignant and explosive. He was furious and I could imagine then what those poor visiting demons, dwarfs and warriors got. "Why," asked he, "should I want to see that lazy old hag? She was an ugly, slovenly, lean, old scarecrow and I never wish to set eyes on her again. She is now well out of sight and hearing; so let her remain forever! The noxious old hussy!" And so forth. I was much edified and amused. His views of the future life and mine did not accord. He knew the old lady and I did not.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

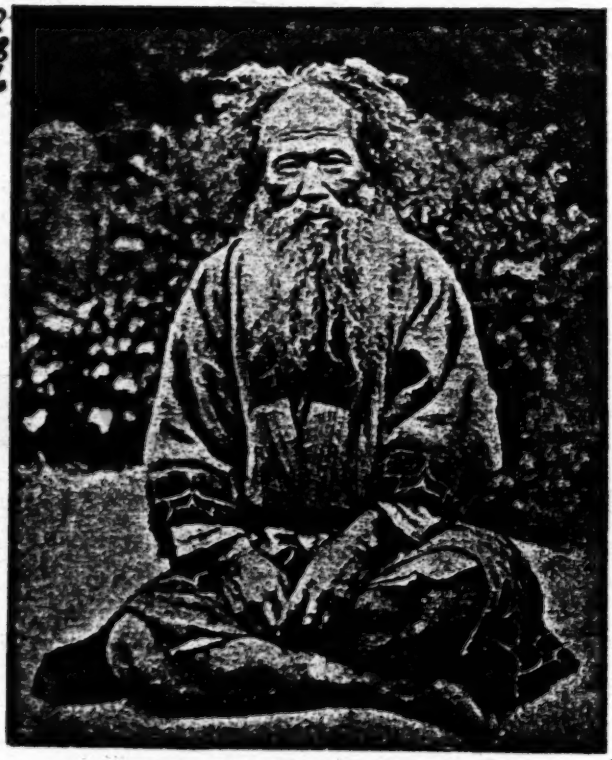
I then thought how well his name suited him—Mr. Black Lily. /58

Anra is yet alive and is still persecuted by his demons and spooks. We still remain the best of friends and whenever I go into his district he never fails to come to visit me. Some twenty years ago, having no children of his own, Anra adopted a Japanese boy as his son. But it is a very sore point with him that a few years ago the young fellow got rid of the old man's property and ran away. And so there he is landless and very poor. But it is a pleasure to be able to say that he is now allowed a small daily portion of rice by the Japanese Government and so is able to keep body and soul together without any special anxiety.

The last time I saw this old man, (which was on July 16, 1926), he told me that he was still troubled by the apparitions, and earnestly asked me to write a charm for him which he could wear on his body. That he thought, would work a spell for him!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
988
516



AN AINU CHIEF

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IV

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

In writing about Mr. Anra, the haunted man, I had occasion to mention his persecution by supposed giants, dwarfs and Japanese warriors. I had never before heard of a race of giants from these people, and until some definite tradition is forthcoming, one can not treat of them. But the warriors and dwarfs are different matters. For in all probability, traditions concerning these, and hereditary instinct, among other things, suggested these beings to his subconscious mind, and formed the basis of his mania.

That the two races, the Japanese and Ainu, were not on friendly terms at the beginning is natural and is proved by oral tradition as well as by ancient Japanese records. Besides reading of massacres in olden times, we are told of many hard contested battles between the two peoples. There are quite a number of mounds to be seen in the north of Japan which are said to contain heaps of the bones of those unfortunate Ainu who were slain in battles there. We read that the aborigines made very determined resistance against the invaders for many centuries after the latter had established themselves in Yamato, and we can very well believe this to have been so. The Ainu were a brave race and very fierce withal. In the year A.D. 720 they are said to have made so strong and determined an attack on the Japanese as to render it necessary to call out the soldiers of no less than nine Provinces to keep them back. In the end, however, they were effectually checked in an assault on the Japanese stronghold and driven back to the north of Sendai.

648
175

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but 158
think that he was, when in these fits, living in the 155
distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to [775] return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
168 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *tochc*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 great whales." So much did the Ainu despise those
773 supposed "little men."

But the whole crux of the matter lies in a word, and philology has been very hardly dealt by sometimes. Take two instances only as examples of what I mean. In studying Hebrew it was once remarked by a student that it seemed to him that the principle of the language was this: "Every consonant is interchangeable with the others and the vowels do not count!" But to get nearer home, a gentleman was once very much exercised as to the derivation of the Japanese word, *neko*, "cat." He thought, and thought, and thought again on the problem. At last he said to himself, "Cats eat rats and seem to be very fond of them. Now the word for "rat" is *nezumi*, and "to be fond of" is *konomu*. Now I clearly see the reason. *Ne* is the first syllable of *nezumi*, "rat," and *ko* is the first syllable in *konomu*, "fond of." So we have *ne-ko* "fond of rats!"

Koropok-guru, as these supposed dwarfs are named, can by no manner of reasonable means be made to mean "dwarfs" or "dwellers beneath the petasitis." Its unforced, simple meaning is "people who live below," *i.e.* "pit-dwellers." And I believe these pits were none other than those which the ancient Ainu, Tungus and Oroks tribes used to live in, as men do even now at times in the north. I repeat, we find no names of places in Hokkaidō in any strange language. To Anra, however, in his hysterical ravings, these beings were very real, and according to him they were wild, spiteful, intolerant and malevolent demons.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX

CHAPTER V

THE AINU AND OROKS AT WAR

A G 648

One day, when we were staying at Hakodate, we had Chief Penri with us. On a certain afternoon he went out and returned in a very wrathful mood, "for," said he, "I have just met an *Orokata* (*Orok*) who was very rude to me." "Oh," I replied, "who was he and what has he been doing?" "The beast! He didn't do much," he replied, "but his manner was very condescending and his speech most haughty." "Oh, is that all?" I said. "No," he said, "it isn't. He actually had the impudence to offer me tea to drink!" (Penri of course wished for *saké!*) In this little incident we find another echo of the past, for the feelings these two worthy men exhibited toward one another were of quite a hereditary nature.

The Ainu of Saghalien have for untold ages been in close contact with the Orokata, or Oroks, as they are now called in brief, and their traditions give us to understand that they were not always on very friendly terms with each other. The Yezo Ainu from of old knew of the Oroks, and Chief Penri had no good word to say about them. The Orok tribe, as the legend now to be cited will show, used reindeer as beasts of burden, and not dogs, as the Ainu did.

A 648 539 G 648

"There were six Ainu gentlemen who had their homes at Taraika. One of them one day went to visit the Oroks, who he found kept a big herd of reindeer (*Cervus Tarandus*). Upon entering one of their houses, he sat himself down by the hearth, and his host expressed great pleasure at meeting him. He set before

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A 539 him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared
648 with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.*
C The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly
648 refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

C [262]

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

A [764]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

NORTHERN AINU PIT-DWELLING

[p. 30(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A
539
648
G
648

"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Tan-atui*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

A
[342]

*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldl RX3

A
539
648
G
648

women into captivity, where they married them. Yes, they seized the Ainu women of Karere, married them, and had children by them." And so this war came to an end.

The legend tells us that the Taraika gentlemen were dressed in armour. The word used for "armour" is *kusari*. The *kusari* were coats made of cords and nets covered thickly with adhesive mud or clay well dried in the sun. Sometimes the foundation consisted of salmon skin. Rather bad for wet weather warfare, I should imagine! I have also heard of coats covered with stones tied on with string used as armour. Ainu bows were often made of yew, and though short were quite strong.

After reading this story we may well expect to find a great blood relationship between the Ainu and Oroks. In fact, it is said by themselves that they no longer fight with one another because they are so closely related. Neither likes to begin a fight, they say; yet, "if our friends over yonder desire to begin a quarrel, we are always ready to fall in!"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
291

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [888]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622 asserted that they traded with the races living in
434 Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much
[437] trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the dif-
[761] ferent misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some
[755] cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating
[685] was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it
[684] used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could 687
not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia.

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were 681
applied as punishments on occasion. Thus,

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a sus- 681
pected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit 272
down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there 273
till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me
[762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places
[184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sion nearly thirty Hokkaidō ponies, a fishing boat or two, and a goodly supply of fishing nets. A more cheery and lovable person I have never met anywhere. He was one of "Nature's gentlemen," and was the recognized champion controversialist and most successful advocate for miles around his village. His services were much sought after and his fame had spread abroad to districts far away. I was by his side two days before his death, and we then had some very interesting and confidential conversation together. He actually went so far as to ask me to keep an eye on his family and see that no harm came to any of them after his decease.

Not far from Mr. Mo's house, and about midway between his village and the next, there is a stone still *in situ* which goes by the name of "Stone of Contention." This used to be the rendezvous where controversies were held and judicial cases settled. It was to this stone my friend used to go as advocate. Many times, I was told, did he go there and contend for the right. He was a wise and upright man and as honest as honest could be. He was indeed and in truth a bringer in of peace and harmony, sometimes pleading with the contending parties even with tears. This "Stone of Contention" was supposed to stand
[178] there as a witness to what was said and done. Fetishes were made and offered to it, libations presented and drunk before it, and it was a special object of veneration and worship on particular occasions, such as those now mentioned. Free speech also was allowed on these occasions.

A year or two before his death, Mr. Mo one day took me for a walk and showed me first of all a flat rock on the top of a hill, which was called the "Watch Stone." From it a good view was to be obtained, both inland and out at sea. He explained the name by telling me that the ancient Ainu, in their days, used to stand or sit on this stone, keeping watch against

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304
562

A TATTOOED WOMAN

[p. 44]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu- 304
land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, 563
was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being [178
tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melane- 171]
sians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 563 *Woman.* Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark me off from the Japanese as a being apart from themselves and they look down on me as something inferior.

Self. What makes you think the Japanese look down on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat untattooed people better than they do those tattooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Self. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it was begun when I was very small and continued till I grew up.

Self. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise herself to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo marks kept her back. And even when I told her that, did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no greater stumbling block to her than the blackened teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case, she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the young women at times don their ornaments and paint each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is over they go and carefully wash it all off again and return to normal. We have often seen this done in the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 177 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self up against a very difficult problem, and had to go along with great caution. Later on, when the women brought their babies to me to name, I used to say, "Do you want your child to be brought up like a Japanese girl or an Ainu maiden? If she is to be tattooed like an Ainu and so kept out of sisterhood with the Japanese, I will give her an Ainu name, but if you prefer to have her like her Japanese sisters she shall have a Japanese name and not be tattooed." This worked the miracle and soon they began freely to ask for Japanese names, and thenceforth the tattooing became far less frequent and has now ceased altogether.

I suppose one will never get to know the real origin of the custom. Sitting by the Ainu hearth, I have heard the matter discussed. But not with much satisfaction. Thus I heard one person say to her companion, "Our grandmothers tattooed themselves because the old pit dwellers of Hokkaidō were so ornamented. Our people thought it so beautiful that they imitated them." "No, not so," said the other, "but when our ancestors fought with those pit dwellers, they took a lot of the women prisoners and tattooed them as their wives were, so as to know them again if they ran away." And so the controversy went on. But leaving further stories till later, I will now show how the tattooing is done.

Some birch or ash bark is taken from a tree and put into a pan where it is well soaked. After this a fire is made under a pot into which all has been put, and it is well boiled. When done, more bark is brought and burnt under the pot till the bottom is well blackened. When this has been thoroughly done, a woman takes a small sharp knife, cuts a few gashes into the part to be tattooed, then takes some of the soot from under the pot on her finger and rubs it well in. She next takes a piece of cloth, dips it into the decoction in the pot, and with it washes the part operated on. The centre of the upper lip receives the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she 304
was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I 888
was seeking information about tattooing. So I said [115]
to her.

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *cuchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order [757] to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom.

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers 304
to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them [177]
up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

On walking through the forest one evening with an Ainu chief, we had to pass through a marsh, and I was much struck as we went along by a peculiar and very loud noise coming from among the reeds. So loud was it that we could not carry on any conversation, for if we attempted to do so the noise was immediately enhanced. *Oat, oat, oat,* came the croaks from every direction. And "Beasts, beasts, beasts! Demons, demons, demons!" answered the chief in return.

304
1539

On reaching home, by which I mean the chief's hut, I seated myself on an empty *sake* tub which served as my chair, and began to question him as to who the "beasts" and "demons" were, who were making all that noise. "Ah," he said, "they are demon frogs." And so he, his wife and I spent a happy evening discussing this matter. Said he: "If you will catch a marsh frog and examine it, you will find marks on it resembling the tattooing of women. They sprang from a woman who was cursed by the gods and punished by having her body changed into a frog and her soul into a demon. All that is left to show that it was once a woman are the slight traces of tattoo marks which by a careful scrutiny may be found on its hands (fore feet)." It was very pathetic, sitting there listening to such folklore, cited and thoroughly believed in by this old man and woman. The following is another story:

"In olden times there were a man and woman who became husband and wife. After a few months they did not get on well together. This was because the woman was a bad character. She was disobedient to her parents and in the end bewitched them so that they died. She also killed her husband in the same way. In the course of time she married no less than six husbands, every one of whom she killed by her wicked spells. But God observed all this and was angry with her. He therefore punished her by turning

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 her into a frog and casting her far away into a marsh.
539 At the same time He said to her, 'O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominably iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother but thy husband besides and several others. I am therefore now turning thee into a frog. Thou shalt henceforth live in marshes and on the edges of lakes and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs and hop about in the slime of the most filthy places. If thou shouldst venture into the dwellings of men, they will without more ado knock thee on the head and throw thy carcase away.' So spake God.

825 "This, then," said my chief, "is the true account of
304 the origin of frogs. It is because a woman was the
539 ancestor of these creatures that they have the tattoo marks on their hands. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality. They are demons. Yet as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Main Island of Japan every winter to market. When they return they eat, drink and make merry in their dwelling places. This is the noise one hears in the spring time—*Oat, oat, oat.*"

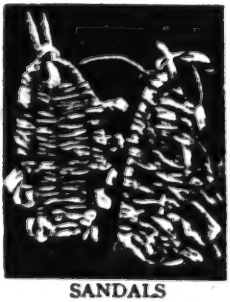
In continuing his lecture the old man said, "Frogs are called by three names which are: 'Dwellers among reeds,' 'Dwellers in lakes' and 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' As a whole class they are called 'Hoppers' and 'Hop-and-eaters.' They are given the last name because when they see flies or other insects upon which they feed, they open their mouths, blink their eyes, hop forward and suck in their prey. It is because they go to Japan in the winter that they are named 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' Those we have just heard in the marsh have now returned and are making merry."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302

WINTER CLOTHING

SALMON-SKIN SHOES



SANDALS

[P. 52 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Before retiring to our rest, the chief said he would give me just one more legend connected with tattooing. 539

"Once upon a time a beautiful little sparrow threshed out some millet, placed it in six tubs, and set it by the east end window to ferment. After a few days had passed, the gods desired to partake thereof. The scent of the brew filled the whole house. When it had been strained and the time appointed for the drinking feast had arrived, a great multitude of gods were brought in and the feast was well furnished with guests. There were eagles and jays, crows and water ousels, fishhawks and ravens, and many other kinds of birds. All rejoiced greatly over the delicious wine. While they were drinking, the jay stood up and danced before the company. He went out of the house and when he returned he had an acorn in his beak which he dropped into the vessel. This improved the wine greatly and the gods were delighted. After this the raven danced. He also went out, but when he returned he had a piece of dirt in his beak which he brought and dropped into the wine. This spoiled it and caused a great uproar. It really seemed as though the poor raven would be torn to pieces. The guests therefore went out and called the woodpecker and asked him to come in to mediate. But he said, 'O sparrow, you made wine, but you did not invite me to your feast. And so I will not now come in to help you, even though the quarrel be so great.' After this they sent for the snipe, but he returned the same answer. As no one could be found willing to mediate, the poor raven was killed."

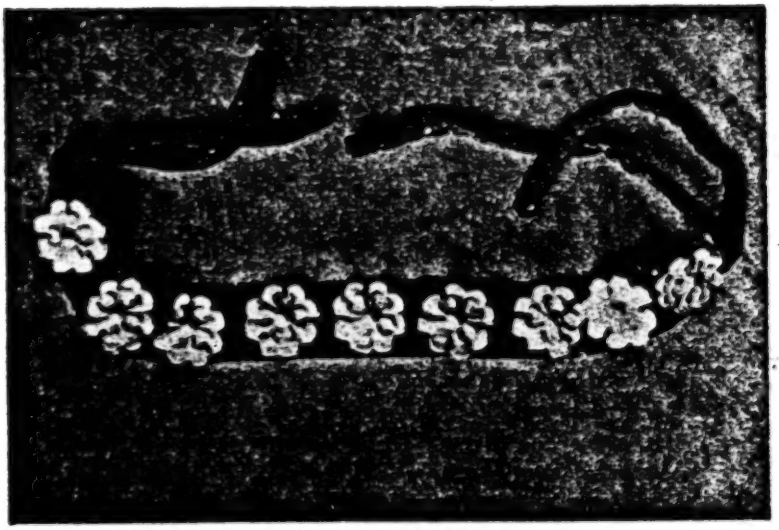
When I told the chief that I did not see where the tattooing business came in, he said he had quite forgotten and had given me the wrong legend, and he forthwith dished up this: "When God had finished the work of creation, He made a sparrow and placed him on earth. Whenever the people pound their millet, this bird comes and gathers up that which is scattered over 539 304

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the sides of the mortar and eats it. This is why he is
304 called 'Little millet eater.' Now, when God had finished His work and was about to return to heaven, all the birds determined to make Him a farewell feast. But the sparrows were not informed of this, and when the time came they were very busy tattooing themselves. However, as the day fixed had arrived, the birds and bears and all other creatures arose early in the morning and set out to say goodbye. The sparrows, hearing much ado, inquired as to what it all meant, and upon learning the cause, left off their tattooing before it was finished and went with the rest, for there was no time to lose. Therefore, as may be seen even at the present day, the sides of the mouth were not touched but only the upper part of the beak was tattooed. This may be seen even now if the beaks of sparrows be examined." And so ended another very pleasant evening with the Ainu.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

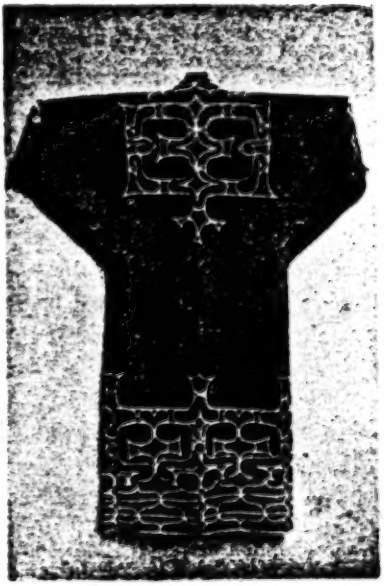
301



A GIRL'S NECKLACE MADE OF MELTED LEAD

291

A MAN'S COAT



A WOMAN'S COAT

[P.54(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING

The chief article of clothing worn by the Ainu from 291
ancient times was a coat made of elm bark fibre reaching nearly down to the ankles, and called *attush*. This was kept in place by a girdle made of the same material. The belt used by the Saghalien Ainu, how- [293]
ever, was often of leather and ornamented with brass rings obtained from Manchuria. The coats were very coarse and somewhat brittle when dry, but very strong when wet. The finer kind, however, was made of nettle bast.

ELM FIBRE COAT

The bark was peeled off the elms in the early 287
spring or just before the winter set in. As a defence against bears, the men and women went in companies

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

287 into the mountains to get the bark, and when enough had been taken they carried it home and put it to soak in warm water. After about a week or ten days, the stuff had become quite soft and the women then separated the inner layers from the outer. The whole was then divided into threads and wound up into balls for weaving or for manufacturing into sewing thread. Thread manufacture was quite a simple affair, for it was done by chewing it with the teeth. Many an evening hour have I sat and watched, in a dim light, Mrs. Penri patiently chewing the fibre into thread. To see her jaws working incessantly up and down, up and down, as she chewed and chewed and chewed again, was to me as pleasing and comely a sight as watching people "chewing gum" today! Some of the garments I saw were much darker in colour than [386] others. This was because they were dyed. The dyeing was done by steeping in a warm decoction of oak or alder bark, and in some cases by putting them to soak in marshy places. This gave them a dirty reddish colour and they were then called *kunnep*, which means "black things."

291 The women and girls wore, under their outer garments, smocks made of soft Japanese material, reaching down to the knees. This was called *mouru*, i.e. "soft raiment." The men wore no shirts.

During the winter months all dressed in the skins of such animals as dogs, deer, foxes, badgers, bears, otters, martens, seals and birds. They were often sewn on a background of the fibre garments mentioned above, or on Japanese material.

During the summertime all wore leggings made of sedge or bark. This was in order to protect them from flies and other insects. Those worn in the winter were made of skin. For foot-gear they wore in mild weather sandals made of bark and vines, and shoes made from the skins of salmons. These were good for walking on the ice, as they were very rough. Straw

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291

292

ELM BAST GARMENT AND LEATHER BELT ORNAMENTED WITH BRASS RINGS (WOMEN'S CLOTHING)
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 56(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons, were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

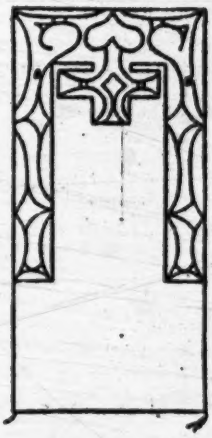
"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go, poor unfortunates, and fell down into the depths below, where they were killed outright. It is therefore now well known that elm trees are peopled by demons."

292
531

A HOOD

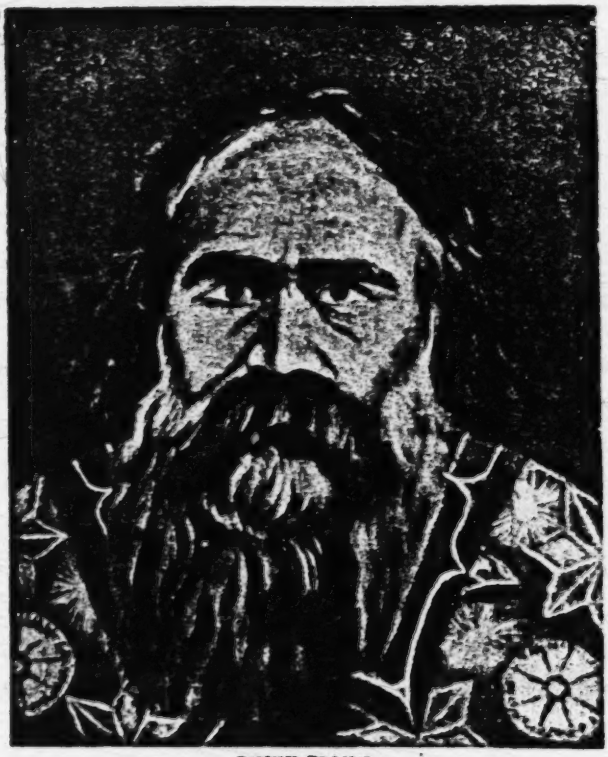


AN APRON

LEGGINGS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENRI

[p. 58(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

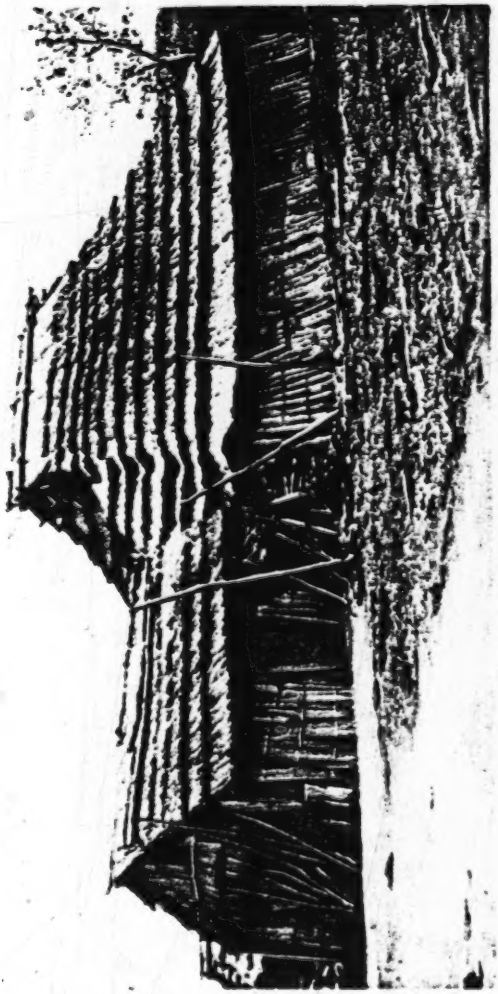
117 me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

352 All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was
744 just one empty whisky (*sake*) barrel which I used for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

744 A long time after this, when I was talking to
825 another friend about these creatures, he told me they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
342



CHIEF PENKI'S HOUSE AT PIRATORI

[P. 60(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 000
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[82.5] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very 117
uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it 776
had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, 593
and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her [592]
she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

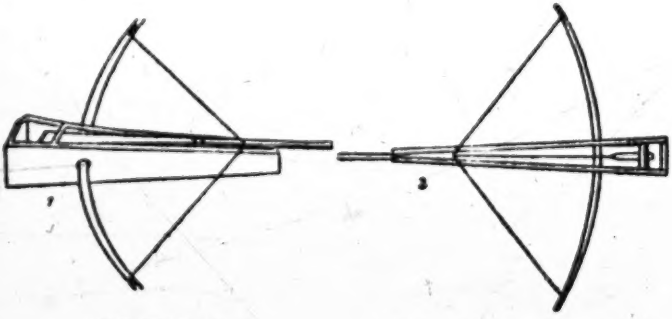
593 finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy [762] family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

117 I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a play-[136] ground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A favourite way of catching rats among this people was by a trap such as the following. It consisted of a sort of oblong box having a bow so placed as to close a slide firmly to the end as soon as the animal pulled at a bait placed inside near the bottom. The slide catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside and the hind quarters outside. There is no noise made by the animal. I have taken as many as seven, one after the other, in the course of an evening, and found another caught fast in the morning. But it is a bad plan to allow other rats to see one thus caught. They seem to take the hint and seek healthier quarters at once. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap ready set, and Fig. 2 reveals the string inside to which the bait is tied.



RAT TRAP, SET RAT TRAP, UNDERVIEW

Once about midnight Penri gave a most fearful yell, jumped up very suddenly, and rushed across to my sleeping place. Arrived there, he pushed open my sliding door and asked me why I had slipped across to his place and given his hair a pull! I was greatly astonished at this and asked what he meant. But he stuck to it that I had got up a short time ago and had come and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

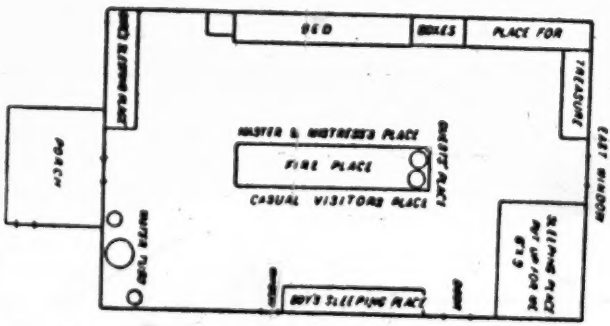
342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A POTHOOK

son to sleep with me so as get a little heat. 342 The lad came for the night and then ran away. It was not until the year 1922, more than forty years after, that I could get him to tell me why he left me to suffer alone in the cold. He said, "Your back was so hot that I was unable to stand it. I could hardly breathe. I therefore ran away and slept in another house. There seemed to be a hot glow coming out of your person!" That is all I could get out of him. As soon as I found he would not return, I asked Mrs. Penri to fill me two big bottles with hot water, and let me have them to keep one on each side of my body. This was done and I went to bed John Gilpin-like. But the necks of the bottles were smooth and all there was to stop them up with were wisps of straw. Alas, I woke up very early in the morning to find that the water had run out and I was frozen down to the boards! That was on December 8. The next day saw me on my way to Hakodate, where I got a foreign room and bed and good European food. In this way, then, did my early life among the Ainu begin. [417]

362



PLAN OF CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

[p. 68]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER X

THAT WICKED MISSIONARY

Not very long ago I had the honour of attending a lecture in Sapporo, at which I heard a very fine, lively and interesting speech delivered by a learned and eloquent Japanese pastor from the Capital. He was speaking to a large gathering of Sunday school delegates, among whom were one or two Christian Ainu women. All present listened with keen attention and full appreciation to the remarks of the speaker, and appeared to be thoroughly enjoying his eloquence; I among the rest. In order to make a point more clear, entertaining and readily acceptable to his audience, the lecturer very aptly cited the following story. 117

"Some years ago a foreign missionary went to a certain land to try to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. He found the people altogether uncivilized and given over to polygamy and cannibalism. He was exceedingly sorry for them and mourned over them not a little. Strive as he might to convert them to the better way, he could make no headway. Their ideas and general customs were so very different from what he had been used to all his life. After some little time had elapsed, however, he was greatly encouraged by a native coming and telling him that his people were assured that much of what he was teaching them was noble and excellent and said they would accept that; indeed, they would follow out most of his precepts. 'But,' said they, 'we must certainly be allowed to retain our wives, for they are so useful in many ways. There is much for them to do both indoors and out. So we do not see our way clear to become monogamists.' It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 appeared to them that polygamy was not only good and useful, but a quite proper institution, so why make such a change? It would be an injustice to the women were they to be got rid of! The poor man was much distressed upon hearing this, but there was no help for it.

"Later on, the missionary left that country for a season of rest at home. But he was shouldering a heavy burden and his heart was sore within him, because he had won no converts. Upon his return the following year to the scene of his labours, he was much rejoiced to be met by a native friend who told him that he had, after much wrestling with his conscience, made up his mind to make a sacrifice and have only one wife, and had, therefore, now become a monogamist! This was great good news and the missionary was highly delighted with such a wonderful victory, 'What has become of your discarded wife?' he asked. 'I ate her up,' he replied." And so amid laughter the story ended.

However, one of the Ainu women who heard it was not at all pleased and spoke to me about it afterwards, when I found that she took quite an unexpected yet perhaps, for an Ainu, a natural view of the matter. Said she: "But, Sir, what a wicked missionary that foreigner was!" "Why, whatever do you mean?" I asked. To this she made quite a long answer. "Oh, don't you see, Sir? Was he not the direct cause first of a murder and then of surprising that poor man into an act of cannibalism. I consider him to have been a very wicked missionary. And, why? my own people
[595] do not, some of them, think it wrong to have a plurality of wives. Has not Mr. So and So four of them? His first two Ainu and the other two Japanese? And does he not sometimes walk out with them all together, he first and they reverentially following after in order?" I must confess that this was news to me. But do not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But do not let it be supposed for a moment that the Ainu are cannibals, for they are not so now, whatever they may have been in the past. Then the lady added, "Supposing a polygamist gets rid of any of his wives, ought he not to make them handsome presents, and should it not be by mutual consent?" I left the question unanswered. And so this case which the young lady quoted is but an echo of the Ainu past. I will add, however, before leaving this subject, that in the mind and reasoning of this lady there was a certain twist, for she said, "Surely it would have been better for that missionary, had a millstone been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea! For he caused a little one to stumble, did he not?" 117 [266]

It has been my great privilege to spend quite a long time among this peculiar and enigmatical people, and we have had a number of them educated. It has been a most interesting thing to watch how the old ideas of an uncivilized people come into contact with and then are partially abolished by modern thought. I am well acquainted with an Ainu woman who has been given a good Japanese education, who can play the organ nicely, and who has even been to England. For some time past she has been reading books on what is called "New Thought," of which, by the by, the present generation of Japanese are very fond. We have had much discussion on many points raised, for some of them are not in line with what is termed orthodox Christianity. She is a young lady who does not by any means always take things on trust and so we are at times unable to see eye to eye. One day after a long discussion she said to me; "Sir, I perceive that you are one of the *Genrō-in*" (i.e. Elder Statesmen). 178

I thought this rather strong. Nevertheless it is the spirit of the age. What a change! And to come as it did from an Ainu woman! It shows progress. However, I let it pass and at once replied: "Yes, yes, just so. Have it so if you wish. But remember this at all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale is as follows.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to eat human beings as well. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh. But when the divine Aeoina descended from Heaven, he taught the people to make fish spears, bows and arrows, pots, pans and suchlike useful articles. He also ordered them to cook every kind of fish and flesh before eating it. He furthermore warned them against devouring human beings." If this be true, the Ainu were indeed a wild race when they first met the Japanese.

266
539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-aeramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle 005
and draw their "dole."

Amid all her work the mother's love for her off- 855
spring is very great among this people, so that, ac- 462
cording to their lights and material ability they look after them well. I have now before me a story of a goat-sucker which owes its origin to the carelessness of a woman in nursing her child, and will be in point to quote in this place. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird. Pliny and Aristotle call it by the names Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which mean "goat-sucker." These names were given it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu knew nothing about goats and gave quite a different version of the origin of the name by which the bird now to be discussed is known to them.

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once 539
a human child, and that, out of sheer mischief, a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is meant to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. The being who stole the child and did all the mischief was the evil genius of swamps. Now, although the child once managed to escape from her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a bird, and possessed its nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babies when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women and that the sound of its note is looked upon as of evil omen.

"Once upon a time, in far away bygone days, a certain woman took her dear little baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 she placed the child securely in the cradle and left it hanging to a branch of a tree while she went further off to labour. After working for some time she began to feel tired, and so returned to the place where she had left her dear baby, thinking to take a little rest and give it some food. But alas, and alas, both child and cradle were nowhere to be found. Thereupon the mother was greatly distressed and wept bitterly; the people also gathered together to see what was the matter. When they heard about it, they wept and tried to comfort and help her. They searched high and low for the lost child; but all was in vain. As they were unable to find it, search as they might, they concluded that some wild beast had stolen it away. So, too, thought the mother. Having arrived at this conclusion they all returned to their huts with heavy, aching hearts and weeping eyes.

"After many days had elapsed and many nights had passed away, a voice was suddenly heard in the garden where the child had been lost, crying out, '*Hapo totto, Huchi totto,*' 'O mother, feed me; O granny, feed me.' But the people thought it was the voice of some demon or wild animal, and were afraid to go near the place, especially as the cry came at night.

"After a while all the people in the village had the same dream at the same time. In their dream the lost child came to them, and in an angry voice said, 'Pay ye attention, all of ye, to what I say. I am the baby which was lost, and this is the way it happened. The demon of swamps came suddenly upon me as I was hanging there on the tree in the shade by the garden, and, stealing me away, hid me among the marshes so that ye were unable to find me, search as ye would. By and by I seized an opportunity which offered to escape, and came back to the garden and called in a loud voice, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," for I had become hungry. But ye would not come to my assistance. The demon therefore came

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along and caught me away again and this time changed 539
my body into that of a bird. Yet, although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, "Hapo totto, Huchi totto," "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." For this reason the people call the goat-sucker 'Tokitto.'"

As such is the origin of the cry of this bird, and 000
as the sound of its note is so like a child calling, "O [136]
mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep bitterly every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the Tokitto," for they may not say *totto chikap*, 'Breast bird,' because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep much, and it also makes them think of their lost offspring. Again, the goat-sucker only flies about and cries during the night time. The [776]
reason of this is that the horrid demon of swampy places only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now a demon nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus we see that the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, but is now, alas, a dreadful demon. The name of the demon is *Nitat Unarabe*, and this means, "Aunt Marsh."

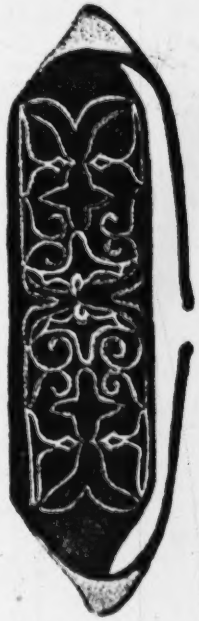
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576

TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

431
531

BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED



BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

[p. 82.]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XII

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

I found Chief Penri to be a splendid teacher, and 576 when I asked him if he would be good enough to give me instruction in the old ancient rules of Ainu etiquette while I was in his home, he was delighted and took me in hand at once. I asked him to do this because I saw several persons at different times inadvertently give offence through ignorance of such knowledge, while others would cause heart-burnings from sheer impudence or thoughtlessness.

One day as I was sitting in my accustomed place on my tub, hard at work, I was surprised to see a very rough looking Japanese stalk in, keeping his dirty footgear on, without so much as saying "By your leave," and go and seat himself near the place of honour by the hearth. His "how do you do" was a quick nod and a sharp grunt. Without a word he took out his tobacco pipe and began to smoke. Moreover, he informed the householders that he intended to spend the night with them. Penri and his wife were very much concerned and asked me in Ainu to try and get rid of him. I then told him that I had hired the house and was staying there and that, as I wanted to be very quiet, I would ask him to seek lodgings elsewhere. Without so much as saying "good bye," the fellow left at once.

This man seemed to have worked my good host and hostess up pretty much, for no sooner was he out of the door than Penri gave the hearth a sharp tap with a stick and said most emphatically, "The beast!" This was as near a swear as he could get and implied a curse.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576 The wife followed his example. Up she jumped, rushed as far as the door, turned her back toward the departing guest, and gave herself a hearty smack. I could not but laugh in astonishment at all this, and they laughed heartily when I asked if I also was supposed to learn and practice such etiquette. "No," the old man said, "that was a bit extra." Ah, well, there was certainly a cause for anger, but it was soon over. We made the hut ring again and again that evening, especially when I looked at Mrs. Penri and gravely shook my head at her.

574 576 As it had been settled that I was to be taught etiquette, the process of study began at once. The Chief proposed that we should go the next day and pay a visit to the chief of another village whom I had not yet seen. "Now," said my friend as we were walking along, "you have seen for yourself that when no one is at home a wooden door is drawn before the entrance. A visitor should never remove this, but, unless someone should come out to him, go away again, knowing that the people are "not at home." When the inmates are at home a mat is hung in the doorway. Nor should this be touched too quickly. Upon approaching near to the house, a would-be caller should give a low cough or two or say in a fairly loud voice, '*he-he-he-he-hem.*' Someone will then come out and invite the person in." This is exactly what happened when we reached our destination. The Chief was at home and we were soon met at the door by his wife, who invited us to enter.

As soon as Penri had made the regulation noise with his throat the door opened, and then he entered first and I followed close after. Having carefully removed our shoes, we walked quietly up by the side of the hearth and sat down. But I was at once removed up to the place of honour at the very head of the hearth. Penri sat tailor fashion opposite his brother chief and quietly and with great reverence commenced to rub his hands together by drawing back

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow 574
the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of 576
each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told his friend all about his own village affairs first, and then what he knew of me. When this had been done, each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard, at the same time making a little rumbling sound with the throat. This I was told was the correct man's salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson under such good auspices.

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a prearranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how they did it and had been well coached beforehand as to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salution was, I found, quite different. 562
Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife 576
sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently holding one hand over her mouth, though at times she took it away when it was necessary to make up the fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left hand down her side to the full length; after that she drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew this same right hand index finger from left to right

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the
[178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop. 576 171

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible. [778 342]

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did 117

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

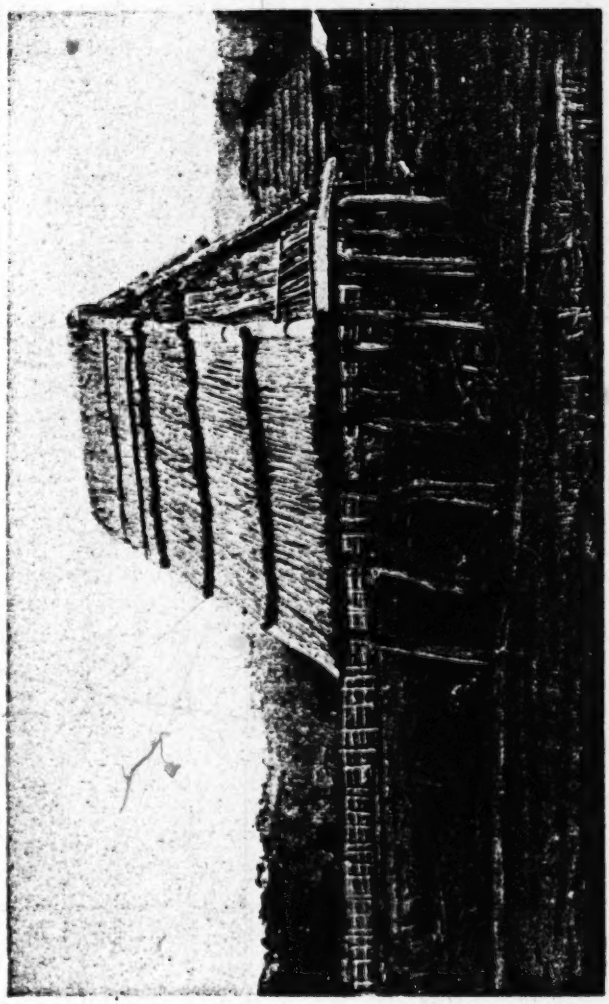
117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354 778 372]

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
251



AN AINU GRANARY

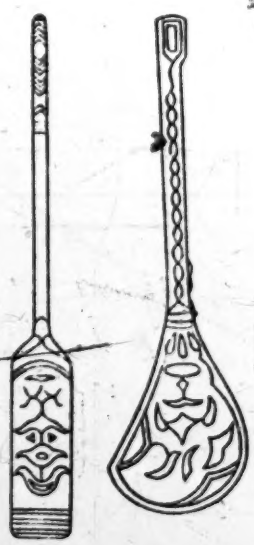
[P. 88(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [262 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 261
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

I know of one district by the sea where the people are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There 137
is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these 262
are very sour, the people and the bears relish them
much. They are not preserved in any way but are
gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mul- [251]
berries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities
and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make
good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places.
An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit,
eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are in-
ordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that
the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked
plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a
big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare
threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice
cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*)
were also used for food in the early spring when very
young. They were taken and first boiled, then pound-
ed in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and
dried for future consumption. A good deal, however,
was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is
said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself
quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a
healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and
the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that
in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and
that it has been the means of keeping many alive
throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound 252
chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and
nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Some-
times animal fat was also added, and this made a very
rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten
without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into
cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all
bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The
people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them by feasting on them. After that the other people had their turn.

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eating double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner.

A POTHOOK

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

302
291
516

PARAPITA

[p.96]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIV.

A CALL TO THE MOUNTAINS.

To hear strangers to this part of the globe talk, 115
one would imagine that many of them suppose this mysterious race to be so hirsute as to be clothed from head to foot in hair like the brute beasts of the forest, and so unintellectual as to stand no higher than the chimpanzee in reason. But when they come into direct contact with the Ainu they soon find it necessary to revise their ideas in both these respects. For they are found to be no more hairy, no more monstrous and savage than the ordinary dwellers of the north in Russia, and quite as rational as other mortals. It is want of opportunity to progress and lack of a general education that has kept them behind others. The capacity is there and so is the desire. But like their numbers so their influence may be regarded as a negligible quantity, and they have to take quite a back seat among their more fortunate and pushing compatriots.

"Parapita" means in the Ainu tongue "eloquent," and truly "eloquent" this man certainly was, especially when in a temper. His native place was Usu in Volcano Bay, one of the most beautiful localities in Hokkaidō and destined to be a very important watering-place in the near future. For more than thirty years this man and his wife acted as our servants, and a very good cook the lady made. Being so long with us, we got to know them quite well. The man was very conservative and felt keenly the position the Ainu were being made to take, though he was very quiet over it. To me he would speak nothing but Ainu, and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 this just suited me, as I was so anxious to learn his tongue. I am bound to say that his mode of thought and some of his peculiar actions sometimes astonished me.

This couple brought up a family of five children in our house at Sapporo, and we saw two of them grow up, languish, and then die. Modern civilization which involves being shut up in a closed house, such as ours is, does not seem to me to agree well with the constitutions of these children of nature. The freedom of the hills, with the exercise and open air life this gives, to which their forefathers were used, suits them far better. Being shut up too much in a close atmosphere makes them weak and prone to consumption. I have known several fine lads, who had been trained as school teachers, gradually fade away and at last die of this dire disease. They could not stand the close application and warm rooms in the schools.

Parapita was a thoroughly honest man. He came to me one day with some money in his hand. "What is this?" I asked. "Ah," he replied, "this is the commission the shop-keepers have given me for buying things for you from them! I think it belongs to you, Sir!" "Thank you," I said. "It was a present to you personally, and although I suppose it came out of my pocket, please keep it." But it was some time before I could prevail on him to retain it. He said he thought it was not honest money! Parapita's education had been somewhat neglected!

"What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh" is an aphorism as applicable today as ever it was. It bespeaks heredity in both body and mind. When we engaged this worthy couple we told them how nice it would be for them to have a good comfortable room and be sure of a fixed, regular wage. And to our satisfaction they decided to come to us. But none of us quite knew what we were let in for, as the sequel will show. After some nine months with us, we got up

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

one morning and found our man had completely disappeared and no one could tell us when, where or why he went. He was gone, and there was nothing more to be said. After three days he came back to us looking remarkably tired and washed out. Though I had never known him to touch alcohol in any form, I thought he must have gone off on a spree and had a drunken bout. But he declared it was not so. He told me that he had suddenly experienced "*the call to the mountains*." I had never heard about such "calls" before, so this explanation made me open eyes and ears. He told me that when such calls came, there was nothing for it but to obey immediately. He said that there was an irresistible force which drew and pushed him into the hills. So go he must. "What do you do there?" I asked. He said that it was very difficult to explain, but the name he told me was *Chiassuruani*. Philologically this means "being made to know the news." He said that it consisted in conversing with and seeking the aid of the superior spirits, running wild, jumping, howling and rolling. And he certainly looked as though he had been doing all this. Our conversation ended in my giving the old fellow permission to go whenever that irresistible impulse came upon him, for I was sure he would go just the same with or without leave. He left me in a happy frame of mind and did his work well after it. He used to go at intervals till almost the last, though his visits grew gradually further and further apart. He died some five years ago. This spirit has not by any means yet disappeared, for even the most educated of the men are seized by it in degree at times. One of them, the very best educated man I know among them, has to be let off twice a year for a week on end, but he tells me that he goes quite away by himself and does nothing but fish with a hook and line, and pray all the time.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to ex-
776 plain briefly. During his trance the man thought he heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return! 776

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, the killing of an animal does not imply the extinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect. 761 775

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin. 522

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

Ainu. Skinning it for supper.

Inn-keeper. How is it you have only got half a hare?

Ainu. My master shot it.

Inn-keeper. But how only half?

Ainu. He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

Inn-keeper. But how came you to get only half?

Ainu. Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper. Oh, how so?

Ainu. Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

Inn-keeper. What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying *"Chikushō"!* (beast) Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177 797 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told then. seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

But sometimes the people, some of them at least, used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

777

MY KITE MASCOT
(Japanese)

[P. 104 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a 117
good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has 777
heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they 777
perform any function or ceremony of importance, the 293
men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those 527
the younger of them wear are called *inaru*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

may possible have been originally clan or totemistic signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk. There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
417

A WOMAN REARING THE FAMILY BEAR CUB

A BEAR CUB'S CAGE

[P. 106 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Admiral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

777 431 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession. 777 431

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past. 777

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it. [411 224]

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid- 537 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [788] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *sake* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *sake* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When thou comest again on another pleasure visit to the honoured one who reared thee, remember that I am the man who caused this to be done. We shall meet again. We shall see one another. *He, he, he.* Adieu!" 527 774

What a world of comfort! The cub is not supposed to stay too long with his parents but is expected to return soon from the mountains, which make the bear's heaven, to enjoy another mutual feast with the people. He may even return the following spring. His former owners will be continually looking out for him. They will recognize one another and his old friends will be pleased to see him and enjoy fattening him up again for another "send off." And so, my dear little cub, adieu!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161
[144
162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." 772
Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is 773
all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a 000
previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account 82
for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgement and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

[172]

A STONE AXE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

find that gentleman out-Darwined entirely. With them evolution has run riot. 773

"In the beginning," so runs the tale, "the world was a great slushy quagmire. It was in a shocking condition. The waters were at that time hopelessly mixed up with the earth, and nothing was to be seen but a mighty ocean of bare, sloppy swamp. All the land was mixed up with it and aimlessly floating about in the endless seas. Nothing existed in this chaotic mass and nothing stirred, for it was altogether incapable of sustaining life; nor were there any living fowls flying in the airy expanse above. All was cold, solitary and desolate. However, the clouds above had their thunder gods, the skies above, their living creatures, and the Creator abode in the highest heavens with mighty hosts of subordinate deities.

"By and by the Great God—the True God—determined to render the world habitable. He therefore made the water-wagtail and sent him down to produce the earth. When he descended and saw the dreadfully shocking condition the elements were in, and how they were mixed up in confusion, he was almost at his wits' end to know how to perform his allotted task. But he thought of a way, for he fluttered over the waters with his wings, trampled upon the muddy matter with his feet, and beat it down with his tail, till, after a very long time of fluttering, trampling, and tail-wagging, dry places appeared, and the waters became the ocean. In this way the world was gradually raised up and made to stand out of the waters, and caused to float upon them. Therefore the ancients called the world *mo-shiri*, i.e. "floating land," and hold the water-wagtail in great esteem—for was he not the angel of God?"

The Ainu never think of God as working without means, and as has already been stated, in creation He is said to have used as many as three score mighty axes and many very big hammers and mattocks which, when done with, he cast away and they gradually, in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 decomposing, turned into marshes, swamps and bad water, among other things.

I have a further legend by me which refers to the water-wagtail and his help in creation. It is very short and runs thus:

"In very olden times, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of Heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was like this: God made him fly down from above and settle on the rough places He Himself had already cast up with His mattocks and axes, and, in order to makę the ground level, ordered him to hop and jump about on it, scratch it with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day whenever this bird is seen he is certain to be found beating the earth with his tail."

829 It would appear that the Creator was not always infallible in His choice of localities in which to place the creatures He made. The following story will show what I mean. It has reference to the race of the bears and sea lions.

000 One day, as I and a native companion came riding over a high spur of a mountain down toward the seacoast, we heard a great bellowing out at sea. It sounded like some monsters fighting. It was not far from my friend's home and I asked him what it was. He at once pointed to a flat rock about a mile out and told me the noise came from there. He said it was made by [134] a big school of sea-lions which had come there, as they did every year at that season, for breeding. The bellowing was a challenge to the mountain gods, i.e. bears, to come down to fight. I told him I would like to hear all about this when we reached his house, where I was to stay. The following is his story.

773 "Many of the larger of the wild animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as the demons

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of disease. They came into the world in this way. 773
Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the
deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in [753]
order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and
rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for
a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing
came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these
were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire.
No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once
turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones
became demons which originated some kinds of ill-
nesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their
sticks and got flints which they struck together. These
made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

[172]

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now
about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their
flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those
which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and
those which were thrown into the sea turned them-
selves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were
quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole
time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God
would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine
which should live upon dry land and which should be
banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused
them to have a race and so settle the matter. They
assembled at the appointed time and place, where they
strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race,
and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

773 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
142
291

OLD MRS. BRIGHT, CHIEF PESRI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

[P. 116(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

people have assembled, he should be killed and sent 773
away."

Having told me these old stories about the bear and sea-lion, the marten and racoon, he proceeded to say a few things about bear and wolf worship.

He said: "The most gentle and well behaved bears 774
are called *Nupuri-koro-Kamui*. (This may mean equally well 'Deities who possess the mountains' or 'Most precious divinities'; the latter is what I think it really means in this place). They have their home in the middle of the mountains (i.e. in the very interior of the country) and their garments are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver and bronze. One must never fail to do worship to such when he happens to meet them. The most wild and dangerous are called *Nupuri-kesh-unguru*, i.e. 'Creatures residing at the foot of the mountains.' Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like bloodred thread. These are a very wild kind and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears are not to be worshipped. They don't deserve it." This little story being finished, I asked him to give me one more before we retired for the night. And so he said, "I will now tell you about the wolf.

"The divine wolf is clothed in white and his home 773
is on the eastern side of the mountains. In the begin- 774
ning he resided in Paradise, but, having a great desire to live upon the earth, he descended and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now, if a person is pursued by an evil bear, he should call upon the wolf in a very loud voice to come to help him. If he does so with a true heart the wolf will without fail come and kill the bear and deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought certainly to be worshipped."

These are exceedingly curious matters and I can 774
not help thinking that there is lying under the surface more than at first sight is apparent to the eye. I have

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

774 seen sea-lions and other marine animals carved on the moustache-lifters used by some of the men, and I have also seen many crowns with bear's heads and the heads of foxes and wolves carved on them. I believe these were originally totemistic signs and that such stories as those now related bespeak certain feuds or tribal wars among the people. And it is a matter of fact that when I first came down from the mountains and visited the dwellers at the sea shore of a certain place, the chief would not receive me because the language I spoke was that of the "hill men and dwellers among bears!"

Until within very few years ago, Robin Island in the Bay of Patience was a well known place for hunting fur seals, and many foreigners have made fortunes there. Formerly it was regarded by the Ainu as their own personal property absolutely, having been produced by an Ainu goddess. The people living in those regions made profit by bartering the skins of their kills to the Russians, Manchurians and Japanese. After a time the Russians took the island over, turned off the Ainu, and forbade them to take the skins any more. This has rankled in the minds of the men greatly, and although they have not said much to other people about it, they have spoken of it among themselves and friends and told them that they would not mind so much if the Russians would allow them to have a share either in the killing or profits realized. They consider themselves to have been very hardly treated. But as the Russians are said to have ruled by fear, they were afraid to air their grievance, lest they should be sent off into the interior of Siberia.

As a proof that the Ainu originally owned this island they quote the following legend:

539 "There lived a young woman in a certain village who had been adopted into a family with a view to making her in time the wife of the son. Though betrothed, they were not yet married. After a time she

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was found to be with child, whereupon her betrothed husband became angry. He thought the matter over and then flogged her with a strap, but not over-much. He felt better after that. They were then married and very soon she bore two little girls—twins. They grew up into fine women and were always strong and well. One of them became a wizard and practised sorcery. She was the prettier of the two and for this reason was called the Flower-of-the-Plain. 539

"Now, the fact is this. Flower-of-the-Plain was the child of a sea god, whilst the sister had a land god for a father, although the mother had an Ainu for her husband.

"In olden days there were no islands off the cape called "Land's End," toward the north. But Flower-of-the-Plain, being the child of a sea god, and a mighty shaman, used her sorcery and raised up an island from the sea off the Bay of Patience. (This is Robin Island) Soon this island was covered with one and two year old seals, and its name became "One-two-year-old-seal-island." These animals increased so mightily that the waters round about it were at times covered with them.

"Now one day Flower-of-the-Plain took a boat and rowed off to the island she had produced, and built herself a house, beautiful to behold, on the top of a reef projecting into the sea, and there she dwelt alone. Soon her kinsfolk went there in boats and killed seals. When they had quite filled their boats to the very brim they sailed back to the mainland. This they did yearly.

"After a time the people about the village where Flower-of-the-Plain's family and kindred dwelt had a big quarrel. So great did the commotion become that her immediate kindred got into a very big boat and came to her island. It was a migration, and Flower-of-the-Plain received them all, men, women and children alike. Not one returned.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "They caught very many seals indeed. Others also came, more and more as the years went by, and also killed many. By degrees the young seals were destroyed, so that now one can only see an odd sea-lion or sea-bear now and again. The coasts are deserted. Formerly, the island being well stocked with beautiful fur-bearing seals, the Ainu were able to live well and prosper. Now alas, the Russians have come and seized our property."

This is a true echo and will live as long as there are any Ainu left in Saghalien to tell the story.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVII

ABOUT EARTHQUAKES

We have just had a slight earthquake and though 133
they are neither so strong nor frequent as in the 171
South of Japan they are by no means unknown in Hokkaidō. I have experienced several rather severe ones here, but none big enough to shake houses down, and I have only had to run out of doors twice in fifty years. But one never knows when a really bad one may happen upon us.

Many years ago we got a good shaking when I was 133
in Piratori with the chief of that village. Penri was a fine, brave man, but could not stand snakes and earthquakes. Snakes, because one had bitten him when younger, earthquakes because he could not hold them or punish them. When our shake-up came, I saw him lift his head and look quite scared. The hut was rocking to and fro at a great rate, and the floor was heaving up and down as though the waves of the sea were chasing one another under the ground. "What is it?" I asked. "A mighty earthquake," answered he. We both thought the hut would come down. But fortunately it did not do so. But even had it fallen, it would not have mattered much. Huts are so light, made of simple posts and thatch as they are, that unless the posts are rotten there can be no danger of falling. Even if they did fall, it would only mean the roof dropping bodily down to the ground and settling there. Unless a person came into contact with a rafter or one of the beams as it fell, he would be in no danger. All the harm that could possibly come

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant
825 Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

other. So when the Creator produced the earth, He 823
caused this creature to become its foundation. There lies the living trout underneath the world, regularly taking in and sending out the waters of the sea through his mouth. When he sucks the water in, the tide ebbs, and when he expels it, the tide flows."

The chief used often to wander from the point 000
under consideration, and I found it much the best way to wander with him on such occasions and pull him up later. We had got thus far with the matter in hand, when he quite forgot the earthquake and stuck by the trout. The following is the legend he gave me:

"At the source of the Saru River there is a large 539
lake, in which there used to live a monster trout. He was so big that he waved his pectoral fins at one end of the lake and flapped his tail at the other. Once upon a time the honourable ancestors met together and went to kill this fish. Though they tried to do so many times, they could not accomplish their end. The gods, who had a special regard for the Ainu, sent help from Heaven. The Heavenly Beings came down and seized the great trout with their hands. He thereupon plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force. Then the gods put forth all their might, and, dragging the creature to the surface again, brought him to the shore. The honourable ancestors then drew their swords and chopped him till he was quite dead."

The chief told me that "this trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing such animals as deer, foxes and bears which might venture near to drink, but would sometimes gobble up men, women and children; not only so, but he would devour whole boatloads of people, boats and all."

I pulled Penri up here and asked him to give me 823
more information about earthquakes. So he continued thus: "The trout upon whose back the world is found-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps
[776] think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he 772
added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land 539
and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of [775]
this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appear- 828
ed to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

§§§ So-and-So and now have my home in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went directly to the underground world where I am now undergoing punishment. But the punishment I suffer is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my care were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all repent at once of their evil deeds, lest they also are punished when they join me.' "

This man and I had a good long talk together and he told me the dream because he wanted my advice and help. At last he said, "When a man has had a bad dream, he should call the village elders together, tell them about it, get them to make fetishes, and then pray that the evil indicated in the dream may pass away." The poor fellow did me the honour of coming to me privately to consult me first. And I think he went away in a happier frame of mind.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

[p133]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *fritillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I 539
filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.'

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, [595
I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my 592]
husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.**

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in today." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best garments. She then put her ear-rings into her ear-holes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the back-yard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

[291 301]

"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the menfolk to come home.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"'As the evening drew near, the men came home 539
bearing a great load of fish. I quickly set to work and cooked them a meal. When they had finished eating, I said to them, "This morning I asked you to stay at home for just this one day but you would not listen to me. Now, yesterday your wife went to get tubers and while digging them up met with a man who helped her to collect them. And so they worked together. When she came home she set to work and prepared a special dish of which all the people and you yourselves partook. That is why I wished you to stay at home today. But you would not consent, and went off to catch fish instead. After you had gone, my elder sister filled a bark vessel with the particular food she prepared yesterday, which she had set apart. When we were at home quite alone today, she called to me and said, "Just come outside." Her ear-rings were in her ears and she was dressed in her finest apparel. Arrived outside, I saw a young man standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. The man ate up all the food she had brought. Then he struck her—his wife—and she became a she-bear; he next slapped himself and he immediately turned into a he-bear. They then went off together. I then returned to the house, and behold, I have been here awaiting your return. She has now finished her relationship with you—her two brothers."

"Hearing this, the younger man raved greatly and said, 'Those creatures called bears indeed! Many have I pierced with my lance and brought home. Bears indeed! What are they? So now having taken my elder brother's wife, that fellow has gone off with her! From my very childhood's days I have speared bears with my lance as if they were mere house mice! What! Has this bear suddenly become so insolent? Come what may, I will go off on his trail at once and follow him right up to his den.'"

Here the story is taken up by the young man.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "Twelve valiant men, ten of them carrying provisions on their backs and all furnished with lances and bows, went upon the trail. For two months, nay, for three months did they go on, and yet they were unable to reach the place where the bears were. The provisions gave out completely. Ten men then turned back to their homes and two only kept on the trail. On we went for two more days, nay, for three days with nothing to eat. Then I—the younger brother—said to the elder, 'Get you back. I will follow the trail up alone, even to the very place the bears have gone.' So my companion went back toward the seashore and I alone went forward. For six days I travelled without food.

"As I went on upward along the higher part of the bed of a stream, I came at length to a bear's den. I approached the threshold and looked in. I then saw that my brother's wife, early as it was, had got two children! Her husband was lying on his back not far from her. As I stood looking, I saw an old man and woman sitting inside. I stood still and scolded them roundly. Said I, 'Wherefore hast thou stolen my elder brother's wife and led her away with thee? For this come outside and let us fight till one or the other of us is killed. Come on.'

"The old man inside growled savagely and in wrath, and, throwing a box out to me said, 'Take this box and get off down to thine home. Then if thou askest for any other woman in thy village she will be given thee to wife. Both you and your brother will marry. It was because my son fell in love with the woman that they were married. So now I give thee this box. I am a bear and although thou thinkest I own nothing, yet I bestow part of my goods on thee. Take it as a remembrance. Do not be angry with me.'

"Yet wishing to fight him to the death, I still stood outside and challenged him. Then he said, 'Such being the case, I will give thee another box. So now thou

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

wilt have two boxes, and it will be well for thee if thou 539
wilt at once withdraw thine anger into thy soul.' But I replied, 'Not at all. I desire to fight.' Then the old man growled and said, 'Thou art a man and hast a desire to fight. If it comes to a real battle thou wilt surely die. Even if thou shouldest kill me, I should come quickly to life again; I should live again. But as for thee, if thou once diest thou wilt entirely die. Therefore do not continue to wish to fight.' Still I was obdurate. Then he replied, 'Well, if you will fight, fight you shall.'

"Then the old man awakened his son and said to him, 'Rise up quickly. There is a man here who has followed thee right up to the threshold of our home and he wishes to fight with thee.' But the son did not stir. Then the wife said, 'I will go outside and do battle with the man if he will have it.' But the old man demurred and said, 'No, you are a woman and have but lately borne children. Do not go out to fight.' So said he. As I stood there in the doorway of the den the woman came out to me. She at once emitted magic force so that I could not even look at her. I was completely overpowered. This only do I remember, but as to what took place after the magic power reached me, I do not know in the least. At last, I came to myself and found I was lying in the deep bed of a stream. I had been lying on my back unconscious. When I came to, I turned over and fell into a sleep. In my sleep I saw a dream.

"The old man said to me, 'Thou camest here following thy brother's wife and wishing to fight, and thou hast got this from the woman. I might even leave thee without any compensation, but I have pity on thee. When thou arisest, go back down toward the seashore and I will give thee a bear cub. When thou beginnest to climb the mountain slope thou wilt catch one cub, two cubs, three cubs. As thou approachest nearer thy village, thou wilt again catch one cub, two

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 cubs, three cubs. Thou wilt catch ten in all. When thou comest to thy village the men will bring up those cubs and all will be well.

"'Moreover, right to the day of thy death, I will give thee sixty slain bears and creatures of the sea without number every year. When thou hast prepared many pelts, thou shalt sell them to the Lords of Japan. And thou shalt have much Ainu treasure. When thou wantest a wife in any village, thou wilt be able to buy one with thy treasure and cause thyself to be well fed. When thou goest back to thy village with thy wife and hast many children, they likewise after thee shall go hunting and I will give them little bear cubs as I do to thee.'

"Now this man presently married again and had many children, boys and girls. The daughters were taught by the women, but the man himself taught the boys. The man spent a long and happy life and at last died. His sons went hunting in the forest, as their father had done before them, and brought home sixty bears every year. They also hunted in the sea with like good fortune. Now when these children had all grown up and passed away, their children also lived and prospered after them. They had great wealth. The ancestors living in the other world are not at all disquieted as to what happens. It is good for people to live thus well."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752
before I became aware that he had lost the points of
two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he
informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a
fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a
narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in
my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off
into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the
bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore
quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the
ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In
this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Never-
theless, both members festered and would not heal for
a long time. But in the end, although they got better,
I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong
feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added,
"The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of cour- 117
age and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut
his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could
no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake
kind. Whenever we were travelling together along
narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114
wished me to walk in front to scare away these ver- 784
min. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore
thick boots through which no snake could bite. At
night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of
smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he
waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 ground, I following behind. The sparks from the
784 touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

090 Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

773 "The world we live in is, under the Creator, gov-
[774] erned by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

276
415

CHIEF PENRI'S FAVOURITE PIPE-HOLDER
AND TOBACCO-BOX

[P.142(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773
over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825
common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539
firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; more- [753]
over, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fetishes and offered apologies; nevertheless, the man got no better at all. Later on the sick man had the following dream.

"In his dream a snake was seen, which said, 'O man! listen well to me. When you were getting firewood, you cut and killed a snake, and I am his brother. We are angry for our brother, and so have sent you this illness. And, although you have made fetishes and prayed, you have not recovered your health. For what we desire to have offered us are fetishes made from walnut wood; therefore make some of this tree and offer them to us; if you do so, we will make you well.' So spake he. After that the man woke up and told others about his dream. And so the men made fetishes out of walnut, and, offering them to the snake, made prayers. And then the man got well. This is how it came to be known to the Ainu that snakes like walnut fetishes. The reason why these creatures are called 'grass root' is because they move about among the roots of grass." Snakes are called "rope" by some.

825 "When the summertime has come and while it is very hot, the skins of the snakes peel off, and then the people say, 'Inasmuch as it is now very hot, the divine snakes have taken off their clothes; their skins have peeled off.' So they say.

[757] "Should there be a wart upon the foot or hand of anyone, if he will take the skin of a snake and rub the place with it, a cure is certain to follow. Or, should the insteps or back of the hands crack, then, if the skin of a snake be burnt to powder and rubbed into the places, they will be healed immediately.

"Snake skin is a woman's charm. Sometimes snakes come to the granaries and stay in them for a long time and leave their skins among the grain. When a skin is found there, it is treated with great care and respect. The men seeing it say, 'From now on, the year will be fruitful and this granary will be

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

filled. It seems as if there will be a fulness of grain, 825
for the divine snake's beautiful garments are here.' Then, taking the skin, they make walnut fetishes for it and put it away as a charm. This is the woman's personal talisman and is therefore placed in the granary.

"But the snake is not a very good deity. Its purpose in getting among the grain in the granary is not a good one. It goes for evil purposes. But the true reason for esteeming it and making a charm of it is to deceive it by flattery and so misdirect its mind and purpose. Once more. As regards snakes, when the people burn off the scrub and weeds from their land in order to make their garden plots, although snakes then sometimes get burnt up and so die, they may not get angry." Such is part of the Ainu lore, respecting snakes, and a wonderfully curious piece of lore it is.

In the chapter on Ainu women and tattoo I mentioned a legend dealing with the marks found on the forefeet of frogs, which the Ainu take as a remnant of tattoo, left by a woman who was transformed into a frog by a curse for evil done. In Ainu religious thought there is always a strong flavour of dualism [812] present, and the following legend shows one phase of this doctrine. It runs thus:

"As snakes have never been liked, the ancient Ainu 539
once met together and asked God to take them away. He heard their prayer and determined to get rid of them by starving them out. But when they were about to leave Ainu-land in search of food, a frog stepped forth and told them that if they would held its legs in their mouths they would not starve. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so nice that it gradually swallowed the whole body. From that time to this, frogs have been food for these reptiles. It was the evil one in the frog who thus frustrated the good purposes of the gods."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 A very extraordinary piece of lore concerning this matter is embodied in the following. "Some of the old Ainu have told of a large snake which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile was said to be of the feminine gender, of very great length, of a beautiful colour and very charming and seductive to look upon. But she was a very dangerous creature. One day she met an Ainu who was hunting far away among the hills, and tried to seduce him into evil. But he escaped her wiles, whereat she was very angry. As a punishment, she told him that he should be unable to die for a thousand years. And so it came to pass that when he attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, skin and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills of babyhood. As the snake said it should be, so it was. Ten times did he reach the age of a hundred, ten times did he lose his beard, hair and teeth, and ten times did he become a little baby. But when he came to be one thousand years of age he died. His name was Enewa, and this I believe to mean "Existing." At length, however, the mighty woman snake was slain by a man, and as the carcase decomposed the particles thereof became wasps and stinging ants."

Chief Penri told me that the worst kinds of snakes and vipers were originated by a famous Japanese warrior called Yoshitsune, who is said to have fled to Yezo in the twelfth century A.D. and lived for a time in hiding among the Ainu at Piratori. Having stolen a boat from his hospitable friends, he ran away. Being hotly pursued by his host, in his hurry to push his boat away from the river bank, the pole he was pushing off with snapped in two. One part stuck on the bank and became snakes and vipers, that in his hand he cast into the river where it turned itself into eels and lampreys. When I first went to Piratori the Ainu had nothing good to say about this Japanese hero.

[775 136]

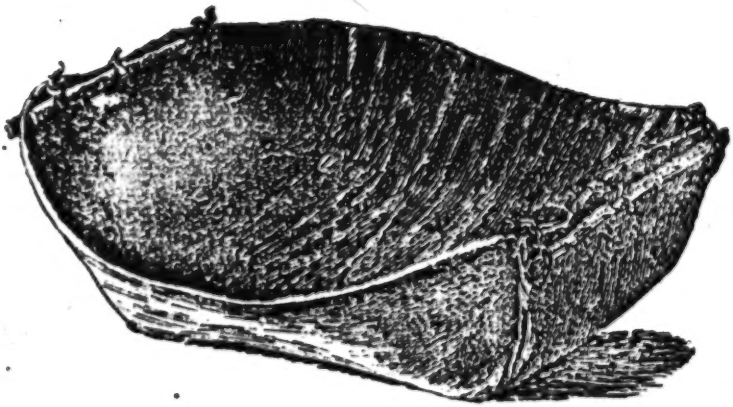
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But now comes another little piece of lore on this subject, and, although it still refers to Yoshitsune as the direct cause of the presence of the evil-dispositioned snakes in Ainu-land, the method of their production is different. The story runs thus: "When Yoshitsune was building a house for himself, he cut down an alder tree with which he proceeded to make a frame for his hearth. When he had finished the cutting and the pieces of wood were fitted together, one part began to wriggle about. This surprised him greatly, so he cut it in two to find out the reason. When it was cut, out popped a demon in the bodily form of a snake. This was the real ancestor of all bad snakes." 539

If one changes the name Yoshitsune into the Ainu hero, Aeoina the Divine, he gets the same legend, excepting that when Aeoina saw the piece on the hearth move, he became very angry, broke it in two and cast one piece away into the forest and the other into a river, where one stick became snakes and the other eels.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

415



MRS. PENRI'S BIRCH-BARK TRAY

[p. 148]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117
when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775 776] lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something [761 764 609] about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not 761 customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head [764] and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783]
all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

higher forms, paradoxical as it may appear, it is looked 761
upon as both spirit and matter, substance and attribute, at one and the same time. It is not the essence that changes but its manifestation. The personal spirit itself is the principle of life behind the life—the very indestructable quintessence of being. Unless one knows this to be their faith, he will find that there are many little things in their daily life which he cannot hope to understand.

It is this faith, indeed, handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, that has produced such an enigma among us. An enigma which cannot in the nature of things last much longer in this age of progress. There is now no place left in the world for either material or spiritual atrophy.

I used to think that this people had a very great fear of death, but during my long sojourn among them, I have had to modify my opinion on this matter considerably. That some do fear it immensely is as true with them as with other individuals among other [184]
races, for I have been with many of them at the time of death and seen that it is so; but then there are many others who do not seem to dread it at all. I will give just one concrete example.

I went to a certain village one day where there were many Christians. As soon as I arrived I was told that a poor woman was then in the act of dying from pleurisy. I asked why they had not sent for the doctor, and was told that he was away and would not be back again for a week and that they could not afford to send to a distant village for another. Would I come in to see her? As her pastor, I did so of course. When I got in I was greatly surprised to find her sitting by the hearth, well bolstered up with mattresses. She could hardly breathe, as she suffered agonies when she tried to do so. I counted sixteen women sitting about the hut, very busy indeed making garments in which to dress her corpse before burial. This was going on

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

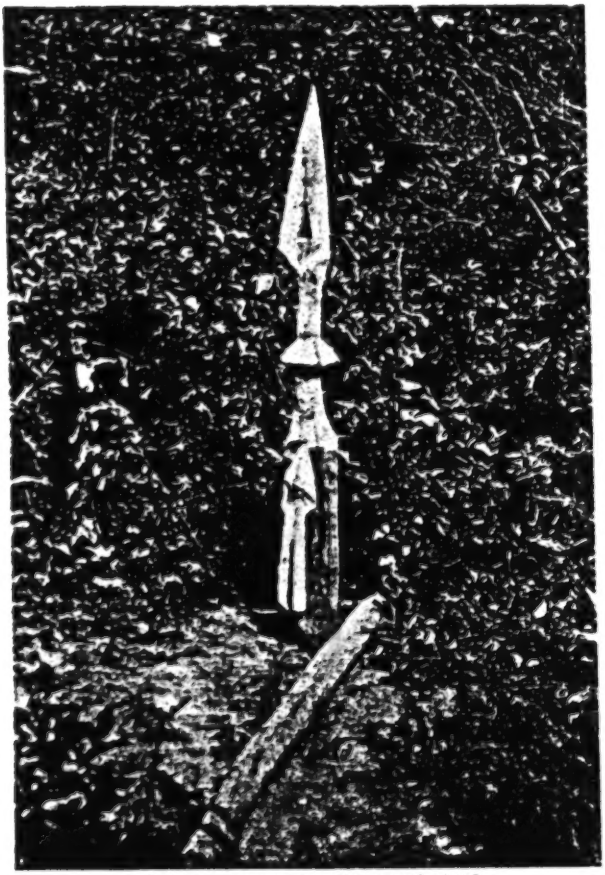
I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of 776] the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764



GRAVE-MARK OF AN AINU MAN

[P. 154(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

completely paralyzed. The members of his family 761
would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people said they were sure he was dead and that his answer [764]
had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day.

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best 764
clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse.

A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at 184
Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I 764
gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *amen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

[415]

A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *sake* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat 764
and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same.

After these viands have been properly arranged, [776]
the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions.

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now [775]
offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell."

After the food, which is called *pakchai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 Part of the millet cake is then eaten and the remainder hidden in the ashes upon the hearth, each person burying a remnant. After the burial of the body, these remnants are collected and carried out of the hut and placed by the fetish cluster by the east-end window. This feast is called "The bad eating and drinking" and the "Farewell eating." This death feast is one in which the dead are invited to partake together with their living friends and is really an expression of natural affection. There is nothing to fear in the corpse, and the dead will show no hostility to any, so long as they are treated well. I have heard of pipes of tobacco being placed in the mouths of the dead when they have been known to have been very fond of smoking during life.

So soon as the ceremonies have been finished, the corpse is rolled up in a mat which is turned upside down, fastened to a pole and carried to its grave by two men. The pole used for carrying is usually of elder, for this tree is supposed to be unlucky.

Some years ago when some of the Ainu who had become Christians died, a great question arose as to whether the body should be put into a coffin and brought into church before burial. Meetings were held and it was found that the older people did not like the idea of being screwed down in boxes. They prefered the mats. As for going into the church, that would never do, so the elders said, because as soon as ever the body was taken out of its former home, it had started on its long journey to Heaven and must not on any account turn aside. The Ainu have a very curious religion and they act up to it in a very literal manner.

The mourners follow the dead in single file, the men leading; each carrying something to be buried with the body. Whatever the distance to the grave may be, it is the custom, in some districts, to rest three times on the way. The grave is usually dug about three feet deep.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism. 764 [783]

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that. 177 764

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY TO HADES

Speaking of Heaven and Hell, one day a man said to me, "The place to which good people go after death is called the home or land of the gods. There people live in a state of supreme happiness. Though they may be far away under our earth, they yet take a lively interest in what is going on among men living in this our upper world. *Pokna shiri*, i.e. 'the lower world,' is the place to which all spirits go upon leaving their earthly bodies. 772 775

"In the centre of this land there are three roads, the first leading to the upper world in which we now dwell. It goes right to the very centre of Hades, and every person born into this world must traverse this road at some time or other. The second and third roads also start from the middle of Hades and lead, one to Heaven and the other to Gehenna. Watch-dogs are stationed at different points along these roads to direct people on their journey. As soon as the soul of a man gets to the place where the first watch-dog is stationed, the animal informs him that the Creator has sent word through the Goddess of Fire as to where he is to go. If he has been good during his life upon earth, he passes along to Heaven, at the gates of which place gods and men meet him and lead him in. But if it be the soul of a wicked person, a message has been received to say that he must go to Gehenna for punishment. If, however, the spirit denies having done evil, the Goddess of Fire is summoned and she causes a great picture to arise before him, in which is very

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 clearly depicted his whole previous life. Nothing more
775 is needed, for he stands self-condemned and there can be no escape." One wonders if this picture is not the man's memory! Why not?

The word which I have translated by Gehenna is *Teinci-pokna-moshiri*, i.e. "wet underground world." Here the wicked are punished. What that punishment consists in seems to be doubtful. Some say it is very hot there, and others very cold. Some say the very bad people get frozen up in a block of ice in this place, and others that they will live suffering indescribable agonies in fire, which fire exists in the very centre of the world. While good animals go to Heaven with their good masters, evil animals go to Gehenna with their wicked masters. And the Ainu seem to believe that it is a case of "like master, like man" there.

Not only do the people believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious, personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no more death or sorrow. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will be marrying and giving in marriage. But there will be no more pain and suffering. The living fully expect to have bodies in form just like the present ones, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing, their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether have a very material existence.

A curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they are supposed to regard persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They can visit this earth in the form of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling.

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind.

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom
775 he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was
539 somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

son was away from home his father died. Just before his death, he called his elder son to him and told him that, as he was about to take his departure to Hades, he would leave his treasures and heirlooms and other property to be equally divided between him and his brother. 539

"A few days after his father's death, the younger son returned home and heard the sad news. He was very sorry, but, worse than all else, the wicked elder brother had taken every bit of property to himself, and nothing could induce him to do as his father had commanded. He said that all had been left to himself personally, as head of the family. A great quarrel then ensued, which waxed so hot that the brothers separated. The elder brother stayed at home and enjoyed himself, but the younger one took his quiver and bow and set out to find the passage by which his father had gone to the lower world. Having found the entrance he commenced the descent. He walked so quickly that he soon arrived at a large village full of people and fine houses. The dogs barked at him as he passed along, and he heard the people say, "Oh, there is a ghost about! There must be a ghost about!" They then began to present libations of wine to him.

"On and on he marched, the dogs still barking, till he came to his father's house. He entered the hut and tried to speak to his parent but could neither make himself seen nor heard. This very greatly distressed him, and so he set to work to find a way by which he might learn what he desired to know. At last he thought of this plan. As he was just a ghost, why should he not enter into some member of the village community and make him speak for him? He would try. So he entered the heart of a man near by and, borrowing his mouth and tongue, asked his father how he had left his property in the upper world. The father made answer that he had divided it all equally between his two sons. Then the young man returned

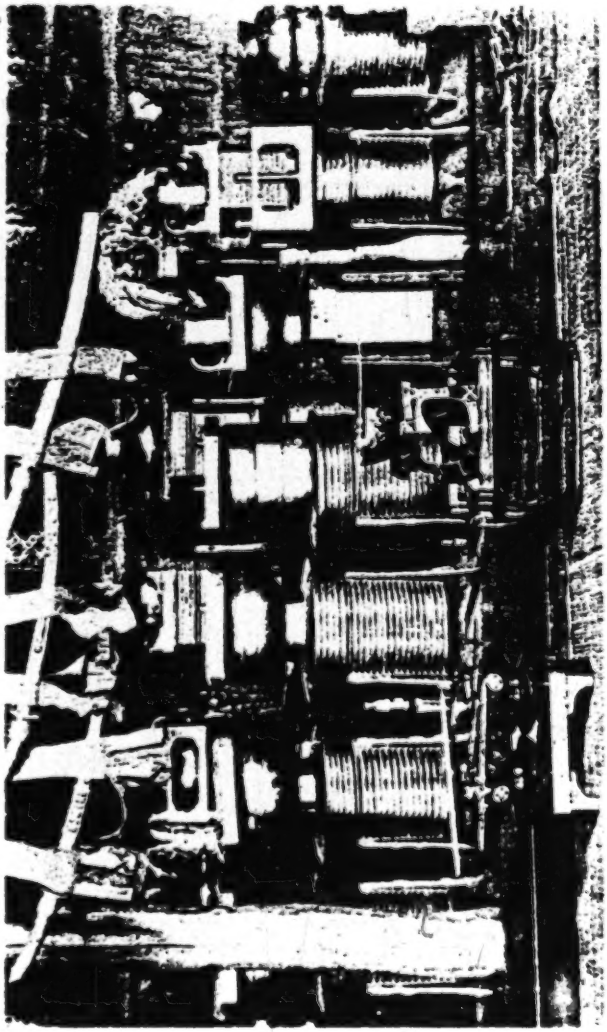
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 to the upper world and reported what he had done and seen and heard. Thereupon the elder brother begged his pardon and divided the goods with him. From that time on they lived happily side by side in the same village, till they took their last journey thence."

000 It would spoil these lovely legends to comment on them and so I leave them just as they are. But I must ask why some of our spiritist and necromancing friends do not adopt this Ainu method in their practice. Why, instead of playing at necromancy and so raising the dead up, do they not visit the dead in Hades themselves and bring us back something worth hearing? What good, reliable news has the spiritist or necromancer given us about the Kingdom of the Spirits? For the life of me, I have seen and heard none yet. All the Ainu see there is simply a replica of the present world. And who wants that?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



THE SACRED EAST-END CORNER OF A HUT

[p. 166(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so 342
runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of 778
Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lorest this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected.

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred [777] willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told 339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau, i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of [776]
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 342
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons 778
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
[576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *sake* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *sake* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

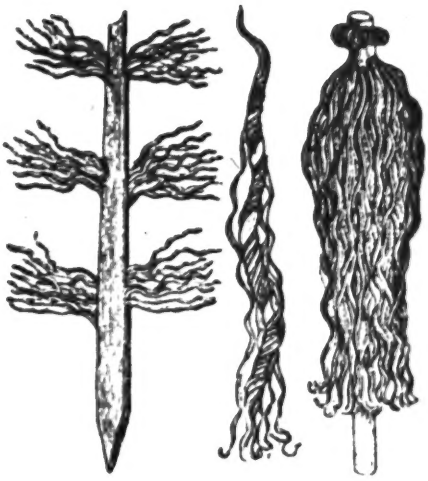
strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, 342
where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace 273
there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming 731
feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal 342
of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. 273
Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, 117
no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol 273
in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



SOME COMMON FETISHES

[p. 174]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776 [372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [778]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
[347] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

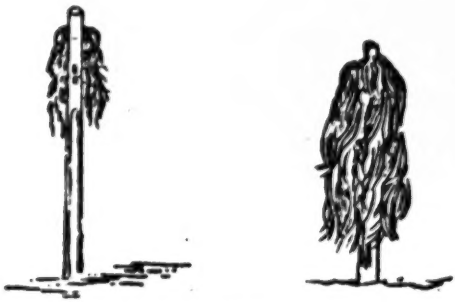
When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he informed me that the pattern of the original household fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his father before him. It is short but to the point, and runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[788] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides 342
which she has numerous other duties to perform. She 776
is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals.

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mai*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it 783
or by making them jump over it, as was the custom 776
among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment.

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, 775
supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RV2

A Y 372 171 [776 782]

ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y 784 372

As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIV

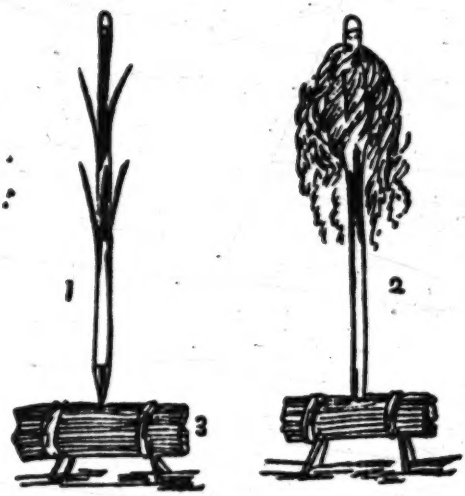
THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born. 824 778 [844]

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby. 844 852

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

852 782 After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly pilled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidō. As might well be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *nusa*. These *nusa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "legs." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 778
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *nusa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inau*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inau-sakpuru*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.

NUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *inau*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

917 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows: 775

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored. 775 826

It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again. 846

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

846 This private ceremony is called *Rere-ashiraye* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 783 Water is a great symbol of purification with them and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near, [766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *hon-o-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yainunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

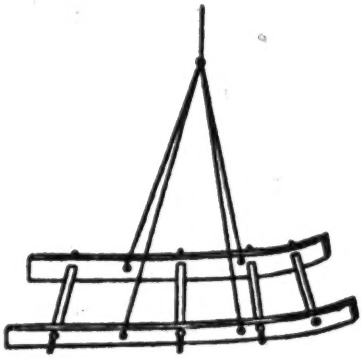
"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-o-inonno-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

846 Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *sakè* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutase*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

[352 855]



AN AINU CRADLE

846 843 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

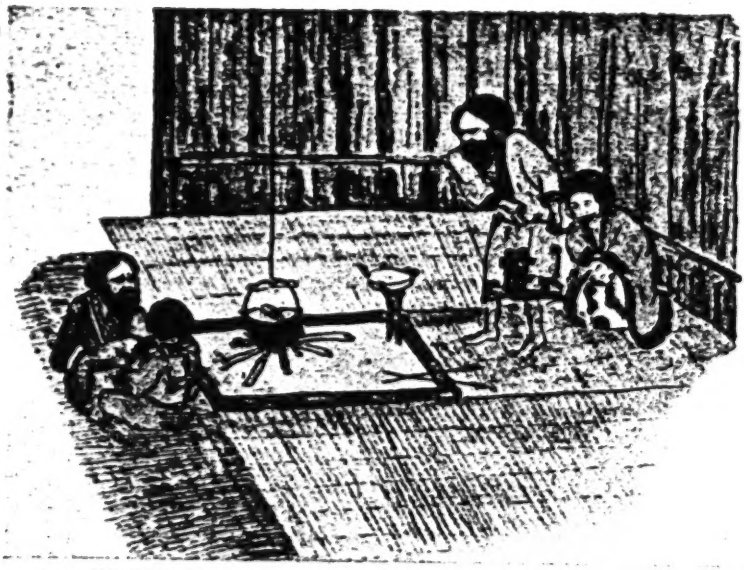
birth takes place, while the spirit-life is supposed to come by degrees in some mysterious way from the father during the six days immediately following its birth, and go on growing and being augmented for another six days after he has returned to his own home. At the end of the last six days, which complete the perfect number, the infant may be regarded as a unit in itself, but while the spirit is being derived from the father it is not yet one; therefore, unless the father is very quiet and careful during these twice six days, the life of his offspring will take harm, and in injuring his child he will in return also receive harm. 846 843

I asked the Chief, "But supposing the father is away among the mountains when the child is to be born, what happens then? He knows nothing about it and can not take the rest?"

"That is so," he replied, "yet the birth goes on just the same. The *ituren kamui*, i.e., "Divine Guardians," attend to the matter. Willow fetishes and totems are made by the near relations for the child, the goddess of fire is duly worshipped, and many libations drunk. And then all is well."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by 582 583
their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a [562]
young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off.

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked 585
the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the [584]
following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *uwechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *uwechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 If the young woman herself or her parents were 591 the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *uirkoak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *uiritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 The people considered their daughters to be mar- 585 riageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of *sake*. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chirezkke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukorezkke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or 582
brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to per- 581
petuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered [551]
a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been 593
already noticed, and that the various wives lived in 595
separate dwellings and that these females were often [591]
not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus 583
and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an 144
admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, [184]
the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there 539
were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 was by the hearth, busy cooking food, some of which she gave the poor Tungus to eat.

"After he had finished his meal he asked the lady about her husband, saying, "Whither has thy husband gone?" "Oh," replied she, "he has gone hunting with his dogs and will return the day after tomorrow." The man spent the night in the house. Later on in the evening he fell in love with the mistress and asked her to become his wife. Upon this she said, "Thou good-for-nothing scoundrel of a Tungus; I heartily despise thee. I will have nothing to do with thee. Until this day I have lacked nothing from my husband and I always have had an abundance of good food. What then should I want from such a contemptible Tungus as thou? What is there I can ask thee for? I spurn thee and will have nothing to do with thee. Beast! I utterly scorn thee!" So spake she.

"That poverty-stricken Tungus went to bed full of fury and wrath, and at daybreak the next morning sneaked off without waiting for his breakfast. He returned to his home and stayed there. Now a very wonderful thing happened. Every season from that time, when he went hunting in the mountains, this man took as many as from 100 to 200 skins. But he who was formerly reckoned to be a rich man died that very year. The poor man abode quietly at home, attending to his hunting. And so the seasons went by.

"After six full years had elapsed, the widow of the rich Tungus came to the house of him who had been a very poor man. All who met her saw that she was in a starving condition. She came and asked the owner of the house to take pity on her and marry her, for since her husband had died she had been unable to get sufficient food to eat. Therefore had she now come to him. If, however, he should refuse to marry her, she asked him to allow her to stay in the house as a servant and draw water for the family.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5

A 539

"'Aha,' said he who had been formerly poor but was now a rich man. 'I spurn thee! So thou hast heard that I am now a rich man, hast thou? When I wished to take thee to wife, thou didst say, 'Oh, thou good-for-nothing scoundrel, I heartily despise thee. I will have nothing to do with thee. I want nothing from such a wretched Tungus as thou art. What can I ask thee for, thou abject scamp? I will have nothing to do with thee. I hate thee.' So saidest thou. Now, as there is no other resource left, thou hast come to me! Avaunt! Even though thou shouldst entreat me till death itself do overtake thee, I will never accept thee. Depart thou out of the house. Go outside and die.' Then the woman got up weeping and straightway when she got into the yard she died."

T 583

Such is the old Tungus tradition. And so it comes to pass that whenever Tungus women meet a poor man they always have a strong desire to annex him. And thus it is that in matters of courtship the Tungus women, even at the present day, make the first advances.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
136

AN ANGRY BEAR
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.204]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing 527
bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are 231
kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing.

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain [362] animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better [114] than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion.

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one an-
[462] others' tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the men turn toward the place where the fetishes are set up and arrange themselves in proper order, and worship. 527 231

The men sit down before the creature and tell him that they are about to send him to his ancestors among the mountains. They ask him not to be angry with them, for it is a very great honour which they are now about to confer upon him. He is informed that if he is really a good and proper cub he will reincarnate as before and come back later to be treated again as he is being treated now. An address is then offered like this:

"O thou divine one, thou didst come into this world for us to hunt. O thou precious little one, we worship thee; pray hear our prayers. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with great pains and care, and all because we loved thee so much. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy parents. When thou comest to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been to thee. We beseech thee to return to us once more, that we may again entertain thee."

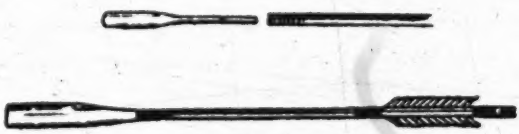
A rope is next tied about the cub and he is taken out of the cage and led to the place where the fetishes have been set up. Then when the multitude of people have seated themselves in their order, he is made to walk about in front of them for their pleasure.

After the prayer has been said, Bruin has one cord placed round his neck and shoulder on one side, and one round the opposite shoulder by another man in such a manner as to make it quite safe. The two men hold the noose so firmly as to ensure that he shall be able to make no attack on his friends who are teasing him and will soon kill and eat him. He is then led to and fro by the two men, one on each side. If the bear is a large one and very strong, a rope is also passed over his hind quarters by two other men. Thus the people take good care of their own skins.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

[441]



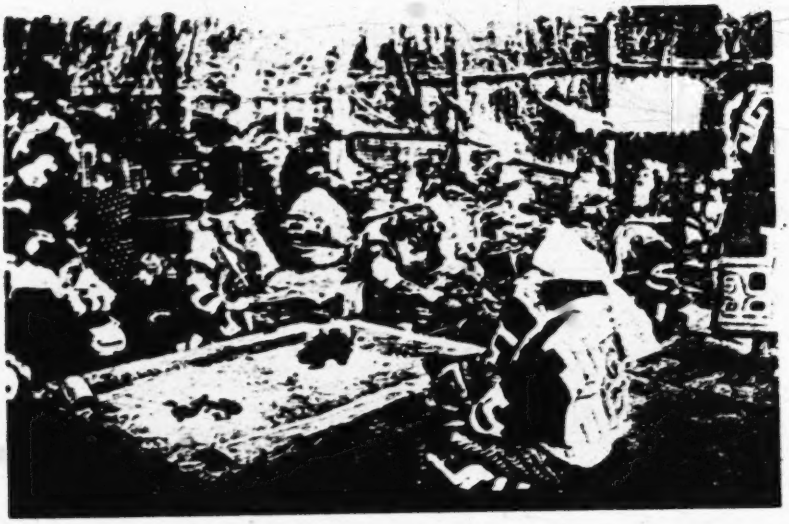
BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527
231

A DRINKING FEAST



AT THE BEAR FEAST

[p. 208(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival. 231 527

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years. 178 527 321

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish." 527 231

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of his own cooked meat and broth to eat. And a little of his own blood is also set before him. After waiting a short time, when all are quite silent, the headman worships, saying, 'O divine One, we present Thee with these fetishes, cakes and dried fish. Take them to thy parents and say, "I have been brought up by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept free from harm and trouble. I am now grown big and am come back to you. I have also brought cakes, dried fish, and fetishes with me. Let us rejoice." If you say this to them they will be glad.'

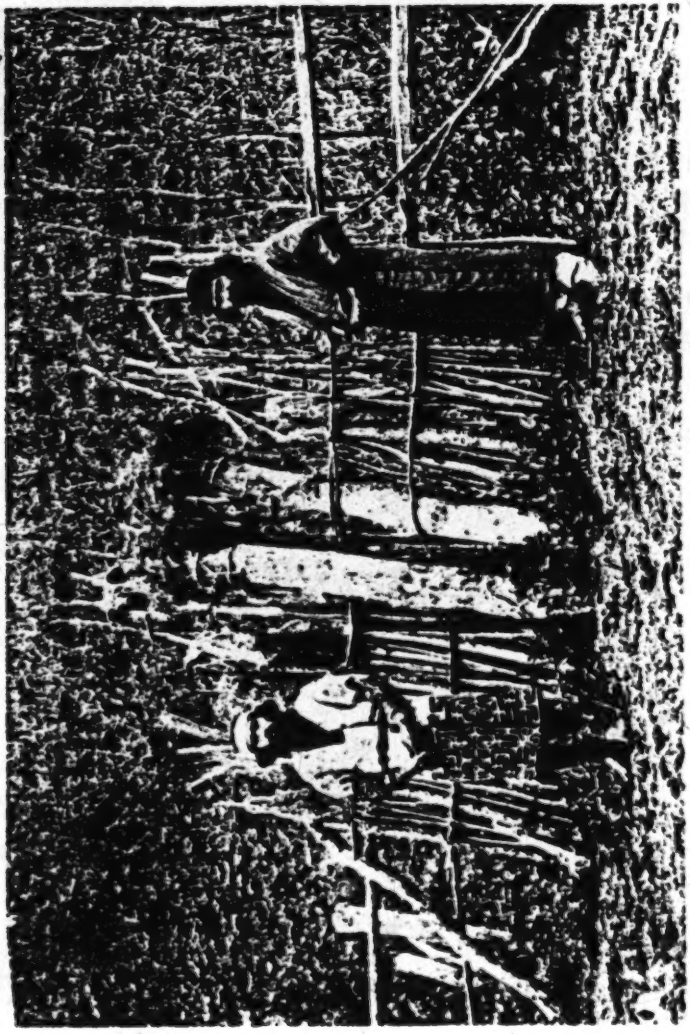
"After the meat has been cooked, some of it is put into cups and placed near the mouth of the cub, and all wait in respectful silence for a short time. After a bit the Master of Ceremonies calls out in a loud voice, 'The little divine one has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us eat with him and worship.' He then takes a full cup, salutes it, offers a few drops to the fire, and divides it among the guests. This cup is called the "cup of offering" and also the "cup of the feast." And in this feast we find the people holding a communion with their God, namely, the Bear. The entrails of the creature are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw.

"Later, a pole is prepared to hold the cub's head. This is placed outside at the nusa place. The head is taken and fixed in a crotch in the top, and is tied there with strings of shavings, and called "Life-containing-fetish."

"Thus, the skin having been quite detached from the head, peeled off, in fact, right down to the snout, the ears being left standing on the shining skull, the skull is taken outside through the east end window, now made into a doorway, and there set up on high. It is no longer called a bear's head, but the name is changed into "Divine Preserver." It is here frequently wor-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
527
231



BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

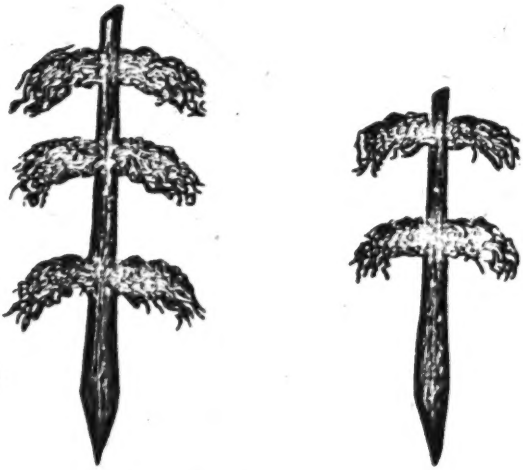
[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *kew-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 775] The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527
231

hut is a sad sight in the morning, when the men may be seen still lying about the floor, snoring where they fell over. And it is a sad thing to see the crowns the men wore lying scattered about among the cups.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142

MR. TEE, CLOTHED IN ONE OF THE AUTHOR'S COATS

[212]A

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVII

MY FRIENDS TEE AND ARIMAKNA

Among my very early friends was Tee. This Ainu 115
was a very silent man and of a meek disposition, and, except when hunting bears, was quite gentle in all his ways. I often think of him as one of nature's gentlemen. Both he and his wife were most courteous and kind, and I enjoyed staying with them. They lived in the very last house of the village farthest up the Saru River. There were no Japanese among the Ainu up there at that time, so their customs and language were pure Ainu. Whenever I think of the quiet, free, unanxious life they lived up there and compare that time with the present I cannot help sighing. But those halcyon days departed when the tax collector and modern civilization came in. I quite enjoyed seeing their life of quiet security and simplicity, alas, now gone for ever. It was only a very short time ago that I was asked by an old man whether I thought the old free-from-care times would ever return. He said he was very tired of the present state of things and thought there was something wrong somewhere! And surely he was right.

One day I told Chief Penri that I wished to go up 117
the track by the river and visit the other villages, but he greatly surprised me by saying that he could not take me up. "In that case, I suppose I must go alone, then," I said. But he begged me not to go. "Why don't you wish me to go up?" I asked. After a good deal of talk, he told me that he had received instructions from an official that he was to take me no higher up the river along the track. "The Japanese were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

loose in the hut, playing daily with the children. It was so small that the wife had to bring it up like one of her own babies. At night it went and curled itself up in the bosom of the master. Being a stranger, it did not at first care to come near me, but with a little coaxing, he and I soon became the best of friends. I watched him carefully and a more cunning little beast I think I have never seen.

One day as I was sitting quietly writing at the head of the hearth, I saw little Bruin come stealthily into the hut, walk quietly up to a pot which was hanging at the lower end of the fireplace with cold cooked millet in it, stand up on his hind legs, place one forepaw on the edge of the pot to keep it steady, lift the lid partly off with the other and put it on one side, and then scoop handfuls out and eat as fast as he could. I gazed at him for a few minutes with admiration and astonishment. Presently I roared out, "Oh, you thieving scoundrel!" The rogue immediately dropped to his feet, gave one swift glance at me, smirked, and rushed out of the hut as much like a streak of lightning as it is possible for a bear to be. I was intensely amused and I sat still for a time to see what would happen next.

In about half an hour I saw the creature place one forepaw on the door post, slowly lift up the mat hanging in the doorway with the other, and then pop his head round the corner, look at me, twinkle his eyes, slap the mat down in its place, and forthwith rush off again post-haste. He evidently thought there was not enough room in that hut for the two of us. He got no more to eat till supper time. When the mistress came home from her garden, I told her about it, but she did not seem to be at all surprised, for she simply smiled and said, "The young scamp! At it again!" The husband laughed when he heard of it, nodded at the tale, and said, "The little demon! All bear cubs are very cunning and their parents exceedingly wise and clever."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

000
231 and clever." A little later the creature's claws became so strong and painful to those who played with him, that he was put into a cage and there well fed by Mrs. Tee till it was time to have the festival and kill and eat him.

224 When hunting bears, Tee told me that he and his dogs used to go and look for the place in which one was hibernating, and then he would settle how to attack and kill him. He said that in the snow which covered the den, there was always just a small yellow discoloration made by the warm breath of the animal. The dogs were very clever at finding this, and when found, they would stand round it and set up a great baying till he came to them. He and his dogs then worked away the snow from the entrance of the den, and, when the hole was sufficiently big, he himself would crawl in on his hands and knees, carrying a long knife with him. The dogs would stay outside to watch the entrance. They were there to check the animal when he made the rush into the open. And "they knew their business."

"But," I said, "is it not very dangerous to crawl like that into a bear's den?"

"Yes," he said, "there is always danger, but bears at that time are in a state of silly drowsiness, and do not seem to like to kill anything in their dens. And when they rush out the light confuses them. In the den they stretch out a paw and thrust an intruder roughly to the back of the place. When I get there, and I sometimes have done so without being seen, I prick the animal from behind with my knife, and, not liking this, he makes a rush for the open, where the dogs bait him till I come and kill him."

Tee was a very brave man and had a superabundance of cool courage and nerve. I admired the man. He was one worth knowing. He told me also that in the event of being hugged by a bear, the only escape was by no means to draw away, but to press well in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife 224
into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch!

I was always on the look-out for curios when among 441
the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow.

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times 224
on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up [278
spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track 411]
where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him.

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at 797
Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

797 further instruction. On this occasion we had a most interesting conversation, which was as follows.

Tee. If I receive baptism as you say I should do and so join the church, will that prevent me from going to the same Heaven my highly esteemed dogs have gone to?"

To say I was surprised at this question would be putting it too mildly. I was taken quite aback. However, quickly pulling myself together, I said,

Self. Ah, yes, that's a great point indeed, and well worth talking over, isn't it? Come, let us sit down comfortably and discuss the matter."

So we went into my study and sat down for a nice chat.

Tee. "You knew many of my dogs, didn't you? How clever they were, and what a help!"

Self. "Yes, indeed. I knew them and many a time have I shared my dinner with them. Good, beautiful, obedient, helpful creatures. And so you want to go to the same Heaven your dear dogs have gone to. Is that really so?"

Tee. "Yes I do. They were without sin. I loved my dogs with all my heart. They have saved my life time and again, and I have saved theirs also. When hunting together, we lived in the same lodge and shared the same food. When the nights were cold, we occupied the same bed for warmth. We were great friends. If the Christian Heaven is not the same as the one my dogs have gone to, I cannot become a Christian. My dogs are all waiting for me, and to them I must go. If baptism is going to prevent this, I must remain as I am."

I have now studied the Ainu for several years and know something of their religious belief, and so can well sympathize with his trend of thought. Poor fellow! He was thoroughly troubled and intensely in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was 797
nothing if not sincere.

Sel. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be- 614
lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, 774
and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 The prayer said at the time of the "sending away festival" for the eaglet runs thus:

"O divine beloved one, I have brought thee up till 782 now because I loved thee; and now I send thee to thy father. I also present thee with food, fetishes, whisky and cakes. If thou wilt take them to thy father, he will greatly rejoice. And do thou speak to him on this wise, I ask thee: 'I have dwelt for a long time in Ainu-land; there an Ainu father and mother brought me up. And now I come to thee. Moreover, listen. I have brought thee a great variety of good things. Now, I saw in Ainu-land many kinds of trouble. They were such as these. Some were possessed by devils; some met with accidents from wild animals; some also met with landslides; some met with accidents from the waves of the sea; and I saw many kinds of sickness. Ainu-land is in a very difficult and parlous condition. Hear, my father, and hasten to turn toward that land and send help.' If you speak thus before your father and mother, he will succour."

825 This man was 17 years of age when I first met him. When I was in his district, his house being near he used to come to me of an evening to be taught. One evening he told me that it was very difficult for him to believe that all men are descended from the same original ancestors. His own family relations, he said, considered themselves to have come from eagles in the beginning. What did I think of it? So we sat down and talked the matter over.

Ari. My people were of the eagle clan and I have been told that my real ancestor was descended from an eagle.

Self. Oh, indeed, that is very interesting. Tell me all about it, please, and let us talk the matter well over.

I then said: "Do you mean to say that you think an eagle laid some eggs and then sat on them and hatched out your original ancestors?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Self. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Self. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584
to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304
excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. 597]
It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825
times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "I can not tell how it came to be, but when I first opened my eyes I found myself lying in a certain place among the common grass. Near at hand stood a fine big ash tree.* The stem was long and quite straight. There was not a knot in it and it was very glossy and pleasing to the eye. In the top of this tree two eagles, a male and his mate, had their home, and seemed to be very happy together. Whenever I wished to eat or drink there was always a most beautiful tray containing food and a cup of water by my side. I ate and drank and was ever satisfied. I slept and woke and lacked nothing. Every day for many years the female eagle brought me food to eat. Very often did I hear the birds in conversation, till at last I came to understand their language.

"One day the male eagle flew away, and, although I awaited his return for a long time, it seemed as though he would never come back. At last, when I had almost given up all hope of ever seeing him again, he arrived at home. The pair soon began to talk to one another. The male said:

"'Every day I was away from home I thought much of the child we have nourished. Some time ago, when I went to find food for him, I discovered in the midst of the two seas a beautiful island. The scenery was grand beyond description. One end of it lay high up before me stretching out afar, while at the other end there was a cape extending out into the sea, and beyond this I saw a long reef of rocks. Near by I saw a large ash tree to which I flew and in the top of which I seated myself among the branches and looked about.

"'At one end of the island I saw a large well-beaten-down sporting ground. One part of this was for the highest gods to take exercise on, the middle part was for the next in order, and the lower end was allotted to the gods of lesser importance. I saw it all

* For further information on the ash tree, see chap. XLIII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

stretched out most beautifully before me. Here among the branches I passed the night. By and by I heard the gods preparing themselves to descend and amuse one another. Before dawn they came, with a noise as of birds flying through the air. The mighty ones played together on the upper part of the field; after them came the lesser ones, and last of all the lowest. When the daybreak was near at hand, they left off their sports and went to the end of the cape where the reef of rocks was. Here they sang to one another, told stories, recited heroic verses and related old fairy tales. It was a grand sight. As soon as the day broke they ceased and ascended to heaven. 539

"'I thoroughly enjoyed watching these gods, so much so, indeed, that I stayed on to see them day after day; and this is the reason I am so late in getting home again.' All this did the eagle tell his mate. I was lying there beneath the tree, listening to it all.

"Having heard this, I was immediately filled with a strong desire to set off at once to the place and see for myself. So I got up from my bed the next night and set out to pay the island a visit. I listened carefully and heard the birds quietly breathing in sleep. Stealthily did I make ready and slip down to the seashore. Here I ran along the higher part of the shore close by the forest and came presently to a place where I found a little old boat. This I seized with my little hands by the cross-beam in the prow and dragged to the water's edge. I quietly set the oars in order and pulled for the open sea. I rowed hard, wishing to get to the island that night, but at first could make no headway at all. Nevertheless, after some practice, I learned how to manage the oars, and was glad. I pulled away till the break of day and continued rowing till the evening was setting in, when at last I saw the island before me.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "I landed quickly and, upon taking a look round, saw that I had without doubt hit upon the place the eagle had spoken of. There were big ash trees whose branches drooped to the ground. Under these I dragged my boat out of sight. I, too, hid there. By and by, just as I heard my foster-eagle say it happened in his case, I heard the sound of the gods preparing for their descent and saw them passing the horizon. They soon arrived and the highest in order disported themselves on the field. When they had finished, the lesser ones amused themselves. After all had done they went to the reef, just as the eagle had said, where they invited one another to sing. So they sang ditties, told stories, repeated fairy tales and recited heroic verses. When they had concluded this, and it was now nearing day, the gods rested.

"I then crawled stealthily along, hiding myself well, and, laying hold of the robe which the youngest of the goddesses had taken off and hidden among the rocks, rolled myself up in it.

"Then the gods, having rested, began to ascend up on high, and the young goddess came to put on her robe. But as I was rolled up in it she was unable to take it. I then suddenly seized hold of her and held her fast. When the others had all gone up to the skies, I led her to the boat, which I dragged to the sea and in which I placed her. I then pulled for home, having the divine one with me. The twilight came and then midnight, at which time I arrived at my house. Both of my parent-eagles seemed to be fast asleep when we arrived, for I heard them snoring away above in the ash tree. So I and my heavenly girl entered my grass home. The next day at dawn the male eagle spoke to his mate and said,

" 'The child we brought up till now has evidently left us for good. What shall we do next? He has

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

become a full-grown man and has no doubt, gone off 539
to seek a wife. We are fully satisfied that it should be so, so let us return to our own native land." Such was the speech I heard from the top of that beautiful big ash tree. But when they saw us, they congratulated me on having found a wife, told me who I was, and how all my family had been massacred, and declared that we were to become the first parents of a new clan.

"The eagle—my fosterparent—said to me, 'The name of thy native land is "Sea-end." It is a very rich country and you had formerly many prosperous ancestors there. However, certain evil demons came and ravaged it. And you alone remained alive. But the gods took counsel together, for they were pleased with the old inhabitants, because they made many fetishes which they offered to them and which were graciously accepted. And so it was that in olden times your ancestors flourished.

"'Then the gods took further council together as to finding a god who should nourish you, and the choice fell upon me and my wife. My name is *Kapa-Chiri*, i.e., eagle. If, therefore, you desire to prosper in your country you must make a fetish and worship before it, saying: "O bird, who didst nourish me! O chief of the Eagles!' If you say this, and also make fetishes for the God who is master of the earth, then the divine Ones will look upon you from above with favour and will bless you and your country at all times. You will never be in want.' So here we live and our people increase. All the eagles told us has come true, and we are happy. It is marvellous! This is the origin of making fetishes at 'Sea-end' and setting them up." Thus does the legend end.

In looking over some fetishes one day, I happened 115
upon a pair of fine bird claws and was told by the owner that they were taken from a "White-tailed Eagle." In talking the matter over with him, he informed me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and his friends that the eagle is after him, and so he 755
quickly comes to heal up the mischief he has wrought.
I find, too, that eagle claws are sometimes scraped and 758
the powder given to sick people to drive out the demons of disease.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

855
482
291

SAMARIA AND HER GRANDCHILD

[P.228]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVIII

ON NAMES AND NAME GIVING

"Samaria..... Samaria!.....SA-MA-RIA!" 551
and yet again "O Samaria!" in a more impatient tone of voice. With such calls were my ears greeted as I was passing through the village toward my home one day. I had not heard the call before and wondered what it meant and was all alert, ready to set down a new word. Upon arriving at the hut I asked the chief what it could be, and he told me that Samaria was the name of a little girl. "That is curious," I remarked. "How did she come by such a name?" "Oh," replied he, "I one day heard you speaking about Samaria and I thought it sounded so nice that I borrowed it and gave it to a little girl who was as yet unnamed." Mrs. Samaria is still living and is now a grandmother. She is the daughter of old Mr. Bright, whom I have already mentioned. Penri's wife's name was Orosia and he told me that it was an imitation of the name Russian.

The chief seemed to copy a good deal. One day I 000
came unexpectedly to the hut when I heard him speaking in quite a loud voice. There sat the old fellow, nearly drunk, with a congregation of ancients in front of him, *preaching* of all things in the world! His subject was Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and he was giving it in different tones of voice, making a dialogue of it between God, Adam, Eve and the serpent. I suddenly popped my head into the hut, when there was a mighty roar of laughter! The sermon ended quite in a hurry, and I then had my innings.

After a few years Penri asked me to become name- 553
maker to the village. Sometime later, sixteen women

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [175] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor.

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in.

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards.

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 was to be punished, and so make blunders. And in this way what was meant for one would go to another." Truly an Ainu may say, "He who steals my purse steals trash, but he who steals my good name steals all."

I was also told a name should be euphonious and have a good and happy meaning. Moreover, it must be full and proper Ainu. And so it will be seen that I let myself in for a good deal when I undertook the task of making up names.

One of my first essays at it was a bit of a failure. A certain weak young woman came to me one day and said she was quite certain her name, which I had given her, was making her ill. Its daily influence on her was bad and kept her ailing. It was angry about something, so would I be kind enough to take it off her and bestow a new one. I thought I would then try to work Rebekah in, and so by a slight change made it *Rei-peka*, and this means in Ainu the "fitting name." It was a beautiful shot and the result was very good, for she felt better, she said. And thinking so she was so, no doubt, and improved daily.

Name-giving did not as a rule take place till the child was two or three years old and some particular habit had been formed or trait of character manifested. There was no special public and religious ceremony connected with it. Only just the usual family fetishes made and offered, and a prayer said by the father. The chief would simply enter a hut, salute the gods and people, explain why he had come, and then call the child by the name he had chosen. He would then salute the child, the Goddess of Fire, and the household god and the parents. He made a small present to the candidate. This finished, he would sit, talk, eat and drink of such things as were available at the time. For a boy, the present was a sword-guard, a knife or a wine cup. The sword-guard implied defence from evil, and the wine cup that he was to become a family priest. The girl got a piece of cloth as a rule, and,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553
Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551
better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593
once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551
She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said,
"It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, [462]
while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some phillodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be." 539 825

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.' "

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now. 551

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825
527

During my sojourn in this land I have witnessed many peculiar customs, but among them all I think the one I saw at a festive scene was the most comical, peculiar and ridiculous. As I was passing by a certain hut one day, I heard a very merry chattering, accompanied with much loud laughter, going on inside. This greatly puzzled me, for I had not heard the like before. As it was the home of an old friend, I took the liberty of slipping quietly through the door, without giving the customary coughs before entering.

There sat the family with a few friends round the hearth, partaking of stewed meat, vegetables and millet. They were taking it directly out of the pot which was hanging over the fire, and so they got it hot. They were much astonished at my sudden appearing, and all turned to stare at me. They stopped their eating and for a second or two seemed to hold their breath, and then suddenly burst out into roars of laughter, their merry eyes sparkling with delight. They made room for me and invited me to join them. But it was all so funny and I so ignorant as to what was in the pot that I declined with thanks.

I was greatly surprised to see the people, big and little, each with his or her personal belongings tied up in bundles as if in readiness to migrate to some other land, and it reminded me of the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Some of them actually had bundles slung on to their backs with the tying cord round their foreheads. Beside others were clothing, ornaments, spoons, moustache-lifters, pots, kettles, axes, bows and arrows, knives and other articles, all ready at hand. When the Ainu men are greatly surprised they sometimes say, *"Etukishma"!* This means: "I seize my nose!" All I could do was simply to say *"Etukishma"* and laugh with them. I did not know what to make of it all, for it was such a peculiar scene. Nor have I seen it since. I was indeed fortunate to have caught them in the act at that time. I did not think it would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

be wise to pass remarks then or ask any questions, so 825
I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527
appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753
about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262
for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie 527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A 262
little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water 278
cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toihekunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. 539
It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stuff flowed down to the sea and mixed with the salt waters of the ocean and became the origin of all the mermaids and demon-elves there. Not only so, but some of it gradually sank down through the earth, where it became in Hades a big river full of bogs and quagmires."

The name of this river is Black-River, or perhaps River of Death, and out of it come all the evil spirits of the lower regions. Right in the centre of a big quagmire, surrounded by the river, the head demon of Hades is at home, and he has a big body of stone. His name is *Hekuwa*. The name *Tei-hekuwa*, by which I heard a man called, means, according to this, "Wicked Demon." These are not at all nice names and they carry their bitterness and do their work; moreover, [551] they afford some remarkable information as to the working of the minds of this race.

I was very much amused one day by hearing a jealous, angry little girl call her companion, with whom she was quarrelling, by the name of *Pen*. This word means "Lowlander." I could not understand why this should be before I heard the story I am now about to cite, which may well be called the Story of Pen and Pan.

"One day Mr. Pen (*Pen* means 'upper') had a strong desire to become rich. After a great deal of thought, he determined to use his inherent magic powers and work it that way. So he made his own tail become longer and longer till it reached to Matomai. It came right into the court of the Lord of this place. When my Lord saw what he thought to be a very beautiful pole, he ordered his servants to hang his very best garments over it to air. When all was quiet again, Mr. Pen gently withdrew his tail with all the garments on it, and so became very rich.

"His great wealth soon became noised abroad, so when Mr. Pan heard of it he came to him and asked him how he managed to become so suddenly rich. 'Oh,' said he, 'come in and sit down, and I will tell you all

2: Batchelor M.5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

about it.' And so he told him the story. Mr. Pan suddenly became very jealous and angry. He snarled dreadfully at poor Pen and said, 'You most abominable creature! You have forestalled me. You did the very thing I myself intended to do.' So saying, he went off in great wrath. 539

"Very soon he also stuck his tail across to Matomai, right into the Lord's court. Again the Lord of the place said, 'Look, here is a beautiful pole come from the gods. Hang out all my best clothing upon it to air.' This was soon done. Now Pan was so eager to become rich that he could not wait until all became quiet, but began to withdraw his tail too soon. My Lord saw it moving along and quickly told his retainers to cut the pole in two. This was quickly done, so that Mr. Pan was left with but a short stump of a tail."

When some of the Ainu began to become Christians, the shamans were very angry, and they raked up the *inau-sak-guru* for them. This means "persons without fetishes," which we may quite well translate by "infidel," or "godless one." By not making these fetishes, the men cut themselves off, more or less, from the Ainu brotherhood. This does not matter so much now as it did in bygone days, though it still carries its sting with many, and the shamans yet harp on it. It is curious to remark that among the Japanese the strongest and most philosophical opponent of Christianity I know is a man who formerly became a Greek Church Christian and then turned a Buddhist priest. This man has truly "the gift of the gab." When he is about, no one else has a chance to speak. He is unable to bridle himself. The strongest opponent I have met among the Ainu was a man who became a Christian and then turned shaman. He was very fond of referring to the Christian Ainu as *inau sak guru*, "infidels." He, too, was a good speaker. But, strange to say, he would always flee when he saw me coming along, and 798

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

798 this made the people laugh and injured his influence and reputation materially.

771 Chief Penri told me that sometimes angry Ainu women would steal and hide away or burn their husband's fetishes, and this was a bad kind of sacrilege, for the gods, missing these offerings, think they have been neglected and so, instead of bestowing their favour, send evil upon them. With such a deeply religious people as the Ainu—a people so full of that disease of religion we call superstition—this meant much, and it was not pleasant to them to be called "infidel" or "godless one."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291

AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

[p. 242(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest 121
of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man 301
who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have 301
pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I 388
am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In 301
no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 301 778 824 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so
278 fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and
784 made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so. 114 784

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu kotu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them. 215 532 291 826

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur- 114

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

826 "One day, when several men were in the hut with
215 the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is *'ichashkara,'* i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called *'imosh.'* When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called *"tolpuk-un-chiri,"* i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 his life gradually fade away with it. O demon named *toikunari tumunichi*, hear me, and quickly take his soul and turn it into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said with earnestness, the man will soon die—yea, his body will rot with the tree and he will perish from off the earth."

Another method employed is to make fetishes of the guelder rose and ask it to carry the soul of the enemy to Hell as soon as possible. After this the fetishes should be buried upside down. Further, "should a person wish to bring down evil upon another by means of magic, he should make a boat of rotten wood. When this has been done, he should make images of two men, also of rotten wood, and place them on board. He should then say the following prayer: 'O ye demons, I have made the images of two men, one of whom represents my enemy. Pray take his soul and thrust it into Hell. Take it right away to *Uchiura mochiri*, yea, carry it off to that place.' Should he do so, the man will quickly die. One of the two men is not an enemy but the boatman," or the old Styx ferryman.

My informant also told me that there were some very bad women who would practice magic on their husbands. Thus, for example, should a woman desire to get rid of her husband by death, she may kill him in the following way: "Let her take his head-dress, wrap it in a bag in the shape of a corpse ready prepared for burial, then dig a hole and put it in it. She must then pray thus: 'When this head-dress and bag rot, let my husband also die and rot with them. It is for this I have now buried him. O thou demon *Toikoshimpuk*, by name, hear me. Be quick and take his soul, and make the man into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said, her husband will die in a very short time."

Trees also, of some kinds were used for purposes of magic; such, for example, were the elder, poplar, guelder rose and others. When any of them were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

quired to work against an enemy they were worshipped as follows: "O tree so-and-so, O thou demon tree, I worship thee now and make my request unto thee. Listen to what I have to say. There are men persecuting me and I now tell thee their names. Hasten thou and take away their souls, and make hateful demons of them like unto thyself." 754

Such were some methods of magic used by this very remarkable people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

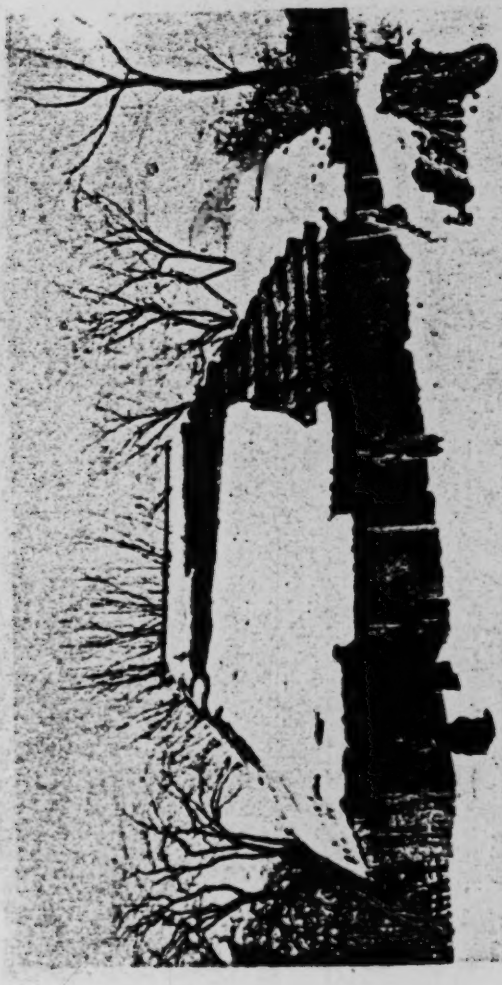
516
291
142

AINU TYPES OF YOUNG WOMEN

[P. 248(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

344



OUR OLD HOME BUILT FOR AINU SICK AT SAPPORO

[p.252]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXX

ON RAIN-MAKING AND THE HEAVENLY BODIES

One evening during a very dry, hot season, we 789
heard a great and merry laughing and chattering going on in a garden we had near our home in Sapporo. Our servants were old-fashioned Ainu. We also had seven or eight others (sick ones) staying with us in a house we had built for such in our compound.

On going out to see what it was all about, for such a chattering and merry noise we had not heard for many a long day, we found that our woman servant had tied many pieces of variously coloured cloth about her dog and hung garlands of flowers and green sprays round its neck. She was leading the animal, thus decorated, about the garden, all the other folk following or standing about roaring with laughter. It was all so very comical that we ourselves could not but join in. Moreover, the dog was dragging after it a tin containing water which had been attached to it. I asked what it all meant and was told that they were trying to make it rain, as the garden crops were withering away for want of water. This was a peculiar instance embodying some idea of causation—one which I had not met with before in this form. Upon asking what the ceremony was called, I was told that it was a form of *shiriwen hokki*, i.e., bringing in wet weather. I was astonished and very much pleased to have seen it. As fortune would have it, there was a heavy downfall that very night, and in the eyes of all our Ainu friends who were present, this fact was a clear proof that their method was good and effectual, and much better than mere prayers for the precious rain, without personal

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *apto-ashte guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. 789 [829]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778]

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow." [782]

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1

A
789

I am quite sure the people believed in these things as a rule, and often attempted to influence the gods of nature in the weather by such means.

To take a further example which happened to myself: on a very cold day (namely November 24, 1900), I went into a hut and saw some convolvulus roots split and placed near the fire upon the hearth. Upon asking the reason of this, I found that it was to bring warm and fine weather, because the master of the hut and I had been out that day on a somewhat long comfortless ride. I was told that the heating of the roots would keep our feet warm. It was very kind of the mistress and we both said "thank you" for it, had our supper, and retired to rest, tired yet happy.

J
789

So much for the Ainu ways of rain-making. Apropos of this, however, I have met with two Japanese methods indulged in by the Japanese who were dwelling among the Ainu 40 years ago. It took place at Usu in Volcano Bay. There was a rain famine in these quarters one year, and it was so hot that the gardens were in a very bad condition. If rain did not fall very soon all crops must fail. In order to influence the gods and make them send the precious rain very soon indeed, the people congregated about the village and sang this song: *"Amefuri tamayō; ōkina kumo wo sasaete, cha-cha futte koe."* Roughly translated, this means: "O drops of rain; come in a great cloud and drip-drip." This was repeated time and again throughout the day amid much merriment and dancing.

The other remarkable incident—an incident which caused me to wonder still more was this. The Japanese people of the village congregated at the temple and brought out the image of Jizō Sama. They put it in the baking sun, danced before it and shouted and sang. After a time they poured water over it and sprinkled some about the land as well. This, I was told, was to bring rain. All these things remind one of shaking

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB 1

J
789

blankets to raise a wind and the sailors whistling for it.

A
821

In the year 1887 I heard there was to be a partial eclipse of the sun, which might be seen well from our place in Hokkaidō. This being so, we made preparations beforehand to get a view of it, by blackening pieces of glass for ourselves and some Ainu friends to look through. At the proper time we went outside the house and then called on the Ainu to join us in looking at the sun through the glass. The effect on them was instantaneous. They looked scared and intensely surprised. Some of them called out, "Hū-ūm, the sun dies! the sun dies!" and others exclaimed, "Oh, the sun is fainting, it is fainting away!" That was all, and they became still. Awe had laid hold of them. They told me afterwards that they were afraid the eclipse was going to be total, which would be very calamitous. I wondered why my friends did not begin to howl, as in their wakes, or at least fall to worshipping the sun at that time. But they did neither.

In conversation afterwards, I found out several things connected with this orb. I was told, for example, that the sun itself is regarded but as the vehicle of a goddess who rides in and shines through it, and that she is often worshipped. And so, as the sun is of the feminine gender, the moon is of the masculine gender. They each have a distinct and separate personality, and are husband and wife. If the light departs from either of them, it is the same as the life going out of a human body, only to leave a cold corpse behind.

This people is very consistent in sticking to the fundamental principles of their religion, and the effect is sometimes quite astonishing. When a person is dying, I have seen some of the friends fill their mouths with cool, fresh water and blow it over the sufferer's face and bosom. Some I have seen bring water in vessels and sprinkle the sick with the hands or bunches of spray wood, thereby attempting to revive them.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

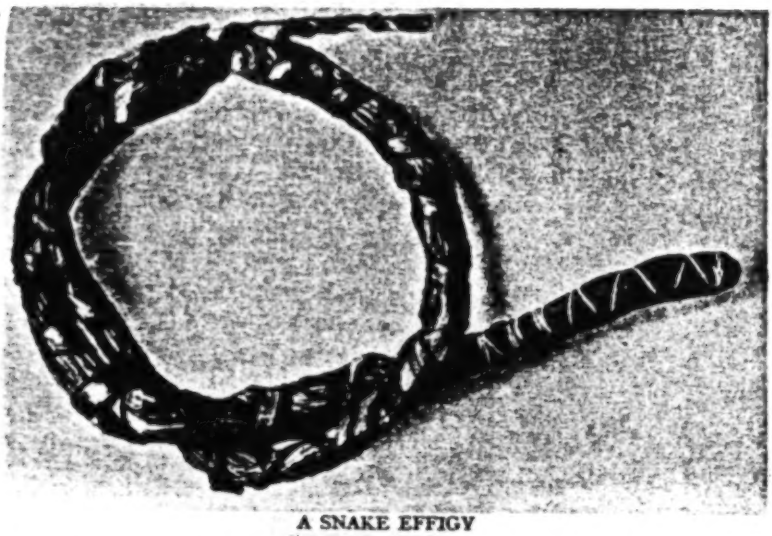
One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *sake* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

539 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

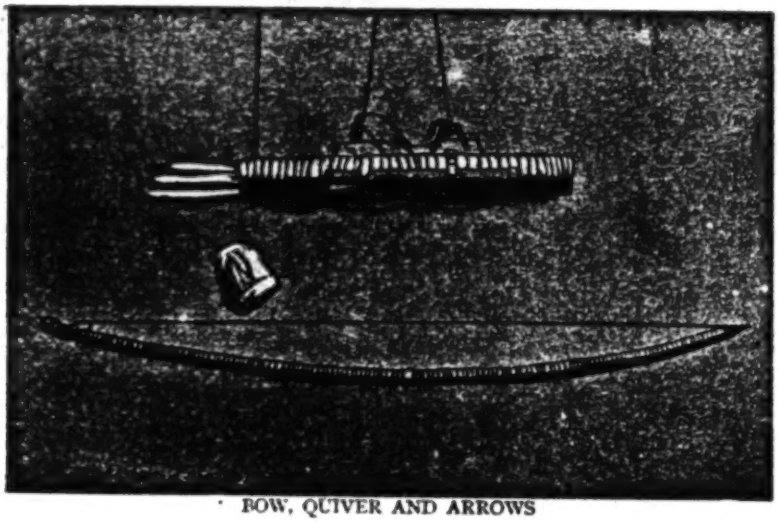
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



A SNAKE EFFIGY

411
778



BOW, QUIVER AND ARROWS

[P. 258(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones." 821 539

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good 773

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 cause for being so bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures."

Another legend tells us that it was not only one crow which flew down Satan's throat, but many, and that it was while he was busy getting rid of the feathers from his mouth that the sun rose and it became daylight.

The moon does not enter so much into Ainu lore as the sun, yet the following story of the man in the moon is of interest.

"In ancient time there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed."

In explaining this to their children, the mothers say as follows:

"There was a lad who, though told to draw water, still sat idle and, with a big knife, remained by the hearth and chopped at the wooden frame. Presently he dawdled out and, striking the doorpost as he passed, said, 'Ah me! you are but a doorpost, yet you do not have to draw water!' Then, carrying the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river. Soon he saw a little fish coming up stream to which he said, 'Ah me! because you are a fish, you dreadfully bony creature, you do not have to draw water.' Proceeding farther along he saw a fine big salmon, to which he said, 'How do you do, Mr. Salmon!'

"But Mr. Salmon took hold of him at once and carried him off to the moon and placed him in it. Thus did the angry god to him who was disobedient and refused to draw water at once, but tardily dawdled off grumbling."

821 I have heard very little said about the stars. They are indeed called gods at times, but they are not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

generally worshipped. Comets are known by the name of "Broom-stars," and the Milky Way goes by the name of "Image of the Crooked River." It is said to be the river of the gods, and the various deities are supposed to spend much time on this river catching fish. I was told that the people did not like the appearance of comets, because they were considered as sure forerunners of some dreadful calamity such as war, disease, famine or death. The "herd-boy star" of the Japanese (Altair in Aquila) goes by a name which means "Ferryman," and a halo round the moon is said to be a "wind passage." The morning star is called "the elder sister of the world," and the Polar star is named "the seer," or one might say (from the Ainu point of view), "the guardian." The name in full is *chi-nukara-guru*, which means in some connections, "the one seen," and in others, "the one who sees" or "watches over."

821

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
142
302

A SHAMAN

[p 262]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771
people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* 754
one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic. [789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 this, he said, had taken place through the evil influence of a wicked demon. But as I did not believe him, I took no notice. He then went to my father and said the same to him. My father replied, 'If, by your divination, you are sure that my son has been bewitched, it will be well for you to ask your gods to drive out the demon who acted through her.' And so the shaman performed before his gods. Nevertheless the woman would not make any confession. Rather, she denied and straightway went off to a certain village and fetched her husband.

"When he arrived he said to me, 'Ask the shaman whether this woman really did cut the clothes and so bewitch you.' But as I did not for a moment think she had done so, I said I would not ask him and stayed in bed. After this the woman's brother called me to him and said, 'Your garment has been cut. Is it not a fact that you are in love with some other woman?'

"I was very angry at this and replied, 'Look at me. I am all the time ill in bed. With what woman should I have fallen in love? I believe this cutting to have been done by some thoughtless child or other, and so have taken no notice of it, but the shaman says that a certain woman did it. I quite disbelieve him and so I want to let the matter drop. Why do you come to me after this manner? Let it all rest.'

"After this the woman and her brother turned upon the shaman, who became very angry and said,' 'Do you, indeed, deny it? As for me, I am inspired by the gods and know all your evil deeds. It is because you are utterly depraved that you speak to me in this way. Now, as you behave toward me in such a manner, I will punish you in the same way as was done in olden times.' So saying he arose and called out in a loud voice, 'I will put fire into this woman's hand.' I thought he said this to frighten her and so remained quite still. The shaman thereupon actually took hold

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.' 754

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, imprisoned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross." 177 754

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two sculls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange. 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 Now this gentleman had a wonderful dream, in which he saw a very large house with a multitude of people assembled inside it. In front of the assembly, a chief was standing up, who said, 'I was one day passing through the midst of Ainu-land, not in the least expecting to meet with anything evil, but in the houses of many of the people I became aware of a fearful odour. The smell came from a certain bird of the sea called by the name of albatross.'*

"Said he, 'My friends, enter ye not into the house where there is one of these birds, for such houses are not for you to enter.' So spake the chief. After this the man awoke, and as he wished to know what his dream could mean, he arose and walked through the whole land. As he looked into the houses, he saw that there were many in which the people kept the head of an albatross as a fetish, to which they were in the habit of offering *saké* and sacred shavings. He also observed that there were no sick people where they kept this charm. No, in no hut was there a single person ill. All were hale and hearty. The man therefore went and procured one of the heads, worshipped it, and scraped some of the shavings from the skull and beak. These he put into a cup, poured hot water upon them and gave decoctions to any of the sick people he met with. All who drank of it were completely cured in a very short time. Therefore the head of this bird is kept wrapped up in fetish shavings, and when a person gets sick it is taken out, placed upon a tray, and devoutly worshipped. It is then scraped and given to the patient to swallow in hot water. Thus, although in the beginning the Ainu did not know the value of the head of the albatross, yet after this dream the matter was made clear to all. The man also knew that the chief he saw and heard speaking in his dream was none other than

*The chief who was addressing the people was himself none other than the demon of disease.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isko-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 755 783 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

not fail bite him. He will watch all the time for an 754
opportunity to kill him."

Continuing, my informant mentioned the following incident and said that it showed how snakes really did answer prayer. "Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the objects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a path when, without the least warning, an adder bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick and struck the reptile on the head and killed him. He then heedlessly threw him away among the grass. The man who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell ill and died. The fact was that they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of wood through its head. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do so, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and possessed both of them, so that they died. This was all done in answer to the prayers of a wicked man who asked help from the adder."

One day, as I was on my travels with a good Ainu friend, he pointed on ahead to a woman who was coming our way. He told me to be very careful, for she was a dangerous witch who was herself bewitched by snakes. I found out from him that she kept the image of one carefully put away in her private box in her home, which she at times took out for purposes of divination and witchcraft. Through it she could curse one to death and also foretell future events. By it she could tell the reason of any sickness or trouble and [756] discover remedies for them. Of course, at a price. She was also able to tell what was going on at a distance. She was a wonder to all around and greatly feared. We met her and we had a little conversation together. She appeared to me to be all right, but had a very bright eye and firm mouth. We very soon became friends and remained so till she died. She admitted later that she had tried to influence me by her

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 wiles, but somehow I was too much for her. She could by no means get me into her power! I did not even know she was "trying it on."

Ophiolatry was most practised when an addition was being made to a family, but more particularly when any difficulty was being experienced in the matter. What astonished me most was the fact that, although the snake was looked upon as a demon who caused all such troubles, yet he was worshipped and asked to remove them. This was genuine snake-worship and it was the way the Ainu took such bothers to headquarters! The devil caused the troubles, and he was regarded as the one who should take them away. But on these occasions, it was not the real body of the snake which was worshipped, but an image of one, made of sedge (*Carex*). This was called the "divine image." It was set up by the fire and worshipped ardently, and even sometimes placed upon the shoulders of the prospective mother. After this image had been duly used as a means of reaching the real demon snake, the men reverently took it and handed it to a woman, who carried it to the patient and laid it beside her. She would also rub her down with it sometimes. After a little time had elapsed, this same image was taken back to the men, who after having again done worship before it and to it, devoutly carried it to the sacred north-east corner of the hut and placed it beside the household god.

Snakes were also worshipped in cases of being bitten by any of these reptiles. At such times a sedge image of one was set up by the hearth, where *saké* was offered to it and prayers made before it. If the demon heard the prayers, accepted the libations, and wrought a cure, the image was again produced, worshipped, thanked, offered libations and presented with sacred fetishes in the shape of wood shavings. It was then carried outside and placed among the skulls and other offerings and set up there. But if the patient died, the image

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But if the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [777]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
685
417
291

A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXII

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SÉANCE

I have met many shamans (wizards), male and 756
female, during my sojourn in Ainu-land. And it ap- 754
pears to me that the more effete the race becomes, the more wizards there are cropping up. They are all inimical to what I have been trying to teach. They are a class who believe in the agency of good and evil spirits, and fancy they can, by the aid of their magic rites and verbal spells, bring good or evil upon people as they will. If any get sick, or die, or the rain fails so that there is a drought, or it rains too much and spoils the garden crops, or there is a flood, or any calamity whatsoever befalls the Ainu, these wizards lay it to the score of large numbers having become Christians, because, they say, by accepting Christianity they have forsaken their old gods and given up some of their ancient customs. And this frightens some people.

One hardly knows what to call the shamans in English. Wizards, witches, medicine-men, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, all of these combined seem to be comprised in shamanism, and the shamans are certainly devil worshippers. Although the name "shaman" is not used by itself among the Ainu, yet "to perform the acts of shamanism" carries it, for that is called *e-shaman-hi*, i.e. "act the shaman." I believe *shaman* itself means really "heart" or "mind grabber." The present day common term is *tusu-guru*, which means "double-lived one." Why this should be so will appear later.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

685 During one of my walks with Chief Penri in bygone days, we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub, and, going to it, found two people, husband and wife, who had lost the points of their noses.* And this marked them off as people apart. They paid great deference to the chief. I asked Penri about them afterwards and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside with them in the communities. They were boycotted. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts!" he said. These two were my first personal shaman acquaintances.

756 I met this worthy couple again many years after in Sapporo. They had built a little lodge just outside the city, near the road, and they were getting a living in the city by dancing and begging. One day my Ainu servant told me that a person had died in their lodge and would I care to go with him and see them? Upon going I found one or two friends had gathered there and thought it would be a good time to give an address. I spoke in Ainu on the Christian's hope. This pair of shamans, sitting there by the hearth, looked so earnestly at me and seemed to be so much interested in what I was saying, that I warmed up and kept at it for quite a long time. The man had his shaman's stick or wand in his hand. At length I saw him cast his eyes down and strike the hearth vigorously. And with a grunt, his wife also took her eyes off me. I then closed the meeting and returned home. As we were walking along, my man burst out laughing and said "Did you notice the pair of them fix their gaze on you, Sir?"

*Their photo is given at the beginning of this chapter.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Yes, weren't they interested?" replied I. "Interested!" he returned. "They were trying to hypnotize you. But they were quite unable to accomplish their end. They had not the slightest power over you. You beat them!" It may have been so; I can not tell. Anyway, my man believed it. Strange to say, I could never after that day get near enough to speak to them. When they saw me coming, they always ran clean away. They were as much afraid of me as my servant was afraid of them! 756

I now no longer wonder that the Ainu shamans are called "persons with double life," for with them the subconscious life is regarded as the double one (objective and subjective). On a certain occasion I was passing a hut, when I heard a great noise coming from it. On stepping in, I found a wizard hard at it performing his magic spells. He was sitting at the head of the hearth holding a wooden wand in his right hand, beating time and emphasizing his words with it. He also at times beat himself with his hands. He had a fox-skull, decorated with fine fetish shavings, sticking out of his bosom. He was busy exorcizing. He was sending the demon of sickness from a suffering woman, and trying to find out the cause of it and tell of a remedy. And the people believed him, and also feared him. The shaman was in a trance and much excited. His eyes were wide open but they appeared to be glazed over with a sort of film, and he seemed to be looking far away into the world of spirits, without seeing anything material. As a matter of fact, he was self-hypnotized. On such occasions they tell me they see nothing but with the mind, and are quite unconscious objectively of what they themselves say. The careful listeners only understand their words and allusions. The shaman becomes the mouthpiece of his inspiring gods, who speak through him in a sort of dirge. As they do not speak to him, but only through him, he often does

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 not know himself what he is saying, and afterwards he does not remember (so he says) that he has spoken.

I saw the same man again one evening, standing by the head of another very sick woman who was lying on a stool by the fireside. Several women were sitting round the patient, holding her tightly with their hands, as though trying to keep life within her, and the shaman swaying to and fro, with an earnest look on his face and his eyes flashing light. He was trying to send the demon of sickness away. Some of the women about the sick one filled their mouths with water and blew it over her face and body. They also every now and then gave vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and weeping. Some held lights and others turned out the pots, pans and tubs and swept the house clean from end to end. In so far as I could see, this was the only good part of the performance.

757 I stated above that the shaman I saw at his work carried a fox skull in his bosom, well decorated with fetish shavings. Such skulls are for the purpose of divination. When in one of the interior villages I came across a man who was very angry because he had lost a *yen* (about two shillings). He had strong suspicions that a married daughter who lived next door had stolen it. Being a shaman in a small way, he called his daughter before him, so as to divine whether she was guilty or not, as she would not, of her own will, confess to the deed. Every married Ainu in the olden days kept a fox's skull on hand for divination, and was not at all backward in using it. This is how it happened that the father so quickly began to divine. The following is the way the ceremony was conducted:

The accused woman was brought into her father's hut and made to sit in front of him. He then reverently and with great ceremony produced his fox's skull, prayed before it and the fire, told of the loss, and asked for a true answer to be vouchsafed him. He next

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire. I will follow you directly.' As soon as the demon was gone in, the man spoke to the leader dog and directed him to the tying-up pole. Having arrived here, the man got out, tied the dogs up, and then arranged the sleigh. He then opened the door to enter, but at that very moment the devil seized and killed him. He next went outside and slew the two front sleigh dogs. 539

"Now at length the first sleigh arrived at home and the people came running together to hear the news. After this some men went down to investigate. On coming to the summer dwellings, they found that the man had been dead for some time. And they saw, too, that the dogs had been slain. The hinder dogs alone had been left alive.

"When the spring came round, the villagers took counsel together and said, 'Should this demon go on killing in this way right on to the world's end, will not the dead be very full of wrath?' And so they sought out three mighty shamans.

"Then all the people of the house, including the children, were taken out, and two brave, stout-hearted fellows were brought in to warm the drum over the fire. On the right-hand side sat a mighty old shaman; a little back sat another shaman; and on the left-hand side sat the least important young shaman.*

"Between these three shamans were placed the common people who had been allowed to be present. As the place was strange to the shamans, they had been careful to remove all the fire-wood to the back wall for fear of accidents. The demon himself was plainly visible to everyone. There he sat over in the right-hand corner of the room. As the shamans commenced

*It is well to note here that these five men, namely, the three shamans and their two servants, had a good time alone inside the house, preparing the furniture and mysterious atmosphere for the spiritual séance which was so soon to commence. As soon as they had made their preparations, the performance began.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. '*Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292 778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The shamans then became very angry. Once more they performed. Again an arrow from the gods entered through the chimney hole with a whistle. The people then saw the demon clap some broken pieces of a wooden bowl in front of his body. The gods shot another arrow and he fended it off. That god-sent arrow was seen sticking in the wooden bowl. At this the demon raised another great laugh and said, *'Iha-ha-ha!* They have shot the ends of a broken wooden bowl; *Iha-ha-ha!'* He roared with laughter. 539

"Sleepless sat the people. Breathlessly did they watch. Then there came through the smoke-hole another arrow from the gods. The demon took some fragments of birch bark and clapped with them before his body. With a whistle it came and struck the bark. Yea, that divine arrow hit the pieces of bark. Aye, it struck hard and stuck in the pieces of that birch bark vessel. *'Iha-ha-ha,'* laughed the demon, 'they have even shot this broken old birch vessel. *Iha-ha-ha!'* And so he derided the gods greatly.

"The demon then covered himself with a great variety of rubbish. The glare of his eyes was to be seen from every quarter of the house, like glowing cinders. Just then midnight came and the gods of the greatest shamans were wrathful, and from that time they became quite unable to keep up with the séance.*

"At last the blood was seen to mount into the cheeks of the young and less important shaman. He looked very fierce. This little man performed with great vigour. He invoked the gods. He stood up. He struck lustily on the drum with a stick covered with hair. As the people watched, behold a snake came out of the end of it and fell to the ground. Quickly did he seize it with his hand. He beat the drum with it. The

*The powers of the two older shamans were now quite exhausted. The devil had beaten them at their own game.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said, *'Pish! pish!'*

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time *swish* came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due."**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

[754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotized. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

if the devil had gone on forever in this way—would 539
there not have been continued trouble?"

Thus ends this very extraordinary shaman séance. 114
These are the kind of people among whom my lot has been cast. And I must confess that I have had hard times now and again to keep my end well up. Shamans have been after me several times and have tried to mesmerize me, and that in public, but have in every case failed. I, in my turn, have time and again gone after them, but could never catch them at home. The rascals!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
488
417

OLD JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN AINU STOREHOUSE

[p. 286]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIII

STORIES OF LOVE, VENGEANCE AND WAR

The following touching story of love and vengeance was told by an Ainu who lived at Tsuishkari, near Sapporo, some years ago. He was born in Saghalien and returned there to die. The tale shall speak for itself, so what follows is a simple translation of it. 539 628

"In very olden times the place called 'The Broads' had a large population, but as time went on the people gradually died off, till there was but one family with a few relations left alive. It was a very bad, pathetic state of affairs. So few were they that this remnant lived together in one large house and had room to spare. The head of the family was a very beautiful woman named La Belle.

"Now, a well-to-do man who lived at The Hollows came to see La Belle, and was so struck with her incomparable beauty that he at once conceived an ardent desire to marry her, but she would have none of him. So he finally returned to his home in anger, very much disheartened. Alas and alas, the people living with La Belle still continued to die off one after another, and it looked as though they would soon become quite extinct. And they were feeling lonely and depressed. They thought it would be better for them if they were to leave their native place to go and dwell elsewhere.

"Having decided to migrate, they descended to the seashore and all sailed away and came to a place called Hill Bottom, where they landed and built a house to live in. After a little time had elapsed the men said to one another, 'We are becoming extinct rapidly. Let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 628 us go on to the Ainu villages yonder and take wives to ourselves. We can then raise up children, and later on return to The Broads and rebuild our village.' So spake they. But La Belle, who was the head of the family and who had formerly refused to marry the suitor from that place, could not be persuaded to agree. She met the men in argument and prevailed over them. She was so eloquent. They therefore went off to a place called Big River, and there set up another house. They also built a fine large storehouse which they filled with excellent salmon, well smoked. Thus did they make abundant provision for the coming winter.

"Now, the man called Archer of The Hollows—the man who wished to wed La Belle,—had returned to his village full of wrath and overcharged with a desire for revenge. Here he abode with a darkened brow and with a heart full of ire, plotting vengeance. During the following winter there was a great deal of snow and the weather was exceedingly boisterous. During all this windy, rough weather, La Belle and her company were imprisoned in their pit-dwelling, covered in and unable to get out. While they lived thus in fancied security, the man Archer went down with an axe and cut the supports of the storehouse, so that it fell to the ground. After he had made a complete wreck of it, he returned to his home and waited.

"The wind continued to blow and howl worse than ever after this, and a mighty blizzard came up. It was absolutely impossible for the men to get out of their dwellings to go down to the store for food. By and by they had eaten up all the food they had taken with them into the house, and had become very hungry. At last, however, the storm abated and they managed to dig themselves out to go to their food store. When they got there they were much surprised and deeply grieved to find that the pillars of the storehouse had been cut in two, and the building had fallen down. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fish which they had so carefully stored away had been eaten up by the foxes and pine-martens. They could find but a very few remnants, which they carefully gathered up and carried back with them. 539 628

"Though they ate of it very sparingly, it lasted but a short time. By the time spring began to come, there was no food left for them to eat and they were very hungry. They all sat there in their dwelling in a state of woe, knowing that they were doomed to starve to death. So they—men, women and children—arranged themselves in order, dressed in their best garments, and decorated themselves with beads and other ornaments as though they were corpses prepared for burial. This done, they all lay down together. And so all died.

"After this, the man Archer, the would-be husband of La Belle, whom she refused to have, was ordered by his elder brother to go on a visit to Big River. On reaching this place, he found that all the people had gone to their summer—above-ground—dwelling and had there died of starvation. He then returned to his home and reported what he had seen. When the people of the other branch of La Belle's family heard about it, the men set off bear-hunting in that direction. Upon reaching the house, they saw that it had two separate hearths in it, but the beams were fallen down and scattered one over the other on the ground. And a little way off on the scrubland they found the great cooking pots lying on the ground.*

"By all this, then, we see how bad it was in those olden times for the men to be over-persuaded by the discourse of a woman. These things have the ancient ones reported for the instruction of their children."

*Ainu graves were formerly made in the forest, not far away from the dwellings. At the time of burial, pots, pans and other articles were laid on them for the dead to use in the future world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 When writing of earthquakes and their cause,* I mentioned a place called *Chirema Moshiri*, which means "The lowest world." About the time that myth was told me, old Mr. Kanturuka, whom I have mentioned in another chapter, gave me a splendid legend of love and war, in which that country is mentioned again, and in which great battles between the thunder gods are said to have taken place. As the legend is so very interesting and makes so many allusions to quite unexpected matters, I propose now to give a translation of it.

"There was a person who was brought up as a slave at a place called the 'Great Plain.' Once upon a time he heard it noised abroad that there was a Lady living at Black River, who was famous for her beauty. So one day, after he had cooked and eaten some food, this slave buckled on his belt, stuck a trusty sword into his girdle, and fastened on his helmet. Then he was taken up by the winds which arose from the head of the fire-place and swiftly carried through the roof opening. Here his guardian angels came down upon him with a mighty sound, and he went before the great winds till he arrived at the village of Black River.

"Thus he came to my Lady of Black River. When he looked at her, he found that she was weeping exceedingly. Shedding tears profusely, she said to him, 'The Gods of Thunder who have their dwelling-places in the heavens above are two in number, and the youngest of them persistently makes advances to me and is about to take me to wife. This being so, my dear Yaumbe, we cannot marry, though you have come for me. Nevertheless, I will cook some food that you may eat.'"

(The Lady said she would cook some food for her visitor. It would be considered a great breach of etiquette and very forward in a young woman to do such

*See Chapter XVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

a thing for a bachelor, unless she was commanded to do so by her parents or guardians. This is perfectly natural, because part of the Ainu marriage ceremony consists in the act of the bride cooking food and giving it to her betrothed.) 539 831

"After she had spoken thus, she swung a pretty little pot over the fire and put some of her choicest treasured-up food into it. She then dipped in her ladle and stirred up the delicious viands. Then she took a very pretty eating-vessel, which she set on a most beautiful tray, and, heaping it high, carried it to him and bowed profusely.

"Just as he had commenced eating, flashes of lightning, white and glistening, came through the upper aperture and played round the beams in curious forms. Upon looking up, he saw a Lady even more beautiful than the Lady of Black River, reclining in a white chariot." (The word here translated by "chariot" is the common word for cradle, but in this legend "chariot" suits the sense better. The chariot is conceived of as being suspended from above by means of strings and cords, in the same way as the Ainu women suspend their cradles from the roof of their huts.)

"Showing great anger on her countenance, she said with a wrathful voice, 'O dear Yaumbe, listen to me, for I have something to say to you. I am the younger sister of the Wolf God and the benefactress of my Lady of Black River, and you are being watched over by my elder brother. This being so, I am here to tell you that the Thunder God is angry with you for coming to visit this Lady and has determined to make grievous war against you. The war is near at hand. Although I am but a woman, I have come to help you. Get into my white chariot.' So spake the younger sister of the Wolf God.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

"So he got into the chariot, and they immediately flew out of the opening above. The trappings of the chariot whistled and rattled. As they went on their way they skirted the mountains toward the source of the river, and proceeding along, saw white and black lightning playing about the clouds in the lower skies. As he was looking at it, he saw the aforesaid thunder god sitting in a black chariot. He was a remarkably small man. There, too, sat a little woman, who, without doubt, was his younger sister. She held a wand in her hand with which she continually struck first one end of the chariot and then the other, as they hung and swayed about over the mountain tops. The thunder god, having wrath expressed on his countenance, said, 'Look here, dear Yaumbe, listen well to me, for I have something to say to you. You have been making love to and flirting with the Lady of Black River, whom I have determined to marry myself. I take this as a cause for war. Be very careful, my fine fellow, for I will bring down your haughty looks. When he had so spoken, he attacked him vehemently with his sword, so that his blows rattled upon the sides of the white chariot. Thereupon Yaumbe also drew his sword and set upon the thunder god as fiercely as he was attacked himself. They fought with might and main. The black and white chariots rose and fell to meet the attack, so that the blows from the swords fell upon their sides and bottoms, sending forth clashing sounds.

"And now there was a tremendous roaring sound of thunder over the land and a mighty wind began to blow. They continued to fight with all their might both by day and by night. After the battle had lasted twice ten months, the God of Thunder said,

" 'I observe that as we fight upon this land on which men dwell, we are wasting and wearing out the country, for, as you know, its backbone (foundation) consists of rocks only; we ought therefore to be more

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

careful of the world. Now then, come, the foundations (backbone) of the world above us are made of iron, let us go up there and fight. We may wage war there without any fear of spoiling the place.' So spake he.

"He then withdrew into the air and Yaumbe followed behind him. The younger sister of the Wolf God, holding the wand in her hand, continued to strike first one end and then the other of the chariot. The thin trappings whistled and the thick trappings rattled as the white chariot followed close upon the black one. The gates of heaven opened with a great noise, and after they had passed through were shut upon them with a mighty bang. Now, they saw things on this wise. A splendid country lay before them and a very beautiful waterway opened up to their view. On the banks of the river were forests of magnificent oaks, and the clouds upon the horizon were floating gently along. The Thunder God said,

"'This country is in truth the high heaven. Its foundations are of iron, so that even if we fight here for many years, we need have no fear of damaging it. This is indeed a place in which we may unsparingly measure our strength. So said he.

"Having so said, he set upon Yaumbe mightily with his sword, who also turned upon him as fiercely. Nevertheless, the edge of the black chariot clashed against the sword and warded off the blows. There was therefore only the sound of clashing iron to be heard. In the same way, the white chariot, also rising up and fencing with its floor, sent forth a mighty clashing sound. And now, fighting fiercely, they chased each other from end to end of heaven and back again, till at length they passed by chance over a metal house which was covered with a peculiar lid, and directly over this they stayed and did battle, whilst there came forth a voice from the inside of the house, which said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'Look here, O dear Yaumbe, and thou Thunder
83 God, I have a word to say, so please pay attention. It is indeed true that the foundations of Ainu-land are rocks, and it is also true that the foundations of heaven above consist of metal. But as ye continue to carry on your battle here, heaven has grown weary and waxed very hot, for the very reason that its foundations are iron. Ye ought to be careful. Now, then, come. Underneath Ainu-land there are six countries, and beneath these again there is another most beautiful land. Its name is *Chirama moshiri* (Lower world), and its foundations are earth. Go ye to that land and fight, for unless ye do so, our country with its villages will be completely spoiled.' Thus was heard the voice of God.

"Upon this the Thunder God sheathed his sword and Yaumbe also sheathed his. Then, as they entered heaven before, so now they went out with a rush. They passed down through space head-first like snipes, and, piercing the earth, went clean through six worlds. Having done so, they came, as they were told they should, to a truly beautiful country; without doubt this was the Lowest world to which they had descended.

"And now they chased one another from one end of the land to the other, fighting as before with might and main. Nevertheless, whenever and howsoever they fought, the black chariot rising, falling and swinging to and fro, warded off Yaumbe's blows with its sides and bottom, so that the result was nothing but the sound of clashing metal. In the same way, the white chariot also rose up and fenced the blows with its sides and bottom, like a shield. However much Yaumbe strove, he could by no means touch the God of Thunder. He therefore aimed at nothing but to cut the trappings by which the black chariot was suspended. Fighting hard with this intent, he was able after a time and by the help of God to sever them. So too,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

all the trappings of his white chariot were cut asunder. 539
They therefore all fell down to the ground. Then the 831
Thunder God got out of his black chariot and came over to Yaumbe, walking by the help of his hands.

"Upon this the younger sister of the Thunder God wept and said, 'Oh my elder brother, you are a god; and if you would but marry a goddess, you would have no need to carry on this fierce combat with Yaumbe. Why do you set your affections on this lady of Black River as though she were the only woman? Now our charmed black chariot has been quite broken up and you are as one fighting without armour. Be careful or Yaumbe will slay you.' So spake she through her tears.

"After she had said this the sister of the Wolf god went out and fought against her. Then the Thunder God set upon Yaumbe most fiercely and he attacked him just as vehemently. Thus fighting together, Yaumbe managed with great difficulty to strike him now and then, so that his garments hung about him in rags. But he was not to be beaten; for he also in like manner cut Yaumbe's clothes into many pieces. Whilst things were going on so, a mighty sound, as if the very gods were coming, issued from the east of the Lower kingdom, and all at once the Lady of Black River, more beautiful than ever and shedding tears profusely, alighted and came to the side of the Wolf God. And now the sister of the Thunder God fought mightily, but after two or three mighty struggles she was cut down and slain. Her divine spirit roared loudly as it ascended into the skies. She went up to heaven a living goddess; and when she had departed the roaring ceased.

"After this, my Lady of Black River, in company with the sister of the Wolf God, came to Yaumbe's side, and the three fought together against the God of Thunder. After a time, and with great difficulty, he was smitten down and died. His spirit roared as it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

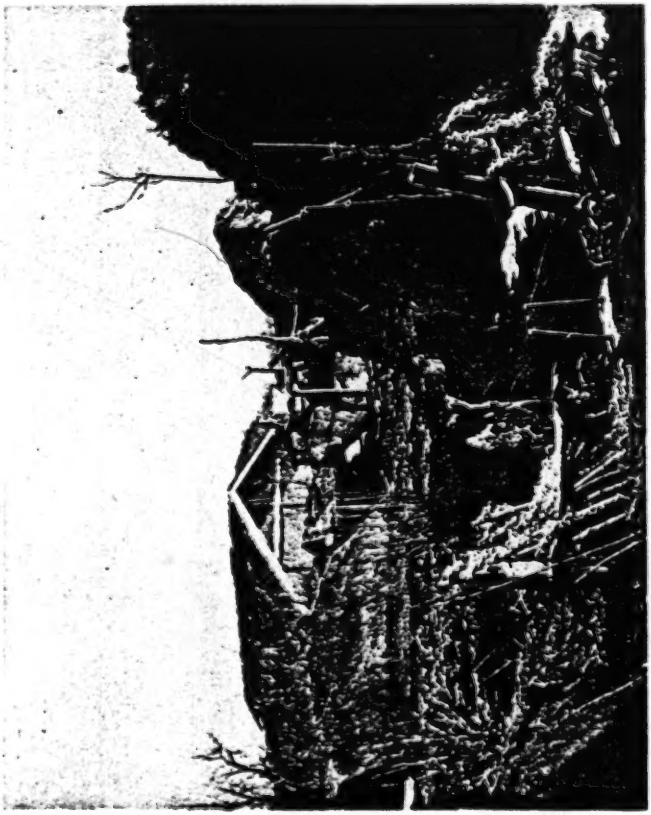
539 831 went up; but, as it was impossible for him to go into the western end of the Lower Kingdom (that is, to become extinct), his spirit ascended to the high heavens with a great noise. It went up a new god; then the sound died away and there was peace.

"When all was over, my Lady of Black River and the younger sister of the Wolf God saluted each other with their swords, and then after they had come to their own country and reached the village, the young Wolf Goddess said, 'As I am a goddess, I must take a husband from among the gods, but as you are a man it would be well for you to marry my Lady of Black River. Your guardian angel is the Wolf God. Henceforth fight no more, but when you have saké be careful to make fetishes and offer libations to the Wolf God.' So spake she.

"When she had finished speaking, she departed with a mighty sound. Then my Lady of Black River worked away with a willing heart and great pleasure, and, having prepared food for Yaumbe (made a wedding feast), heaped up a very pretty cup which she set on a lovely tray and brought it to Yaumbe, making many bows. After eating a little of it he pushed the remainder to her, and she, lifting it up with reverence, finished it. (This was the marriage ceremony.) Then, when the meal was over the Lady proceeded to set the house in order and they lived happily ever after."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
226
342



A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

[p. 296(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262
worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 782
due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them 778
and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778
shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226
lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea- 226
side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] 527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and rowlock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
133
501

A FISHERMAN IN HIS SEA-GOING FISHING-BOAT

[P. 298(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show. 226 527

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil. 226 [776]

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous." 539 226 776

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[539] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 There is just one more word I would like to write
476 about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was
776 told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

539
226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

habit it." Thus we have another illustration as to how worlds were brought forth. 539 226

Many of the people would not, I found, eat eels, and when I inquired the reason I was told it was because they were so much like snakes. The tale was this:

"In ancient times, when the divine Aeoina was upon this earth, fish were so numerous in the rivers that the people were able to catch more than enough to live on. But the bears multiplied so greatly that they came down from the mountains and killed the salmon so fast that they became very scarce indeed. It was so bad that the people stood in danger of being starved out. Then men were very angry at this state of things, and came and accused the bears before Aeoina. Upon hearing of the trouble, the Divine One smiled benevolently and said, 'Fish were made by God and placed in the rivers in the beginning for men and animals to eat. But the bears are taking too many. What then shall be done to help you and keep those animals from killing the fish off? I will look into the matter.'

"He then returned to his house and twisted straw and grass into wisps which he caused to become eels. These he placed in the rivers. When bears next came down from the hills to catch fish they saw these long creatures creeping about. This astonished them and put fear into their hearts, so that they ran away again and let the fish alone. The people were then once more able to catch fish and eat."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

204
291
137

CHIEF PENRI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

[P. 304]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXV

A GRANDFATHER, GRANDSON, DEMON AND DEMI-GOD

Thus runs this very remarkable old world story: 539

"I was brought up by my beloved, aged grandfather, and we lived together. He was a man who [221] spent his days hunting seals, which he brought home for our daily sustenance. On a certain occasion when meat had become scarce, he set off again to hunt. But when he returned at his usual time that evening, I saw that he had made no kills. On entering the house he said, 'I went to my usual hunting grounds where I have hitherto never failed to get seals, but today I was surprised to find that there was not so much as one to be seen. But I could hear far out at sea the cries of many, both male and female animals. This being so, I thought thus within myself, "The old seals have evidently migrated to some other island and thus it is that I am unable to meet with any. This is the first time I have ever been unsuccessful."' So said my dear grandfather. Hearing this, I retired to bed but could not sleep, through having an ardent desire to go off to the place where he said he had heard the animals crying.

"Before very long, as I saw my grandfather was sleeping quietly, I went down to the seashore. Here I found the boat which he used in his hunting. This I quickly laid hands on and entered. I pushed off, and directing my course toward the offing, I rowed straight on. By and by I saw an island in the distance, to which I steered. I rowed hard till I came near and found a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 landing place. On looking round, I soon saw that there were many seals there.

"Immediately upon landing, I saw a mean-looking man coming toward me from the western end of the island. When he got near me, he spoke in a somewhat hostile manner and said,

" 'Wherefore hast thou come hither? On this island there dwells an exceedingly evilly-disposed demon-god. It is a very dangerous place for thee. Why hast thou come? Hide thy boat at once in yonder cave among the cliffs, and put the two seals thou hast taken there also. When thou hast done this thoroughly, hide thyself and keep quiet. See, the very dangerous demon-god I have mentioned to these is close at hand. Hasten! Be quick! Hide!' Along he came and I very soon heard his voice from my hiding place. He came close up and questioned that mean-looking little man and said,

" 'What is this? Whose boat is this?' 'Oh,' replied the other, 'that boat is mine. Look at the mooring cord in it, and you will see that it was made by twisting with the left hand, as men make cord, and not by being twisted to the right as the gods make theirs.' 'Yes, that may be so. Indeed, the boat may be thine, yet it seems to me to have a human smell about it.' 'Oh, indeed!' the little man replied, 'thou knowest me and my name. Am I not called Yairespo and am I not a super-man? In truth I am a demi-god, being half god and half man. This accounts for the boat and cord being made so and the fact that there is also the smell of a man about it.'

"Then that wicked demon-god said, 'Ha, ha, ha! O Yairespo, thou art indeed a mighty magician. And so thou hast done this, hast thou? For this deed thou and I will this very day measure our strength.' So spake he. When their conversation had ended and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon had gone away, Yairespo said to me, 'Boy, flee towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and another of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish out of the tree called *sita-si* which is the particular magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be well. From the days of my early childhood thy grandfather and I have been very close friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee the great danger thou hast run into by coming here. When thou passest through the midst of the sea on the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest farther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above. When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long, being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted about thee. He has departed from his house and now, behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying, with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for thee.' So spake he.

539 [778 824]

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their way.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "So I steered my boat along under the rainbow.* As I drew near to land, I saw my dear old grandfather standing on the sea-shore, leaning on his staff. His chin was raised up toward Heaven and he was praying very earnestly. Although I landed close to him, he saw me not. Seizing a seal with each hand, I carried them to him and flung them down at his feet. He was so suddenly and effectually startled at this that even I myself fell backward. Then only did he perceive me.

"Much pleased, he patted me on the shoulders and tapped me on my bosom. Lovingly he chided me, saying, 'Oh, why didst thou go to yonder island? Had not my friend Samaikuru (Yairespo) been there to help thee, I should not have seen thee in the body again.' We then went home, where I flayed the two seals, cut up some of the flesh, cooked it and gave my grandfather to eat. After he had eaten, he blessed me and said, 'I am now very old and nigh unto death. When I am gone, do thou go seal-hunting. Go anywhere but to the island whence thou hast just escaped, for that is a most dangerous place.' With that the end came."

*I may mention here that the Ainu believe when they see a rainbow that it is a bridge over which the gods hold discourse together.

224
411
133

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food,
as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and
venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly
relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour
of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon
as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she
was quite a small child she took her father's bow and
arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she dis-
covered feeding near her home. Her brother's name
was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They
would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close
by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of
very cold water I have ever come across. The next
thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along
the banks of which, but not too near, they built their
homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was
from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have some-
times occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its
manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me
and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the roots should be dug up in the spring, peeled at once, and then put in the sun to dry. When well dried, they were pulverised between two stones. Some tobacco leaves and, if possible, a capsicum should be soaked in water and the powdered roots moistened with the liquor. He also told me that a little fox's gall should be added if procurable, for this rendered the poison very efficacious. But I have a suspicion that the gall was added through superstition, the fox being regarded as a particularly able creature. When made, it was put again in the sun to dry and then stowed away, wrapped up in a leaf and a few fetishes, till needed. When wanted for use, it was again pounded and made soft, and sometimes mashed spiders or some part of the water scorpion added. The poisonous part of the "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (*Arisæma*) was also used in its manufacture. Some of the men buried it in the ground for a few days, for this was said to add strength to it.

When a person wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If right, it was said to produce a peculiar sense of tingling first and then numbness. If too much was taken, it caused drunkenness and sleep. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it was said to be unnecessary. Others tested it by placing a little between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. It here caused a burning sensation. If the poison touched the lips, the skin very soon peeled off, I was told.

When applied to the arrows, a person first dipped the arrow-head (which was generally made of bamboo) into pine tree gum; he then carefully stuck the poison into the proper place and pressed it well home with his thumb. When this had been done, he once more dipped the arrow-head into the gum, then tied a leaf round it for protection and placed it in his quiver.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 539 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kerep-Turuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison, and went and found deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not 539 278 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

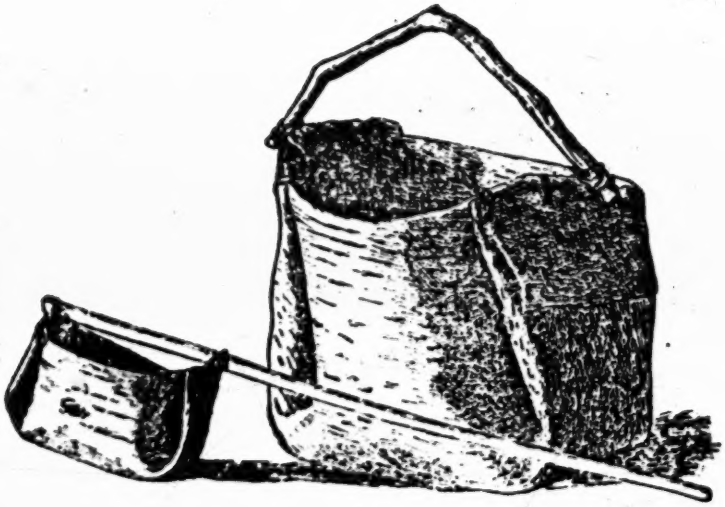
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea, they were very loth to speak about previous journeys or of any sea adventure. When the women went to work in the harvest time, they would never tell stories of the sun, moon or stars, for fear these luminaries should be offended and cause it to become so dark that they might lose their way home. So superstitious were they all. 921

Pine-martens were caught by snares very like those set up in England at times to take rabbits and hares. They were placed on the trunks of trees which had fallen across streams, and at the holes in which these animals lived. The spring bows which were used for killing the larger animals stood first in importance, and after them came the traps for catching foxes, racoons and otters. They were all made of wood and were very simple. 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

415



OLD MRS. PENRI'S WATER-BUCKET AND LADLE

[P. 314]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535 of the earth, and the people should treat him with
824 great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there
825 has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is because this plant had such a high origin, 539
having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a 824
beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in exis- 825
tence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished.

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a 825
grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly."

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the 539
gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 there. Shouldst thou rise above the earth with the
825 intention of entering Heaven again, thou wilt find that thou will not be able to go up more than from 120 to 240 feet from the ground.' So spake the God.

"The skylark was very angry and commenced to argue and storm, saying,

"'O thou true God, it was because Thou didst make the world so beautiful that I stayed a little too long looking at it, and dost Thou punish me for that? Even so, I will return to my home in Heaven.' So saying, he argued much and long. But God would not assent. Therefore when these little birds fly daily up toward Heaven in anger, they can not go higher than 240 feet at the most. So they stay there and storm. Yet God will not allow them to enter. So they return to the earth, making a great noise. Again and again they ascend and storm away at God, but He will not allow them to go nearer. Even at the present time, when the summer comes round, they often go up to the limit of 240 feet and abide there a very long time storming. Then they return to earth and amuse themselves. It is on account of their storming so much that skylarks are called 'arguing birds,' or 'answering back birds.'"*

*Here is an amusing cutting I one day took out of the "Japan Advertiser," and which I think well worth quoting at this place.

A little daughter of the slums, on her first day in the country, saw a lark motionless, high in air, pouring forth its lovely music. She listened a moment, then she ran to the matron.

"Oh, Miss May," she said, "there's a sparrow up there, and he can't git up and he can't git down, and he aint doin' nothing but holler about it."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

285
417

MAKING A MAT

[P. 318 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 [251] which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 773 776

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.* 789

[415]

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 "So when the time came, I once more descended from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house. But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my 773
heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's 776
house and stood before the door, but, being still full 789
of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry, I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

myself and my garments and then entered my house. Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

481

ONE OF THE VILLAGE FATHERS

[p. 324(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIX

WARRING UPON TREES, AND THE "WILD DANCE"

An English lady, who had been a nurse during the late most lamentable World War, told me that when stationed in Dublin with some troops, an Irish woman came to see the doctors there, as she was very ill. Her case was diagnosed in hospital, the result being that, as a malignant internal growth was found, she was told that unless she was operated on at a very early date and the evil taken away, she could only hope to live a very short time. This, of course, rather upset her, but she said she would not consent to any operation taking place. "The growth," she said, "was given me by God, and if it is His will that I shall suffer and die on account of it, I shall be quite content to do so. Nothing that He has given me shall be taken away, but I will carry all to Heaven with me. But be mutilated I will not." And so she soon died and was buried.

"East is," certainly, "East, and West is West." No one would ever get an Ainu to believe that God sends sickness of any kind, except on very special occasions. They all believe that, as a general rule, it comes from demons. So these people are constantly waging war with the demons of disease in various way.

Mr. Arrow was one of my oldest Ainu friends. He was a very good man and much respected by his own people. I knew him intimately for more than forty years. One day he became very ill and his doctors told him that he could not hope to live many days longer. Just before his death, he called his relations

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokcush rorumbe,* i.e., "making

[782
778]

A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 776 824 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 776 823 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges.

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

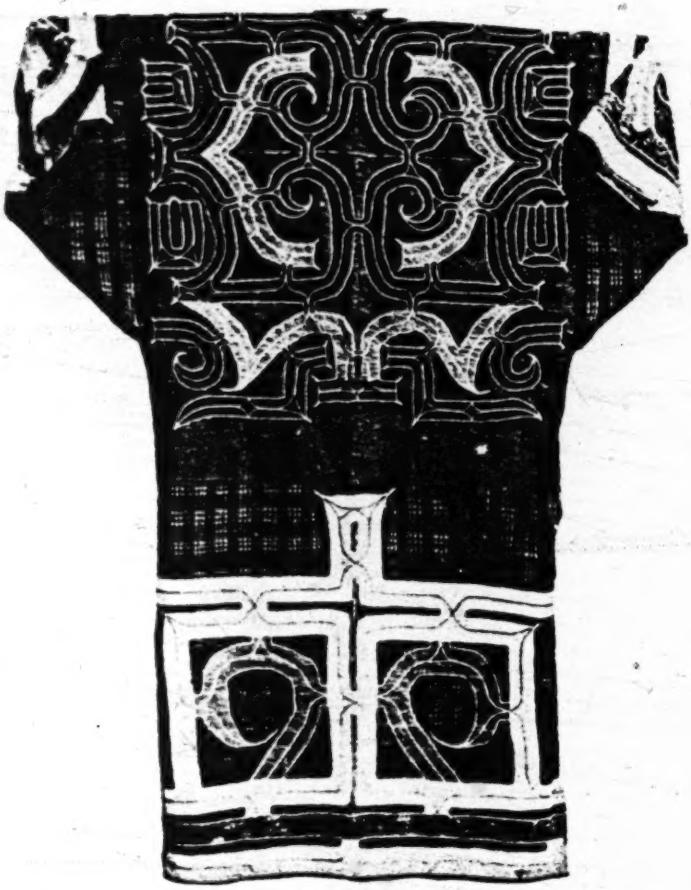
752 drown him. With regard to this matter my friend
776 said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

"Should one see a very large red stone in a river,
823 let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to
1 the stone with libations of saké.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531



AINU EMBROIDERY. A MAN'S COAT

[P. 330 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he re-
turned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my dis- 753
trict, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." "How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164 753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
755 ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption). Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

826 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
787 volunteered the following lore. "When one has pal-
755 pitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
755 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay 755
hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them 757
raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *nitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *nitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great 821
efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for 755
example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his 756
malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

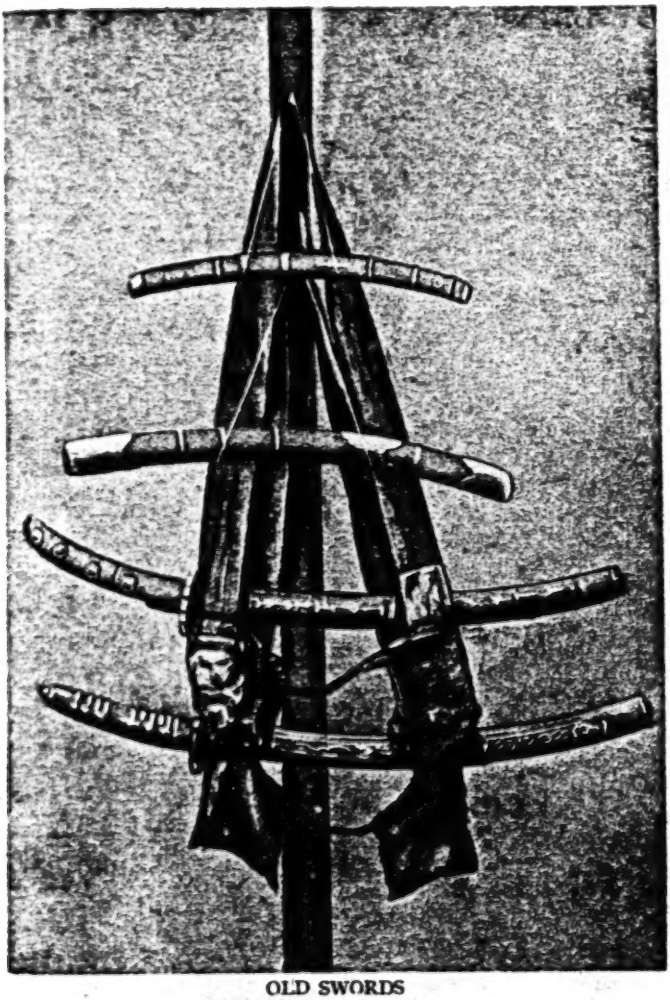
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 757 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

411
789



OLD SWORDS

[P.336(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLI

A LITTLE BOY DELIVERS HIS TWO BROTHERS FROM A MONSTROUS DEMON

"I am only a little growing-up lad and live with 539
my two big brothers. Every season they go hunting 776
and kill many animals. From infancy they fed me with bear's flesh and venison. One year they went off as usual on a hunting expedition, and I was left alone in the house. As I sat there by the hearth, a sudden thought forcibly struck me. "I wonder what my brothers can have hidden away so carefully in that pile in yonder corner! I must look and see." Being thus desirous of knowing, I uncovered the pile and found there an ancient box. Quickly I untied the cord and opened the lid. Oh, how surprised I was! The box was heaped full up with treasures. There were gold and silver and many other precious things. Thus, seeing with my own eyes, I knew what they had hidden in that pile in the corner.

"I was not satisfied with seeing merely what was on the top, but wanted to know what was hidden at the bottom also. Right underneath every thing else, at the very bottom, I found two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver; two in all, lying side by side. I took these to myself, but broke up all the other precious things into fragments. The two knives I struck into my girdle, walked out of the house, and struck the path leading into the forest. By and by I came to a great mountain, at the foot of which I stood and looked round. Presently my eyes lighted on a tiny old lodge with a conical roof, in a river valley.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
776

"Taking this roof as a guide, I went on towards it. When at last I came to the place, I went and stood quietly in the courtyard. There I stood and listened, hardly daring to breathe. I heard the sound of my two big brothers snoring loudly as they lay sleeping inside. I sadly wanted to go in to them, but remembering how I had shortly before destroyed their precious treasures and was wearing their two knives, I felt afraid to enter. So I stood there all day long, in shame. It became dark soon, for the sun had set. Yet I could not move, for my behaviour had been too bad. I still had a burning desire to go in to my brothers. But the shame of the thing! What would they think of me? I had no face left! Filled with sorrow and regret, there I stood outside. By and by I heard a strange sound in the forest. What could it be? I stood and listened. The sound came from the river valley and seemed as if some people were coming towards this very hut. Whoever could it be! Breathlessly and intently did I peer into the darkness and at last I made out a he-wolf and a she-wolf coming along. They came close up to the lodge. The he-wolf went and stood upright at the right-hand corner of the doorway and the she-wolf at the left-hand corner. They seemed to be awaiting someone and stood up with their chins resting on their fore paws. I sadly wanted to go in to my brothers, but as that was impossible now, I could do nothing but remain outside, watching and listening.

"As I stood there open-eyed, listening intently, I heard the sound of someone else coming down from the mountain range. On the hard ground the footsteps went *thud, thud*, and when they went over the softer places their tread sounded *sush, sush*. Thus, in truth, came the sound of their approach. I became paralyzed with fear. So there I stood and looked. As I gazed, I saw a mighty, monstrous bear come close up beside

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the hut. On he came, right up to the place at which I was standing. Putting his fore paw up to his chin, he stood still and listened. Soon after, as I stood there in terror, I heard a sound as of someone else coming along out of the forest. Nearer and nearer he came. Whatever could it be? As I listened in great apprehension, I made out something in the distance. It seemed to be an enormous demon, whose upper jaw touched the very heavens above, while his lower one scraped the earth below. When he stepped on the dry twigs, they went *creak, creak*, and when he walked over the green ones, they sprang back after him, *swish, swish*. I saw and heard all this and was transfixed by fear.

539
776

"I very earnestly desired to enter the hut and wake up my brothers, but being filled with shame and fear, I could do nothing but stand outside as I was. It was dreadful. The noise made by the approaching demon grew louder and louder the nearer he came. By and by a very quiet voice came to me from the great bear standing beside me. He said, 'Oh thou young lad of Eastern Turu, this is surely no common demon who is now upon us. He is an extraordinary one. Extraordinary, too, is the sleeping of thy brothers. Their sleep is no common slumber, but was willed upon them by the fearful demon. That is why they sleep so soundly. These two wolves, O lad, are the guardian angels of those two gentlemen of Eastern Turu, and they are here to save their lives. But I am very doubtful as to whether they will be able to do much good. I am the god of the mountain ridges and I ardently long for fetishes which shall be made by thy two brothers. It is on this account that I have now come to help them. Yet, somehow, I feel as though I shall not be able to save them. I am filled with apprehension. I think it would be well for you to return

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 at once and very quickly to your home.' So whispered
776 the big bear in my ear.

"This speech, if possible, filled me with more fear than ever. But yet, as I had smashed up the precious things belonging to my brothers while they were away, I felt that I could not leave them now in their hour of so great danger. And I was rooted to the spot. Very soon the awful creature reached the other side of the hut. Whatever sort of thing could it be? Was it a good god or a dreadful demon? I could not tell, for he was behind the hut. Although his forequarters were close up to the structure, his hind quarters were still rustling in the forest behind! His upper jaw reached up to the skies and his lower one touched the ground. Gradually the entire creature reached the hut.

"Round the corner came his head. Then the mighty bear—that god of the mountain heights—pawed the air, and soon the two rushed upon one another with a tremendous roar. They fought with might and main all that night. Towards morning I heard great thuds, as if someone had thrown big heavy stones to the ground. On looking towards the place, I saw the mighty bear lying on the ground, cut in two halves. I shook with terror. Strange to remark, the demon took no notice of me, but made to go in by the door of the hut. Then I quickly seized my golden knife and with a mighty blow severed the creature's head from his body. And yet that detached head continued to attack me. As quick as thought, I drew my silver knife and smote the upper part of the body, which also continued to attack me. And so we fought. When the head came for me, I hit out with the golden knife, but when the body rushed upon me, I smote with the silver one. Thus we fought till the demon was cut up into very fine pieces. I then gathered up all the fragments and cast them to the four winds—to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

grass, to the trees and to the birds. That monstrous 539
demon was completely destroyed. 776

"Having made an end of him, I listened, thinking that my two big brothers must have been awakened by the din we had made. But no! I heard them sleeping and snoring as beautifully as ever. Their heavy breathing was like the hum of a house swarming with flies! There they were, those two, merrily sleeping and snoring, and quite unconscious of everything. Being assured of this, I rushed out of the courtyard and ran swiftly back home. Here I sat at the hearth-side as unconcernedly as if I had never gone out anywhere.

"As I thus sat alone, I heard the footsteps of my two brothers as they walked towards our hut. They were in earnest conversation. When they came nearer, I heard one of them say to the other,

"'Who could have saved us when our guardian wolves and the bear god were all killed? How is it we are now alive?' The other replied, 'About midway on our return journey, I saw a little way off in the forest foot-prints of the little boy we have nourished.' But the other was very doubtful and said, 'Such mighty gods were they! And yet they were all slain. How could one such as he have saved us?' So they talked and could not believe that I had taken any hand in the matter. I heard all this as they came along, but I made no move and sat there as unconcernedly as before.

"Soon they came in by the door and sat down. They 539
talked of nothing but their wonderful escape. Said they, 'Who could our saviour possibly have been? To whom do we owe it that we are now in the land of the living?' So they sat and talked together. But as for myself, I remained silent and kept the bearing of one who had been nowhere—of one who understood not their talk. But in my soul I thought thus, 'They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 are sure to find out sooner or later the part I have played, for have I not broken up all their precious treasures over in yonder corner. So it will be all one in the end, even if I confess to them.' So I spoke openly to them after this manner.

"'When you, my brothers, started off hunting, a sudden desire to learn what you had stowed away so carefully in yonder corner, in that pile, seized me. When I uncovered the pile, I found an old box, the lid of which I opened. There I saw many goodly treasures and some fine swords. I took all of these out, for I wished to know what was in the very bottom under all. Here I discovered two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver. I did not mean at first to do so, but by a sudden impulse I smashed up all the beautiful treasures and broke the ancient swords. But I kept the gold and silver knives for myself. The next day I followed upon your tracks and came to your hunting-lodge. Here I discovered both of you to be fast asleep. I would fain have entered, but having done ill by you I dared not enter your hut. As I stood outside, I heard someone coming through the forest, but whether it was a god or demon I could not tell. But soon I discovered them to be your guardian wolf-angels. The bear-god of the mountain ridges also came later and took up his post in order to watch over you. But all these have now gone to the underworld, for a monstrous demon came to destroy you. It was he who slew your guardians. But I killed him at last and sent him also to the lower regions. Thus is it that you are alive today. I killed him with the gold and silver knives.'"

"I told all this to my elder brothers who, when they heard, were very greatly astonished. Then they said to me, 'So, then, it is all owing to you, our little boy, that we now live. Never mind the treasures, all are yours. We begrudge nothing to you.' The next day,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for 539
the two wolves and also for the bear god. They wor-
shipped and made new gods of them. And so again [782
these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my bro- 778]
thers with special favour. They have already become
more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with
great success and easily make many kills. They take
many skins and galls which they barter at a good price
and so are able to obtain many more treasures and
precious things. They have become far richer than
any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu."

344 blank

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769 When living with this people, I was much surpris-
562 ed to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from
775 him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

makes a poison which they called *Chikoptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *remat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 When the men are about to perform the ceremony of ancestor worship, which they call *Shinnurepps*, they first of all procure the inevitable *saké* and some willow sticks with which to make fetishes. Then they meet in the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and after having worshipped "Grandmother Fire" and the great "Grandfather" in his corner, they address every deity they can think of, make six fetishes of sticks, shaved backwards as a sign of mourning, and after having offered some to the household gods, carry the rest reverently through the door way, with *saké* and food, to the big fetish cluster, and there set them up. The women follow the men, carrying a few wine lees. An Ainu next takes the lees and mixes them with the saké, at the same time offering this prayer, "O ye our ancestors, now dwelling in Hades, we send you saké, fetishes, and wine lees; accept them and rejoice. Your grandchildren have met together especially to offer these things. Rejoice! Watch over us and keep us from sickness. Give us long lives, so that we may continue to offer such gifts." After this prayer has been said, the men return to the hut and have a drinking carouse. The women, however, remain to pray to the souls of the departed ones, eat the lees, and offer drops of saké. This part of the ceremoney is called, *Shiwentep inau epuni* which means "Women's offering to fetishes." It is also called *Shiwentep Kamui nomi*, i.e. "Women worshipping the Divine Ones."

On asking why this ceremony took place, I was told this: "The Divine Aeonia said, 'If the people do good while upon earth and not evil, though they may die young, they go to the good place. There they live as here and have fine hunting. It is good for the people upon this earth to offer food, lees, and saké to those who have gone before to Paradise. Not to do so shows lack of filial respect, and this is bad indeed. Those

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

who have departed still live and take an interest in 769
those left behind. They should therefore be worshipped. Unless respect is paid them, they will come to this earth again and bring misfortune. When, therefore, ye have food, remember your ancestors. This will please them, and they will send you good health and prosperity.' So spake the Great Teacher." Thus, then, do we find that the souls of the departed were worshipped in days gone by, and true necrolatry current among the Ainu race. Echoes of the custom are still heard among them.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
411

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

[p. 350]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIII

ON TREE WORSHIP

It will be seen by many things which have been written that the worship of trees is quite a strong feature in the religion of Ainu hunters. Their theory of causation being so thoroughly animistic, it is no wonder that we find them ascribing to every kind of tree and plant a life with powers of thought and action, possessing emotion and passions like their own. And in these things we discover a subtle relation to the tree genii of the Greeks and other people. Take for example, the sacred olive of Athene at Athens, the images of deities set on trees, the association of the laurel with Apollo, the connection of Dionysus with the ivy, the Ephesian Artemis dwelling in the stem of an oak, the mistletoe of the Druids, the 'Jack-in-the-Green,' the Maypole, the Scottish milkmaid with her switch of rowan, with which she protected her cattle from evil spirits; all these and similar things are brought to one's mind here. But the Ainu appear to have some ideas on the subject peculiar to themselves. They suppose that every tree has not only its own personal chief spirit, but that the roots, stems, rugged bark, inner bark or fibre, wood, heart, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, crown and flowers, with fruit also, each are themselves peopled with innumerable spirits, some of which are good and others evil.

The general name given to this tree cult by the hunters is *kim-o-chipashuma*, and this means, 'doctrine of the mountains'; and the particular part of it now to be treated is named *chikuni akoshirathi orushpe*, which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

"When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing [396] boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of 008 it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

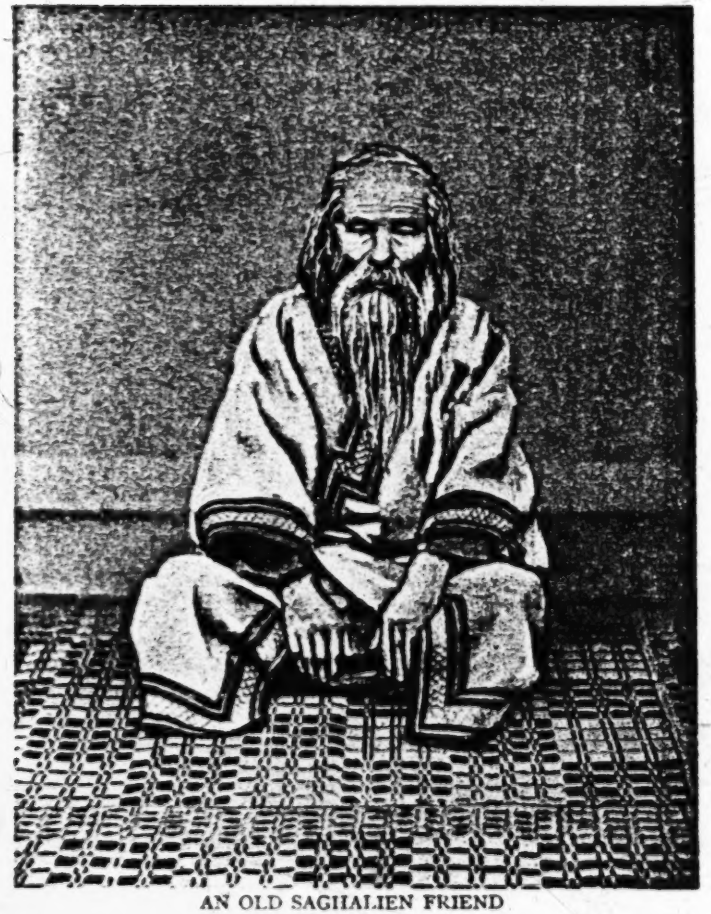
Thus there is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, 778 and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes.

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern 824 shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special 539 affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
51L
342



AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

[P. 356]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged 175
by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve 539
fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 away to strip off bark from the elm trees for making into cloth, and were in danger from something. I very anxiously awaited their return day by day, but they did not come back. So, being unable to endure the suspense, I one day got on their track and followed them into the forest.

"I went on till I came to a lake among the mountains. At one end of this tarn, close by the edge, I saw six corpses of young men lying stretched out, and likewise the bodies of the remaining six at the other end. It was a sad sight! I could no longer contain myself. So, being quite unable to do anything else, I lay down in sore distress by the lake and wept, wept. I wept again and yet again. As the day drew to an end, I arose and looked round. In the centre of the lake the waving tail of a large trout-like fish, very large and fearful to behold, was to be seen flapping, while at the other end the creature's mouth was silently opening and shutting in great contentment.*

"On looking behind me, I descried a well-beaten track leading into the forest. With a limp body and drooping spirit I went along it. Soon I arrived at a large house. Going up to the door, I struck it with my hands, when it at once opened with a big creak. I immediately entered and when inside sat down in the lowest place, near the door. Here I silently waited. On the right hand side of the hearth I saw a big gentleman sitting, who immediately rose up. He then went to a shelf and took down a nice black tray, placed some bear's flesh on it, and, bowing very low in deep respect, offered it to me. I received it in my hands and gently raised it up to my forehead. I then took two tiny pieces of the meat, but, being very shy, I

[776] *Be it remembered that in Ainu lore goblins sometimes take the form of fish when they desire to appear.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

could eat only very little. Having eaten, I again raised the tray to my forehead and, bowing low, returned it to the gentleman. He forthwith took it and placed it upon the shelf once more. 539

"After this, in answer to the questions he put to me, I told him about the young men having gone off to strip bark from the elm trees, and that although I had waited long for their return, they had not come home. And then how, feeling anxious about them, I could wait no longer, but had followed up their track till I arrived at a lake in the mountains. I told him about the mighty trout and the cold lifeless corpses of the young men, namely, the six from the upper and the six from the lower end of my village.

"The gentleman gave a big grunt and took down a black fur from a shelf. This he placed over his head. I sat there in great fear. He then took down a sword and rubbed it on a whetstone, on which he allowed water to drop. Then, having stuck it into his girdle, he took me out, saying, 'I will go to the lake with thee.' Gladly did I accompany him to the tarn (for it was his). When we arrived, he smote with all his might at that monstrous trout. But alas, his sword broke in two.

"In rage he went off into the forest and quickly made a big hook of maple wood. This he brought back with him and caught hold of the trout, which lay there silently opening and shutting his huge mouth. He dragged the creature from one end of the lake to the other, the two fighting together with might and main. Presently I saw the big gentleman thrown down a lifeless corpse, at one end of the lake, and I wept bitterly.

"After this I rose up and went home to my house. I had been away so long that the dust was piled up in heaps throughout it. So, as of old, I carefully swept and garnished the place. There I lived quite alone.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.**

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] *The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] **It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778

FETISH SPECIMENS

[P. 360(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLV

WOOD FETISHES AND THE SLAYING OF THE DEMON OF DISEASE

On examining the wood fetishes made by the Ainu, one finds many forms of them which are used for a variety of gods and demons on varying occasions. At first it was quite impossible to get any of the men to talk about and explain them. It was a religious question and they did not care to enter into conversation on the matter. In the course of years, however, I managed to pick up much about them, and this chapter is, in part, the result.

The household fetish seems to be the most important of them all. He has already been described in chapter twenty-three. That connected with the "Birth-tree," as well as the "Heart" or "Pulse" of the house, have also been mentioned. I believe the next in importance is that which is called "Fetish with twisted shavings," and may be seen anywhere by the visitor. It has a long stem and consists simply of long strings of shavings tied to the top end of a stick some two or three feet in length. Fetishes of this kind are made as offerings to any deity and indicate respect and high honour. They are presented to the sun and set up by the fireside. I was once present when one was offered to the Creator of all things, at which time the following prayer was said.

"O Thou God Who dwellest in the highest heavens! O Thou Who hast Thy abode in the lofty and glorious skies above us! O Creator of the world, condescend to accept this fetish and these saké drops which we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 now present unto Thee. As a return for them and this worship, be Thou pleased to bless us." Such was the prayer I heard, and it was said with great earnestness. Another kind of fetish is named "Fetish with shavings spread out." It is made as an offering to the gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea. When set up, such are saluted and have libation drops of saké offered them. The prayer said at such a time is like this;

782 "O gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to cure them; should food become scarce, favour us with plenty. Ye mighty Ones, ye are great and powerful; therefore we present these beautiful fetishes, which our forefathers taught us to make, to you all. Graciously accept them and rejoice over them." I was informed that some of these things were made for gods near at hand, and others for those supposed to be more remote. One such kind is called "Turning backwards fetish," and I was told this was for such deities as stood between the higher and lower gods and demons. These fetishes may be seen by springs of water, paths, garden plots, precipices, and at times by the fireside. They are for the tutelary gods. I was once asked to join a party which was making them, but declined with thanks. The men were all crowned with rings of shavings, and looked very comical as they sat there peeling sticks.

778 On entering a certain hut in the village one day, I was greatly astonished to encounter a strong evil odour. Upon looking round the place, I soon discovered the cause. The master of the place had a large number of fetishes, big and little, which he called "Little carved birds," set up in many places. These consisted of sticks of elder (supposed to be a tree of evil), shaved downwards instead of upwards, each

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was 778
the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them.

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all 731
these things, and he told me they were set about as a 778
defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death.

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this 824
kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and 778
poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons [777]
of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 776 The following is a legend of a six-tailed demon of disease, and is of great interest.

"There were three persons who were brothers by the same mother, the younger one and his two elders. The younger one was a very sickly man and stayed in the house all alone. The two elder men lived away in their own homes. One day news came from another village, saying that every night the dogs set up a great howling. This information was brought by the birds. One day, as we were sitting together, a gentleman came and told us that an epidemic disease was raging from one end of his village to the other and he had come to consult with us on the matter. He had come especially to us because he had heard we were under the powerful protection of the gods and would know what was the best thing to be done. So he and my two elder brothers took counsel together. After that, the two older men girded themselves with long swords and went off with the gentleman. I, the younger and sickly one, stuck a small dirk in my girdle. Alas, being such a useless one, my brothers considered that I ought to stay at home.

"After they had gone off, I slept and had a great dream. In this dream I saw a mean-looking man come down from the hills and present me with a very poor-looking short sword. I then awoke, when, behold, I found such a sword lying by my side. I took it up at once, and, as it was but a small dirk, I placed it in my bosom. I then got up from my bed and followed along the track of the other men, till I came to the upper end of the village they had spoken of. Just then the younger of my elder brothers came running along, pursued by a fearful demon having six tails. I made way for my brother to pass, at the same time grasping the dirk I had in my bosom. I struck the demon with that very mean instrument and cut him clean in two, right through the middle! My brother saluted me and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

thanked me for what I had done. And so we returned to our homes. 539 776

"I then went off again, alone, towards the lower end of the village, when, lo, my eldest brother also came running along. O, how he ran! Like his brother before him, he also was followed by a big, fierce, six-tailed demon. I, the very poor, sickly younger brother, stepped on one side, at the same time seizing the dirk I had in my bosom. The demon came rushing along like the wind. His mouth was wide open, so that his lower jaw was touching the ground and his upper one reaching the skies. As he came up, I struck the monster and cut him right through the middle. He fell apart and there he lay. My brother then saluted and thanked me, and we returned home together. My brothers were surprised beyond measure at me, the younger good-for-nothing brother, who turned out to be so brave as to slay those six-tailed demons of disease, which they themselves were unable to face.

"After this, the gentleman of the stricken village gave a beautiful daughter to me in marriage, and also bestowed two other young women on my brothers. And so all passed off well. Having stayed with our friends for some time, we at last returned to our homes with our wives. The people all round looked upon me, the poor sickly one, with great admiration. My two elder brothers remained as poor as ever, but I became exceedingly rich. I became the father of two children, a son and daughter, to whom I taught the ancient doctrines. My elder brothers also had a pair of youngsters each, to whom they, too, taught the faith." This wonderful story quaintly ends thus, "We all died of old age, but the children we left behind us are all well and very prosperous."

[p. 366 is blank]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVI

ON COSMOLOGY AND THE DEMON OF THUNDER

When talking with me on the subject of cosmology, the Ainu used never to forget to bring in the subject of the place they named *Chirama-moshiri* or the "Lowest world." It is therefore very evident that the subject of Tartarus figures in their mythology and cosmology. It is my intention to take up this matter now. It is not for a moment pretended here that in every respect the lowest world of the Ainu and the Tartarus of Homer are the same. Tartarus, as described in the Iliad, is a deep and sunless abyss, as far below Hades as heaven is above the earth. It is enclosed in iron gates into which Zeus hurled those who rebelled against him and thus repudiated his authority. Later writers undoubtedly considered it to be a place of punishment for the spirits of the wicked, and the poets of later times considered the name to be synonymous with Hades. 772

In so far as I am able to judge by what the old Ainu told me many years ago of their ancient lore, together with later-day interpretations, the people did not mean Sheol or Hades, where all men go at the time of death, when they spoke of this place. In their tongue, Hades is called *Pokna moshiri*, 'the under-world.' Nor did they mean Gehenna, where the wicked are punished, for that is called by them *Nitne kamui moshiri*, 'the world of devils,' and *Teinei-pokna Moshiri*, which means 'wet underground world.' Tartarus, in their idea, is not the abode of men in any condition. They consider it to be the bounds of this material creation. The word

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meaning to "cast into Tartarus" occurs once in the Christian Scriptures and refers to the place where we are told that the angels when they sinned were not spared but cast down to Tartarus, and committed to the pits of darkness. Thus it will be seen that the Ainu idea of Tartarus differs from the meaning of that place as gathered from both the Iliad and the Scriptures.

Yet, though their conception of Tartarus seems to differ from the Greek and Christian representations in some respects, it is found to agree with them in others. As regards *place*, it is thought by them to be situated at the very confines of all created worlds. There are supposed by some to be six worlds beneath this upon which we dwell. The very lowest of these is called 'the lowest world' (*Chirama Moshiri*). I can find no word better suited to designate this place than Homer's Tartarus. But as regards the nature of this land, it is not supposed by the Ainu to be a place of darkness, though it may have iron gates. It is said to be a very beautiful country, as full of light as this world; and it does not seem to be the prison house or abode of fallen angels or any other living beings, whether they be gods, men, or demons. The thunder demon, after having waged war upon this earth, is said to have proceeded to do so in heaven, because this world was unable to stand such a grievous conflict. The Creator, Who resides in heaven above, was much distressed at this, and sent the demon to fight in the 'lowest world.' Here the thunder demon was slain, but as no god or demon can actually die, his spirit again ascended to its original home, namely, the clouds of the lower skies. Such is one Ainu tradition—vague indeed, it may be thought; still it is a tradition—concerning Tartarus.

There is another tradition or legend, however, which appears to militate against the above-mention-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereka Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [827]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their
beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men
are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

328 "Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so and I now reside in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went to the underground world and there I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they, too, be punished when they join me."

324 While walking under some very large trees one day, there came a mighty clap of thunder accompanied by a very bright flash of lightning and a sudden crash. It was all so sudden and the noise was so great that I was stupefied for the moment. I felt a puff as of a cool wind or electric current fall upon my cheek, and even saw my coat go to one side as the breath passed by. The flash left a smell like burning brimstone in the air around. When I came to myself, I looked about me and saw that a big tree close by had been struck, so that a branch was much splintered and the trunk riven through. I must surely have been unconscious for a time. Chief Penri believed that this was an attack by an evil genius of thunder and lightning. He told me that these demons lived in the clouds above and were so bad at times that they sent metal-like balls into the earth. They fell with such mighty force that they went right down to the lowest world. He also added "As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This is in part why there is so much evil in the world." The names of some of them are very long, such as these, "He who passes through the highest skies," and his wife;" He who comes down from the stars," and his wife, with others. All these things point, it will be observed, to naturism and general animism. The people used to be very much afraid of thunderstorms. When one was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

going on, I have seen them squat round their hearths, shut their eyes, and hang their heads as low down as their knees, not a word being spoken till the near thunder ceased. 921

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVII

SOME SHOOTING INCIDENTS

In our very early days in Hokkaidō there were 117
times when we could get no animal food to eat. We found this very trying in the winter. I therefore determined to buy a gun and try to better matters in this respect. After the gun came, I was able to keep our larder well stocked with such things as wild duck, snipe, wood-cock, tree-grouse, hares, and now and then [136]
wild geese. But as the years passed, times so changed that now one can only think of those early days and smack his lips.

One day an English gentleman and his wife came to visit us at Sapporo. They were supporters of Missions and it was my pleasure to take the gentleman with me to some of the rougher places of the interior. Just before starting, my friend saw me cleaning my gun, when he informed me that he was very sorry to see that I shot, and that he did not consider it right for a missionary to shoot birds and animals. So, in order not to offend one of our supporters, I put my gun out of sight. His dear good wife also, being of like opinion, had the grace to tell my spouse, who had a couple of very pretty duck wings in her hat, that she did not think ladies ought to wear feathers!

My friend and well-wisher soon started off with me on our tour, and in a few days we arrived at a hamlet in the interior, where an old Ainu friend had put up two nice rooms in his house, in which I always stayed. As it happened, I had not brought a very big supply of tinned provisions with me, so it was not long before we ran out of animal food.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 One morning we found the cupboard was as bare as that of the famous Mother Hubbard. In alarm, my friend asked what we were going to do about breakfast and dinner. "Ah," I returned, "that's the question. What shall we do? There is a little rice, but plenty of millet and vegetables to be got." The gentleman was not too well pleased. So I went into my room and fished my gun out from among my clothes, where I had hidden it, and passed out before him. He was, in fact, busy writing at a table. "Surely," thought I, "I have you on toast this time."

Within forty yards of our rooms, a quail got up at my feet. He rose with a startling whirl from under my very nose. "Bang"! went my gun and I forthwith picked up my breakfast. I had no sooner secured my bird than I heard a loud voice coming from the window, "There goes another! Look! Quick!" The poor man saw his breakfast flying away and was evidently afraid of losing it! "Bang"! sounded my gun again and down came my friend's breakfast also. And he was very much pleased. Out he rushed and said, "Ah, I think it is all right to shoot for food, but I do not like shooting for mere sport." "Come along," said I, "let us go and pick up a few dinners if we can." Away we went and returned with a bag of seven or eight fine, fat tree-grouse and a few quails. These lasted us for some time, and when they were eaten up we went and got more, and a few duck as well. So my companion saw that whether clergy or laymen, "a man's a man for a' that," and must be fed.

[825] It is supposed among ourselves that the fox is the most wily animal of the forests, but the Ainu say "No, not so. The bear is the most artful of all." That may be true, but I think all animals have their little tricks, which they play when hard pressed. One day an Ainu friend and I went out to try and shoot something to eat, for I was very tired of nothing but millet and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "if you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news. 117 [224 225]

Another incident happened very near our home in Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave
825 me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour,
783 for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-deer,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now
539 measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who
825 at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is
825 of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

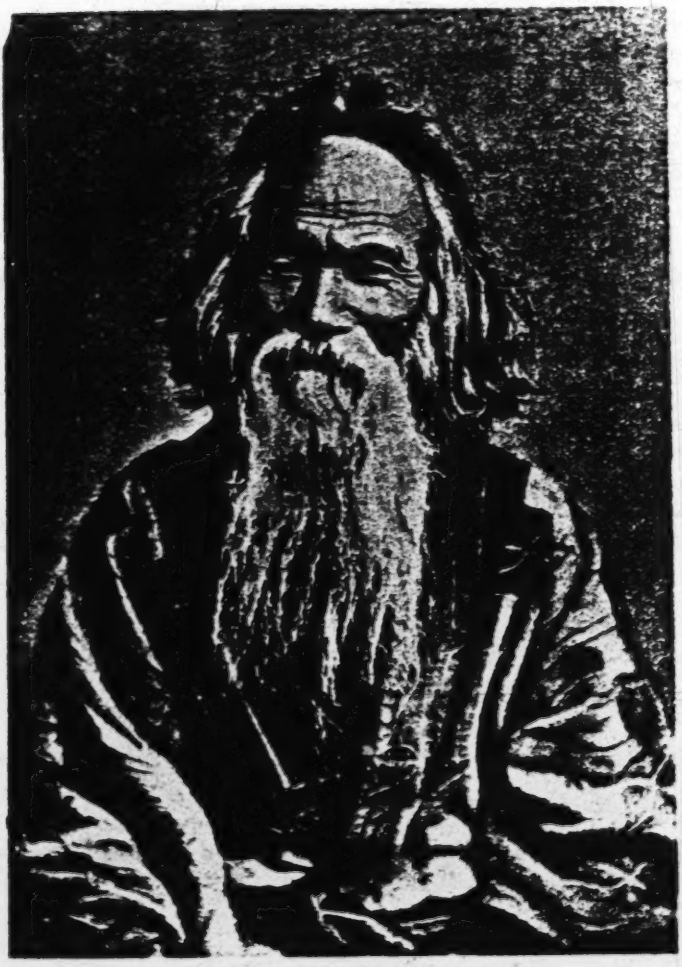
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and swallowed. This must surely be done before it gets cold. If a man swallows it at once, he will become very fluent and wise, and will be able to overcome all opponents in argument. But this divine bird has power in another way. For, not only does he make people eloquent, but he also makes all who swallow his heart prosper and become wealthier than all others. The person who is fortunate enough to swallow one is called 'the one who has gained a charm.' For this reason the water-ousel should be worshipped and have fetishes offered him."

539
825

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302



A GOOD FRIEND

[p.380]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVIII

A LEGEND TELLING HOW A CRUEL, BAD-TEMPERED MAN WAS PUNISHED BY THE GODS

Thus runs this very remarkable Ainu legend.

"I was an orphan brought up in the house of my uncle. He had two wives. He was a very bad-tempered man and treated me with great cruelty. He even begrudged me my daily food and railed at me continually. So hard was he upon me that, being but a child, I used to weep long and bitterly. But my two aunts were very kind and often gave me food in secret. 539

"On a certain occasion I saw the aunts making new garments. One busied herself with sewing up six warm coats, well wadded with cotton, and the other worked away, making half a dozen pairs of fine fish-skin boots. One day, after they had finished their tasks and the night had fallen upon us, we all went to bed. During the night I was wakened by a walking noise, as of someone coming from my aunts' sleeping quarters. The one who had made the shoes approached quite close up to me and touched the lobe of one of my ears with her hand. She then put her mouth near my ear and whispered, saying, [291]

"'O child whom we have hitherto cared for and fed, I have something of importance to say to thee, so pay great attention to my words. Thy uncle is a very well-to-do man, and he is now about to brew *saké* as if for a festive entertainment on your behalf. When the *saké* is all ready, he intends to invite his friends to the feast. When they come, it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the intention to drink deeply, and when they are intoxicated they are to rise up and slay thee. I cannot abide to look on while they do this wicked thing. Do thou therefore make haste and escape for thy life. Flee down to the river, and when thou comest to its bank thou will find a large ash tree with most beautiful bark growing there. On one of its branches thou wilt see two bundles, one containing skin shoes, and the other one, garments padded with cotton. Outside the hut thou wilt see our two store-houses. One is filled with dried fish. Take as many of these as you can. Then go to the other and help thyself to millet. When thou comest to the tree having the bundles on one of its branches, take a pair of the shoes and put them on thy feet, and clothe thyself with one of the wadded garments. Then wade up the river against the stream, night and day, till thou comest to the source, where a tributary branches out from the bare mountains. Having arrived at this place, make thyself a lodge of pine branches and abide in it till all thy provisions are eaten up. Do as I have now told thee and trust in God.' So spake she.

"I then quietly got up and silently went out of the hut. From one of the store-houses I helped myself to some fish, and took grain from the other. When I came to the tree with the two bundles on one of its branches, I took them and quickly put on a pair of the shoes and then dressed myself in one of the wadded garments. I then stepped into the river and proceeded to wade up stream. It was now dark, but as I continued to wade on, the day broke. For six days and nights did I wade along, and then came to the highest point of the river, where I found a dried-up tributary bed coming from the west. I followed this up into the mountains, which I found to be bare of undergrowth, and there made myself a lodge of fir tree branches.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Here I took up my abode, staying in it always and 539
eating the food I had brought with me. I did this for two months, at the end of which time very little food was left. I made this last for three days and nights. Then, having eaten all up, I lay down to die. I counted the days and the nights and they numbered just six. This want of food injured my health sadly and made me feel very weak. My cheeks fell in and made my face hollow.

"At the end of six days I heard the footsteps of two women approaching. They soon entered the lodge where I was. I had never before seen such wonderful women, for there arose most beautiful beams of light from the upper part of their faces. So great was the light that the very rafters and the fir branches with which my lodge was built were illuminated by it. It was glorious. In utter abasement and astonishment did I sit still and behold it all.

"The younger woman came and sat down on my left, while the woman whom I supposed to be elder seated herself on my right. There I sat between the two. Presently the younger one took a tobacco pouch, made of very beautiful material, from her bosom. Also a pipe set about with golden beads. The older woman also had a pipe, but this was ornamented with silver beads. The elder of the two sat for some time looking at me, and presently, drawing closer to my side, spoke. The sound of her voice was exquisite, for it was like the clang of metal striking metal. She said,

"'Oh, my lad, what hast thou come here to do? Thy rich uncle reared thee for his own purposes. He was not a true man, for he intended to take thy possessions unto himself. So it was that he made a great drinking feast, thinking to have slain thee in the midst of it. Knowing this, I caused thee to come to this place where I also myself dwell. In very olden

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 times thy original ancestors made fetishes to me, which I accepted. Then all was well with them. I am a descendant of the gods of the midlands. Yea, their daughter am I. I could not endure that any wrong should be done thee. I have therefore brought my younger sister for thee to marry.' So spake she.

"Having said this, she rose up, took my hand in hers, and led me to her house. Near her dwelling she laved me much. She took me from streamlet to streamlet and washed me in each. I reckoned up and found that she had dried up six streamlets in laving me. Then the beams of light shot forth from my body in radiant beauty. After this we went into her house where she clad me in most precious garments. I was indeed a fine, handsome young man. She then made a farewell speech, saying,

[769] "'After I have departed from you, set this my divine home in order. Thou art but a man, mortal and not divine. Now, in payment for thy wife, do thou henceforth make fetishes for me like unto those formed by thy ancestors before thee. They are to be thank-offerings. If thou doest this, season by season, all will be well with thee. When thou leavest this house, go to thine own home. I will see that very beautiful heaps of precious things shall come to thee.' Having spoken thus, she took her departure.

"As she went off, it was with a mighty sound, a sound which reached from shore to horizon and over dale and mountain peak. It was as though the gods were disporting themselves. We then lay down to rest. When I awoke the next day at dawn, I found myself in the home of a god, and there were piles of precious things reaching from the floor to the angle in the roof. And I saw my new wife, a divine woman, sleeping quietly by my side. When I arose she got up also. I then went farther up stream to a bend, and from a nice tree cut a stick which I made into a fetish. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was a very big one. I brought it home and set it up as an offering to the gods of the midland country, and I offered up prayer. Thereafter I made fetishes every season, and every time I went hunting I brought home six tens of he-bear and six tens of she-bear skins. I was more fortunate than any other person. 539

"By and by I got news from the seashore to the effect that my wicked old uncle, after having become completely impoverished, had taken to his bed, ill, and died. Before his death the gods had made him very weak. I then returned to my village, and, being a very rich man, became the head of the district. With a heart full of gratitude, I set many fetishes about in the forests, and my piles of old swords and precious things became so great that if they were touched they would come clattering down about one's ears, and cover the floor of the house. Then people came from every quarter, by twos and by threes, and settled about my dwelling. They became so numerous that they built themselves a second row of houses at the end of the village. I was indeed a great and rich man, more wealthy, in fact, than any other either before or after me. We had two children, a boy and a girl. My wife educated the girl and I the boy. Presently we both died. After our death we frequently heard about our children, namely, that they were very prosperous and, if that were possible, richer than we ourselves had been."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

501
133

A RIVER-BOAT

[p. 386]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIX

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS

In travelling among the wilds of Hokkaidō with the Ainu, nothing has ever made a greater impression upon me than the unparalleled awe and deep respect in which the men held the rivers when going up and down them. I could not at first understand why this was so, but was gradually enlightened by chief Penri and others as the years went by. On my first trip up the Saru river and back again in an Ainu boat, which was merely the trunk of a large elm tree hollowed out, and had no seat in it, I was asked by the boatman to sit tightly on the bottom and not move more than I could possibly help, nor bend over the side to look into the water, nor reach out for anything on land or river, and to talk very quietly. All of which behests I promised faithfully to obey. I thought all this was for fear lest I should upset the boat, fall into the water, or disturb some wild animal or other. But in this surmise I was mistaken, as the sequel will show. 823

It was gradually borne in upon me that these people regarded rivers themselves as living creatures, and that each living thing was itself also inhabited by many other spirits, which in their turn also were the homes of others. I was assured that some of these were regarded as good and others as evil. The class-name for all of them, right from the head waters down to the river's mouth, was *Wakka-ush-kamui*, that is, "good and evil genii of the water." It was the firm belief of these people in such things that inspired the awe I saw settle down on the boatmen, one and all. 823 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

[778 782] The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called *Pet-etoh-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-tche*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods. 823 782

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous. 823 776

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were 103
taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river."

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that 823
the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way 776
out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer, some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-koto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a [825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such [226 782] things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fishermen do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

823 776 825 226 782 Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the common in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an offering to the demon of rough weather, whose property he is supposed to be. We once had a young man staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-paichi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such doctrines as the above permeate Ainu folk-lore and religion, and they form a mighty chain which binds them down so tightly that, while believing in them, it will not be possible for them to progress along the lines of common sense, truth, and light. The chains must be loosened and the light be allowed to enter in and dispel the darkness.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 346
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [324]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said, 539 825 776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will reascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
825
T7b

this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that many people offer libations to bats. After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let us measure our strength."

"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

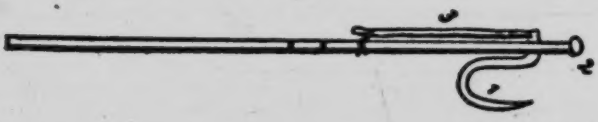
"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [37]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.



[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march
231 along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which
[178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

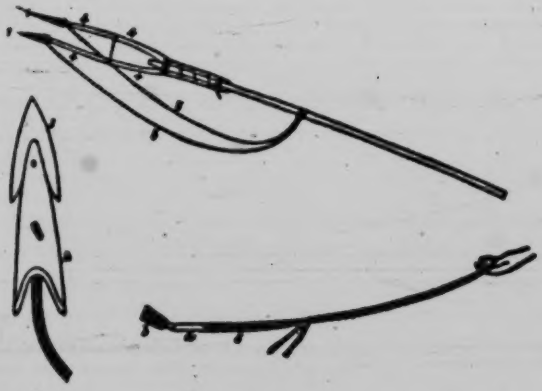
226 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they
227 called an *urai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrow-head, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a 226
platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar 227
of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry.

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the [225]
universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again.

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226

mar were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

[136 252 262] (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ing nothing more to eat and being very hungry, I came here today at a venture and have taken this. Is it a real fish, I wonder, or is it a demon playing a trick on me? Is it a god who has transformed himself into this fish who has ordered me to draw him out of the water and kill and eat him? If it be a god, is he a good one, I wonder, or one of the evil divinities? I must have a care.' 539 226

"Thinking so and supposing that in all probability it was an evil one, he took out his dagger—a dagger which had a hilt inlaid with bone—and began to cut him up fine. Then the fish once more said: 'O sir, cut me up quickly, squeeze me hard and fast. Eat me up quickly, begin at once.' So he hastened and cut him up very fine. When he had finished cutting him up, he cast the pieces to the trees of the forest, to the birds of the air, and to the undergrowth. He then went home.

"During the night he slept well but had a dream, which was as follows. One said to him, 'Sir, until now there have been plenty of fish on thy estate. But this year not so much as one has come up. This is not, however, because thou hast been wicked. I am the famine god and have brought about this condition of things simply to please myself. I have made it so that not even one fish has entered thy waters. It was done to try thee. When thou wentest to thy lake yesterday to angle, thou didst not go of thine own accord. It was I who caused thee to go. When thou wentest and didst angle, thou wast able to take nothing. But when I saw thee about to give up and return to thy house, I allowed myself to be caught. I am not a real fish but the demon of famine. Wishing to try thy understanding, I purposely transformed myself into a fish and allowed myself to be hauled in by thee. If thou hadst shown thyself to be a man of no understanding and hadst partaken of my flesh, thou wouldest have died. But as thy guardian angel was a mighty one, he caused thee to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy
226 me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected
778] thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, bag-
gage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpect-
ed and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus* [262] *jozana, C.K. Sch.* The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroke-ni*.. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
492
494

ONE OF MY STOPPING-PLACES

[p. 408(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' the is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had 117
stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744]
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

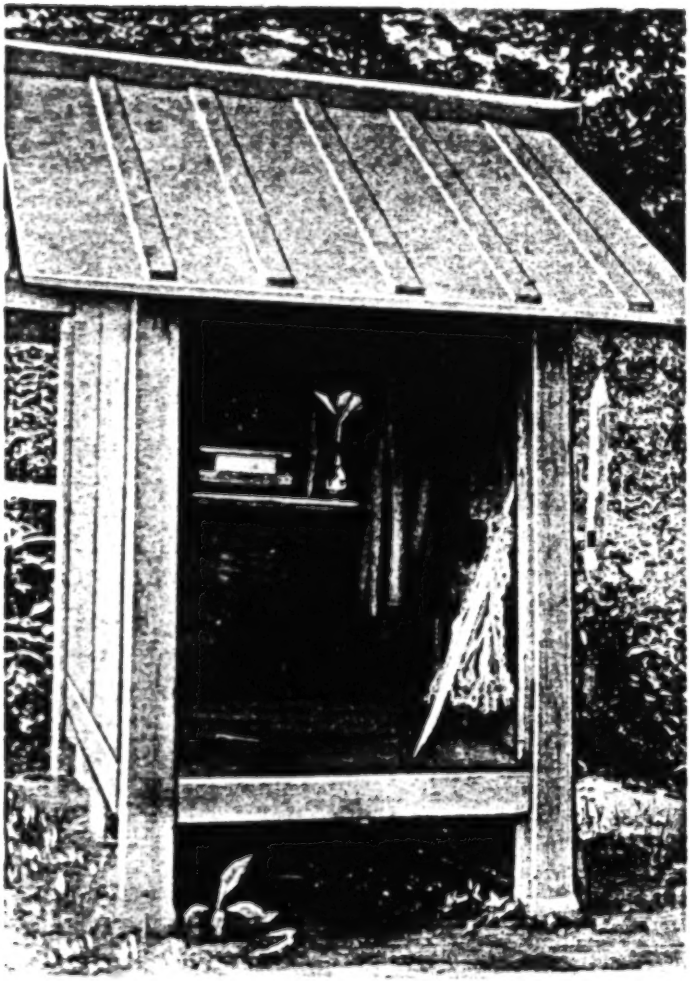
593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

toxicated and has been knocking me about. Please 593
come and beat him for me!" I did not like this re- 578
quest, but went in with her to have a look at him. It was indeeed true that he was drunk, and when I told him I had been requested by his beloved wife to flog him for knocking her about, he seemed to think that I ought to do so. Indeed, he began to prepare himself by offering me his back. Seeing this, his spouse exclaimed quickly, "Don't whip him, poor fellow! Of course he may get drunk sometimes, and, after all, he has a perfect right to flog me when he feels like it. Am I not his wife?" And so the matter closed. This is just one sample of my journeyings among the Ainu half a century ago.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
171
346



SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIII

ABOUT AINU HEROES

One day, after having been away on furlough for a few months, I returned to Piratori without first sending word to the chief that I was coming. Upon arrival, I was surprised to find my little room (six feet by nine) occupied by a small earthenware idol, standing about two feet high, and very ugly. It was made to resemble a Japanese warrior and was dressed *cap-a-pie* in full armour. It had the regulation two swords stuck into its girdle, and sat prepared for any emergency. 177 778

As soon as we had finished our somewhat lengthy salutations, the chief apologized for having put the image into my room, and Mrs. Penri hastened to carry it off and stow it away in her godown with the millet and vegetables. I found out afterwards that when my visits were over and I went elsewhere, the idol came out and was installed in my room for the convenience of such Japanese as might be passing through the village, but when I returned, it always found its home in the storehouse.

Knowing that the Ainu never made images of human beings for worship, I asked the chief how it came to pass he had this one in the village. This is his reply. "It is altogether a Japanese affair, made by Japanese and set up by them. The idol itself is about a hundred and twenty years old. It was brought to Piratori and set up in a tiny shrine on a point of the mountain close to our river. One day while you were away, a big storm of wind blew and sent the shrine,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to escape the sword of his brother, many years ago. Please pardon me for putting him in your room when you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogeho) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"And so the battle went on. By and by I perceived 539
that my elder brother and younger sister had met the 628
women who had been speckled does, and had attacked them most vehemently. With great force they struck with their swords. As I was looking, I saw my brother cut in twain. As he fell, he put his hands out towards the earth and raised himself up again. I then went with my sword and struck him twice or thrice, upon which he became a living man again.*

"Then, riding upon a noise like thunder, he went up quickly into the skies and continued to fight there. I now heard the sound of some other person being slain near by. It was my younger sister who was killed. With a mighty sound she rode up to the setting sun.**

"Then that beastly enemy woman boasted of having slain my younger sister and thrown her to the ground. Then the two, the woman and the remaining man, fell upon me with might and main, but I struck the fiendish woman several times and made her ride upon the sun. She went up to the sun a living spirit. Then the malignant, evil man, being alone alive before me, lifted up his voice and said to me,

"'Because you are a brave man, the fame of your valour has gone to many lands. Now know this, I am called *Samatuye Ainu* (this, the reciter told me, means 'Cutter in twain,' but I believe it is really 'sea-side man'). My younger brother and sister live together and are the defenders of my house. They are exceedingly brave and able people, both of them. If, there-

*My friend told me that when at war in ancient times his ancestors could raise the slain to life again and heal all their wounds by striking them with the flat of their sword blades. Even fifty years ago, and since, I have known of this striking and waving swords over the sick by way of exorcism. In cases of death by accidents, as has already been set forth, the custom is still practised in order to drive away demons.

**Death was sometimes called by the old Ainu "riding upon" or "into the setting sun." Life was called "riding upon" or "into the bright sun," or "shining like the sun."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

*Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"'Oh, my dear sister, listen to me, for I have something to say. The weather is lowering and I am filled with foreboding. You, as you know, have been a *shaman* from childhood. Prophesy now to me, for I desire to hear news.' So spake he. 539 628

"Then the tiny woman yawned mightily twice, and said,* 'Oh, my elder brother, my dear brother, listen now to me, for I have a thing of importance to say. Why are you thus in anticipation of evil coming? I hear from a far-away country. There is news coming from above the mountains of Battle River. The brave Ainu has been attacked by my elder brother without cause. A certain man has slain my elder brother and annihilated his men. The battle has proceeded with vigour. A speckled bird comes flying across the sky from the interior. I wish to speak about it, but somehow it passes by and I see it no more. Oh, it is now crossing the sea! It darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish. It is lovely. It comes straight towards our home. I hear the clashing of swords. They are the swords of the Ainu and their enemies. The battle rages. Blood spurts from big wounds. The sword of my brother departs into the setting sun and is lost. The sword-hilt of the Ainu shines upon the sun. He has conquered the foe. Our home has been hitherto in peace, but is now in the greatest of danger. My eyes are now becoming dark. Pay attention to what I have said.' So spake the little woman.

"Now, as she said this I pretended that I had but just arrived at their house, and, knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil outside, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped over the threshold. With one accord they both turned their heads and gazed at me. I saw fear settled under their eye-

*This means that she threw herself into a shaman's trance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 brows. Walking along the left-hand side of the hearth
628 with hasty strides, I swept the little man to the right with my foot, and sat down cross-legged in the master's place. I then said,

"'Look here, you little man of Samatuye, I have a word to say to you, so attend to me well. Has not your elder brother come and attacked us without just cause? Why has he done so? As you have thus stirred up war, you will be annihilated, for the gods will punish you. Listen well to that. It is true that I am but a wounded man, but I will certainly overthrow your abode.'

"When I had said this, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with heavy blows and made the wind whistle. We went up to the ceiling fighting, where I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated about the place. They came as thick as swarms of flies. But I cut them down as men mow grass.

"Presently the little woman said, 'Oh my brothers, why did ye attack the brave Ainu without cause? Was it because ye wished to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the brave Ainu. Mark my words.' Saying this she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass. We fought side by side. So fighting we drove them all out of the house. Upon taking a view of the people outside, I saw that there were but a very few left alive. At the head of this remnant stood the little Samatuye man. Yes! There he was. In a very short time all his people were killed. I then went for him in haste and struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman came to my side and attacked him with her dagger. He soon received some great wounds and was slain.

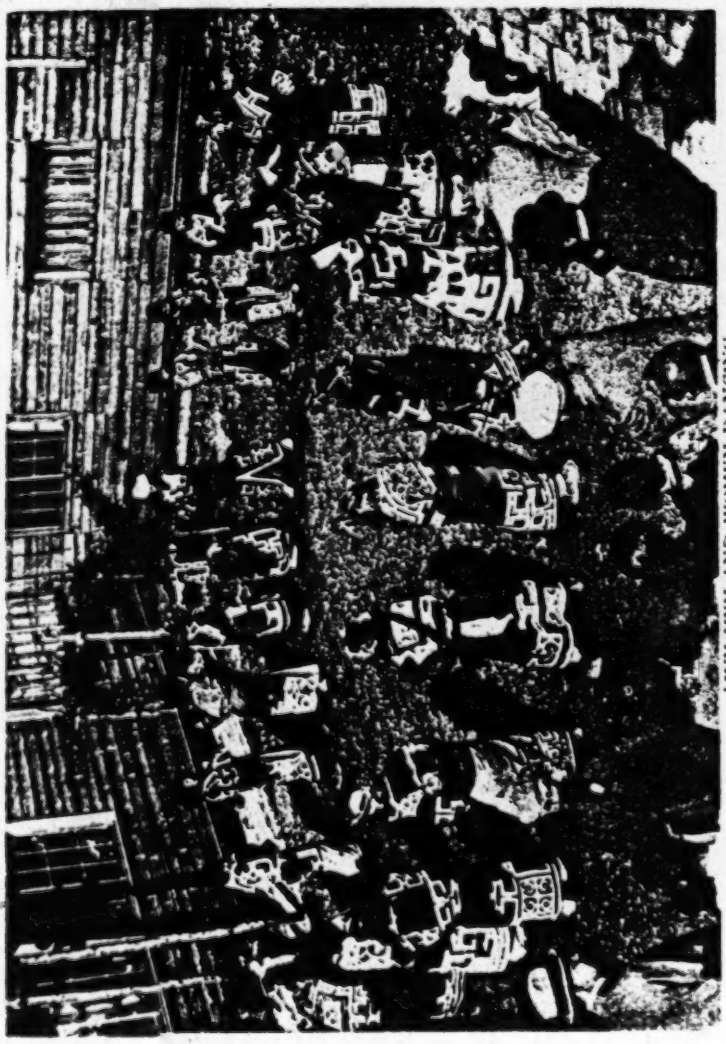
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The little woman wept much and said, 'As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a friendless man. But I was constrained to do so. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O brave Ainu. Listen well.'" 539 628

So ends the legend. It began with a war and ends in a marriage. No doubt they lived happily ever after.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535



AINU MEN AND WOMEN DANCING

[p. 422]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIV

POSSESSION BY FOXES

The village of Usu, which is situated upon the southern coast of Hokkaidō in Volcano Bay, is a very beautiful place. As its name implies, it has "many bays," and such are always pleasing to the eye. Half a century ago we knew all the inhabitants, and from that time to the present we have always had many good friends among them. The Ainu were all fishing folk and had a full amount of superstition. I can never forget a little incident which happened there once and which seemed to give much amusement to the people present, particularly to the younger ones among them. 117

I was giving an address to a large assembly in one of the houses. As there was no chair to be had and it was very painful for me to sit cross-legged upon the floor, and as, moreover, I could not stand up to speak on account of the smoke from burning wood upon the hearth, the good house-wife fished out a Japanese foot-warmer frame (*kotatsu*) for me to sit on and so speak to the people. About the middle of my speech, when I had warmed up a little, the top of my improvised seat gave way with a snap and thus let me down. I landed with my feet sticking up in the air at one end, and my head level with them at the other. None of my addresses to the Ainu have ever produced such a profound impression as that one did. The hut was filled with roars of laughter, in which I could not but join. We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves. The incident is not yet forgotten, for I heard of it again but a few days ago; indeed, it was one who was then pre- [516]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 754 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not ? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

barking "*pen, pen,*" like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787
and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754
are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825
this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539
this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825
upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 Heaven. Now, very far away, right at the other end
525 of the world, there lives a great dreadful demon whose name is Sam (really "over the edge of the world"). He was not created, but existed long before this world was brought into existence. He had no beginning. He is of such an evil disposition that when God created the world, He could not allow him to dwell in any place where men and women had their habitation. This is the reason why he has been made to dwell over the edge of the world.

"Long, long ago, Sam determined to try his strength with Marten, and so came forth out of his haunts and paid him a visit. On entering Marten's house, he sat down with a heavy thud and said, "I hear it rumoured that you consider yourself to be a great and mighty one. Come, now, let us measure our strength in contest, and so see who is the greater, you or I." Marten readily consented, knowing full well that an evil demon can be no match for a good god. No sooner had the divine Marten agreed to his request than the demon suddenly jumped up, seized him, knocked him down, banged him about, kicked him and then cast him into the fire upon the hearth. Here he supposed he had burnt him clean up. He was beyond measure pleased with himself when he saw what he had done, and plumed himself on his mighty power and easy victory.

"After a little rest he got up, with the intention of returning to his far-away home. But lo, a very remarkable thing now occurred. As he was going out of the door, the owner, whom he thought he had destroyed by fire, met him very much alive and in perfect trim. Sam was intensely taken aback at this and felt a little afraid. But before he could place himself in an attitude of defense, Mr. Marten seized him and in his turn knocked him down by the fireside. He rolled him over and over into the very heart of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One must pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the mistress placed herself by my side. I listened carefully all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen.

539
825
789

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

538 then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the
825 tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought
789 and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of men waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
825
776
782
778

and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in various places.

"Thanks to this, I have become a new creature, strong and well, and big. And I have become his guardian angel. When I look down from above and see this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come. 539 825

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening. [754]

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous [754 789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
789 the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like serving-men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

KUTRI'
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 436 (A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LVI

A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY

Kutri of Crag-top was the most handsome man in his district and was highly regarded by all. He had lovely locks of fine wavy black hair and a delightful beard. He was as strong as a bear in his prime, and as bold, and he knew not what fear was. He was as swift of foot as a deer, as clever as a wily fox, as keen-sighted as a hawk, and as quick and sure in his movements as a weasel pursuing his prey. He never returned from the hunt empty-handed and was never known to miss a fish with his hook or spear. His club for killing salmon sounded three times to any other man's once. In shooting, his aim was so true that his arrows invariably hit the mark, and he, above all others, knew how to track animals in the forest. He could wind the instrument for decoying deer so well that when he blew it, the sound he made was so sharp and clear as to be indistinguishable from the call of a doe for its young, the cry of the young for its mother, or a signal of distress or alarm. He was wonderful! The man was like a demi-god among his fellows. He was also very eloquent of speech; he could roar like thunder when he was angry, and when at peace his voice was like the rippling of a gentle stream of water running among the pebbles in its course. No one could stand before him. He was the pride and hope of his race, and good-tempered and humble withal. The maidens delighted in him and all the young men envied him; for, did not everyone praise him? and did not the chiefs and elders of the people extol his virtues?

539
831
181

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 181 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 831 584 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
831
516
584

KUTRI AND YAI-MAII COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and 539
handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing 831
each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous 584
fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath [431] as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objec- [582] tions to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
531
584

himself was just as obdurate. His aversion to that one-eyed, unlovable damsel was fixed and absolute. There was consequently much unhappiness in his home where bickerings and quarrels were the order of the day.

Yai-mah also had been betrothed when a baby to another child in a village some distance away, Wenku by name, and when she was told that the early betrothal could not be broken off, she wept bitterly and began to pine away. Her proposed husband was a very poor, ill-formed, and fiery-tempered man, and as jealous as jealous could be. He was greatly feared by all and not the least so by Yai-mah herself. This man could neither hunt nor fish, and the very dogs everywhere shunned him. Moreover, as he had a partly withered arm, he was unable to shoot with the bow. He was a worthless drag on his family and the people of the village scorned him. His scowl would shame the worst of demons. Yai-mah had not a particle of love for him and declared she would rather die than become his bride. When he heard this and also that she desired to wed Kutri, he became more jealous than ever, if that were possible, and as fierce as an enraged and hungry man-eater bear. And poor Yai-mah had much trouble and shed many bitter tears. It was indeed a very unhappy state of affairs.

Neither could forget their love for the other, nor, indeed, had they a wish to do so. And so they felt they must meet again. They came together one evening and settled to flee away secretly by night, and go to live by themselves among the mountains, far away from their people. They appointed a place to which each should by stealth carry some necessaries, a few at a time, so as to attract no attention from prying eyes, and hide them carefully away against the hour of departure. Yai-mah took her best embroidered dress, her waist-band, which was ornamented with

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 440(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831
584
[301
415]

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

[411]

539
831
583

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ment was delightful to hear. They were overjoyed to find that when busy preparing to set off on their journey together, each had been so filled with thought for the other in little things.

When all was ready and the night of departure had arrived, they came quietly to the rendezvous, each followed by a fine hunting dog as companion. These faithful creatures seemed quite to understand what was on foot, for when their master and mistress took up their bundles and silently moved off towards the mountains they placed themselves in front and trotted on a little ahead, as though to show them the way. Then came the man, with Yai-mah, being a woman, behind. On they went tramping along for twice six days, camping each night in some secluded nook near water. When they started each morning, Kutri's dog alone went ahead, while that of Yai-mah followed close behind its mistress as though to prevent a surprise from the rear. The dogs seemed to know that there might be danger. On the evening of the twelfth day they came to a beautiful glade, in the midst of which there was a lovely tarn, the clear blue waters of which rippled with the movements of trout as they sported on the surface. The land round the tarn was a plain covered with most luxuriant green grass, in which were two big companies of fat deer peacefully feeding. One was a herd of fine bucks, and the other consisted of does with their fawns. Not far off were other small lakes, on which could be seen many geese and wild ducks resting quietly. All appeared to be most gentle and tame. In the light of the setting sun it was like the kingdom of the gods. It was grand beyond description, and there, right under a big elm-tree, which would yield fine bast for weaving into cloth, they determined to build their house and make it their permanent abode.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

They laid themselves down under a tree and slept 539
there the first night, in the open. The twinkling stars 831
came out one by one, and the silver moon, climbing 583
up into the heavens, made the shadows of the forest trees behind them move like living beings as it coursed its way across the skies.

Pau, pau, called the foxes in the distance, and the cries of the night birds, as they flitted overhead just above the trees, were loud and constant. Yet they heard them not. The pine-martens came out of their holes and watched the sleepers with their sparkling, saucy eyes, but they saw them not. A fine fat buck unsuspiciously approaching the place where they lay, soon scented them. He sniffed, stamped his foot on the ground, whistled, and bounded off to report to his family. But Kutri was quite unaware of it. A bear roared not far away but Yai-mah slept in peace. The winds whispered in the tree tops and made a rustling among the leaves of the elms. A moonbeam rested peacefully on Yai-mah's smiling upturned face and softened it by adding to its divine beauty, while Kutri lay with his head pillowed on his arm, snoring with a pleasing rhythmic measure. It was a heavenly sight!

The night passed and at early dawn they awoke to a new day amid the whistling of the striped and red squirrels as they scudded about the tree trunks and branches, and the whirring of the tree-grouse and quails as they rose and flew away. The insolent jay alone seemed to scream defiance. The drumming of woodcocks and the quack of the ducks, together with the song of the skylark, were delightful to hear. It was splendid!

They did not hear the hoot of the owl, and little did they dream of the tragedy which was to follow. And so they abode in a fancied security. But alas, a sad end was soon to come to this peace!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

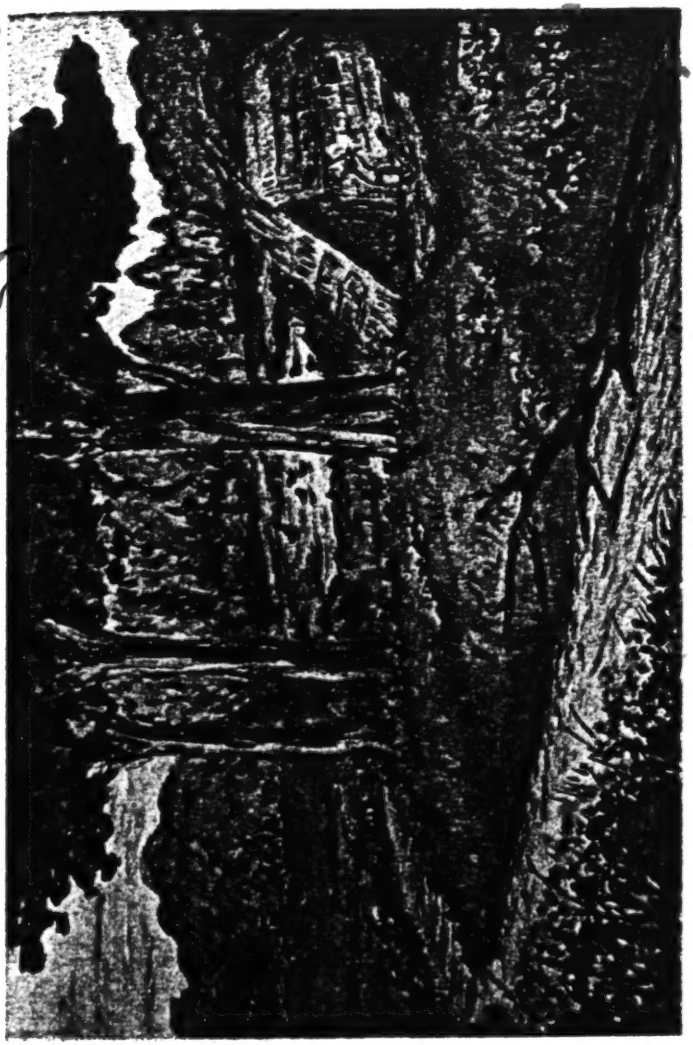
337
331
578

Now when the flight of the lovers became known, Wenku of the withered arm and Ara-shik of the weak eye raged like demons and vowed dire vengeance. Cunning as an evil, bewitching fox, Wenku called in the shamans and asked them to divine the whereabouts of the couple. Thus did they think to gain knowledge of them and so pursue and find them. But neither by their séances nor divinations could they prevail. The secret was well kept, for the guardian angels of Kutri and Yai-mah were too mighty for them and hid them from view. So after a time they ceased their incantations and let them go. It is true they nearly succeeded, for the two dogs showed much uneasiness and distress for a day or two. They felt the influence of the shamans. But soon they quieted down again and peace reigned around. Yet the enemy would not rest. Their anger burned like fire. The rage of Wenku resembled that of a big wounded she-bear just robbed of her cubs; his fury was like a mighty torrent rushing madly down a narrow gully, or like a roaring wind tearing over the high mountain ranges. Vengeance he would have, said he, even though it cost him his life. So mad, so jealous was he.

Now Wenku had two male friends who were his relations, and they were evil like himself. These, together with Ara-shik, the woman of the one weak eye, conspired together to find out and follow up the tracks of the pair to the very end, and there slay Kutri and bring back Yai-mah to her village. Here Wenku swore to marry her before them all, according to the promise made for him and her during their childhood. Out of a new-born hatred, Ara-shik agreed to the murder of her affianced Kutri. To such lengths did her jealousy carry her. They set out on their quest, and after three months' continual searching discovered their retreat. Oh, the fiends! They carefully hid themselves in the undergrowth by the glade and watched,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
531
342



THE HOME OF KUTKI AND YAIMAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.444]A

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

waiting for an opportunity to accomplish their wicked end. The two faithful dogs scented danger and gave warning to their master and mistress. They kept close watch over them night and day. Thenceforth neither Kutri nor Yai-mah ever wandered far from the lake. Instead of wood, they burned dried grass and rushes for cooking their food. There was no need for them to go many yards from their tiny house, for at their very door they were able to catch all the trout they needed for themselves and their dogs. Moreover, deer could be shot at any time from their window, and the lake water was good for drinking purposes. So, too, there were plenty of tubers close to their walls. It was a lovely and ideal spot. They felt secure at home, for the enemy could not approach because of the dogs. Wenku and his companions were all great skulking cowards, while Kutri was brave as a bear and a fine shot with his bow. All knew that he never missed his mark. Yet their danger was very great. Several times did the fiends attempt to approach the lodge, but the brave dogs never once allowed them to come within bowshot of the place.

539
831
578

Meanwhile Wenku and his friends were all well hidden, waiting for a chance to wreak vengeance. One day Kutri wandered, quite unarmed, nearer to the forest than usual. He was thinking deeply and did not notice that he had gone so far from his home, and the dogs gave no warning. Then it was that one of the wicked men shot a poisoned arrow at him which struck him just above his shoulder. In haste he returned to his hut and told Yai-mah what had happened. Thereupon she fell upon his neck with tears in her eyes and a great catching of her breath. She also had a big lump in her throat. Bravely did she, at the bidding of her husband, draw her knife—the very knife he had given her when they first met—from its sheath, so beautifully carved by Kutri, and at his command cut

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful
331 daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to
578 suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[162] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

angered by the sight. There was no pity in their hearts. Wenku in his rage gave a fierce kick to Yai-mah's side, when, lo, the poisoned arrow-head she had drawn from his stricken neck, and which she had cast upon the floor, stuck into his foot. He did not at first notice what it was, for his fit of passion had partially numbed his senses. Soon a tingling sensation was felt by him, and then pain like burning. He looked down and found the arrow-head sticking into his foot. He began to fear, and all worked to save him. But he quickly died, so that his fiendlike spirit went off with a roar to Gehenna. The groan he gave when he died was like that of a mighty dying bear in his death struggles. Long did it echo among the hills.

539.
831
578

Ara-shik, the weak-eyed woman, then suggested that the hut be burnt down as it stood, to destroy the dead bodies completely. Her male companions agreed at once and did so. All was entirely consumed. But what of the dogs? They were nowhere to be seen. They had escaped. Having burnt all up, Ara-shik and her friends set off towards their distant homes. They had not gone far, however, before those two faithful dogs, which had been lying in wait for them, pounced out from behind a tree and severely bit them about the legs and arms. Soon the wounds began to swell and become inflamed. They burned like fire so that they could hardly walk. A fever began to consume their whole bodies. Day after day as they struggled on they got worse and worse and quarrelled with one another. They snarled, and scratched, and even began to bite one another. Long before they could reach their homes they died in agonies, foaming at the mouth and barking like dogs. They had been visited by "dog-punishment." They went off one after the other to Gehenna, whining like curs. There they must abide with the demons for ever and ever, in raging jealousy and madness. Their bodies were left to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 foxes and to rot in the forest, for there was no one to
831 bury them. But in the place of the dead they will
578 always see, far away, Kutri and Yai-mah living in joy and peace, and this will add greatly to their punishment.

When all was over the two faithful dogs returned to their old homes, and thus did the people learn that Kutri and Yai-mah were no more, and that their enemies had met with the punishment they deserved.

THE END

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF REGENTS

OF THE

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,

SHOWING

THE OPERATIONS, EXPENDITURES, AND CONDITION
OF THE INSTITUTION

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1890.

REPORT

OF THE

U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM.

[Title Page]

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1891.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, 131
stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Iturup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 33° 45′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nautical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 85,000

133

132 134

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

600 bushels) and of other grains, wheat, barley, and rye, 15,369 koku (79,00
bushels). These quantities are quite insufficient to sustain the popula
tion, which draws its principal supplies from the main island of Japan

137 The island is well wooded. The spruce, chestnut, walnut, mountai
ash, beech, birch, elm, maples, and pines are the most common trees
The maples in the north belong to the large-leaved variety, and are no
the same as those of the main island of Japan, the leaves of which are
very small. In many parts there is a thick, almost impenetrable under
growth of scrub bamboo, scarcely exceeding 3 to 4 feet in height, bu
very unpleasant for the traveler. In the forests, one passes through
mile after mile of this luxuriant growth, along narrow trails which can
be followed only by an almost imperceptible depression in the general
level of the green tops.

102
103

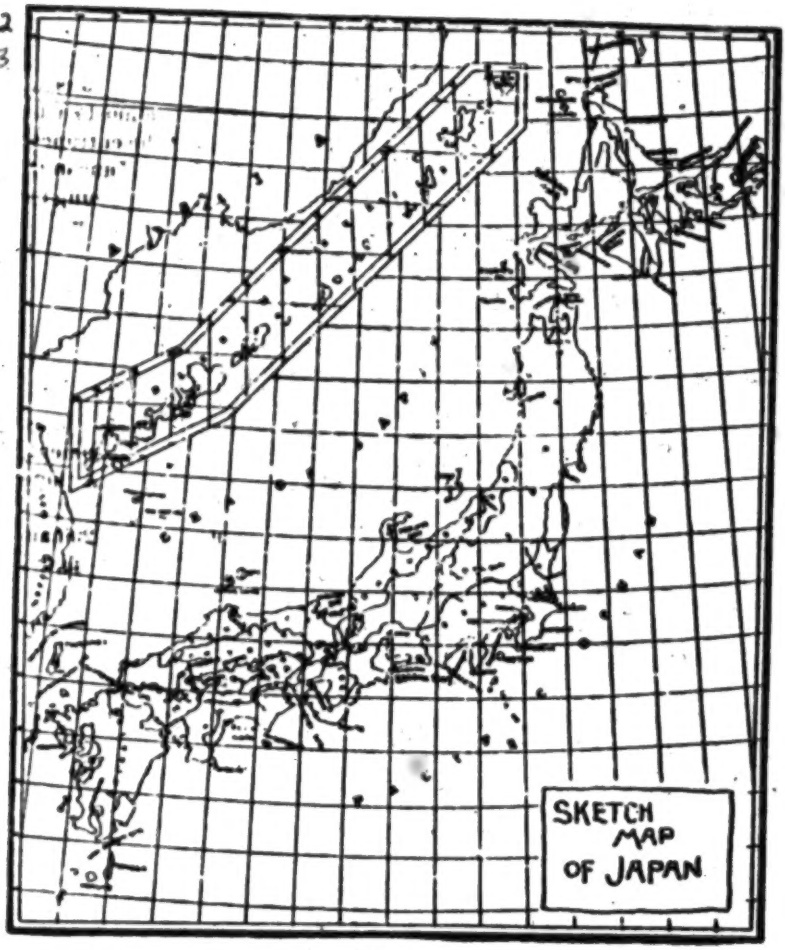


Fig. 68.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	*Koku.**	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5,[illegible],480	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110,[illegible],265	Do.
Bucha de mer, *Iriko*	1,[illegible],580	187,311 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, *Kombu*	186,373,249	29,050,587 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4,773,040	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572,374,301	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15,511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostricta*)	22,[illegible],300	Do.
Other kinds	14,[illegible],711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7,[illegible],005	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	[illegible],000	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

101 bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are
101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church
114 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the peo-
[776] ple, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown
172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi-
174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the
177 archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, 177
if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and im- [174]
proving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close conti-
guity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must con-
fess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close
contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and other-
wise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It
is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore,
and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them use-
ful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese
swords and curios, which have been handed down from past genera-
tions. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements
and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century
since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not
passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two 177
distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, 648
working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermar-
rying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct
in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though
they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned
to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had
to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is
a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together,
when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one
by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with
the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to
extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a 174
reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that 103
they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only
a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the
evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful
philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably
carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese
characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without
the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings
which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For
example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The
reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of
this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very
misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names
illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino deri-
vations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174
103

Place-names.	Japanese.	Aino.
Ina	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Izumo	Issuing clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Name tree	Stream.
Nabari	Name flat	The cliff by the stream.
Sabo	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	do	The grassy plain.
Tazabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Hares in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows [131] them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic 174 period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of [51] the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *kiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

lers, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioei*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people. 174

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows: 174 172

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

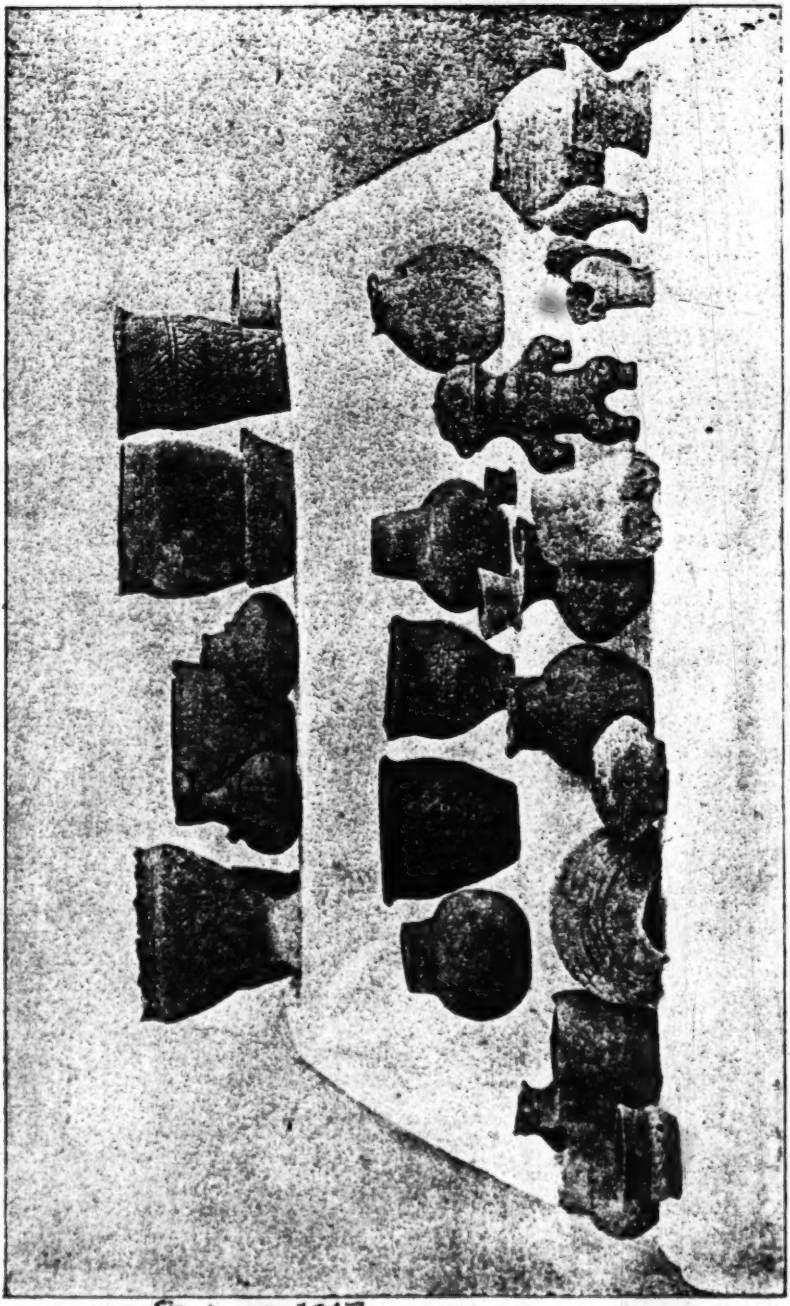
(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai. [175]

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-87.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
323
172
531



ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels.

I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the 123
saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which 175
tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. 162
John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,554	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain 114
definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously 361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors 103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitakai	14	.....	.....	56
Shibetsu	.....	20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri	.....	14	8	22
Kitami Machi	.....	21	18	39
Noyori	.....	7	4	11
Notori	.....	3	6	9
Nikuribaki	.....	6	6	12
Mukudo	.....	5	7	12
Naiyori	.....	7	6	13
Tombetsu	.....	6	6	12
Miboro	.....	15	11	26
Kakumi	.....	5	4	9
Dapi	.....	9	8	17
Ponkigin	.....	5	4	9
Kimitambi	.....	9	9	18
Furumi	.....	9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakecho	.....	2	5	7
Matsubacho	.....	61	55	116
Homtomura	.....	2	.....	2
Shinriowa	.....	12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

162
361
103

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obetankewashi	9	18	13	31
Aiushi	2	2	4	6
Ouanu	4	6	6	12
Tafukarai	30	54	41	95
Tobutsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashiba	10	22	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashiba	4	7	7	14
Ponbetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirotti	22	24	27	51
Betti	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Fushikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Momurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urakorept	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Herofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	40	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154	540	580	1,120
Mitsuishi	67	194	191	385
Shidzunai	274	774	891	1,669
Nikap	136	321	307	628
Saru:				
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	152
Shinukotsu	28	55	68	123
——?	22	36	49	85
Piratori	61	103	104	207
——?	31	77	88	165
? Niei	37	80	92	172
? Ogashirunaye	12	28	27	55
? Horonai	29	69	71	140
? Kankibetsu	10	28	20	48
Monbetsu	29	73	53	126
——?	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	55	68	123
Harabetsu	19	43	54	97
——?	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidzumi	23	27	28	55
IBURI.				
Tsufutsu	240	499	521	1,020
Shiraoi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Saghalin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

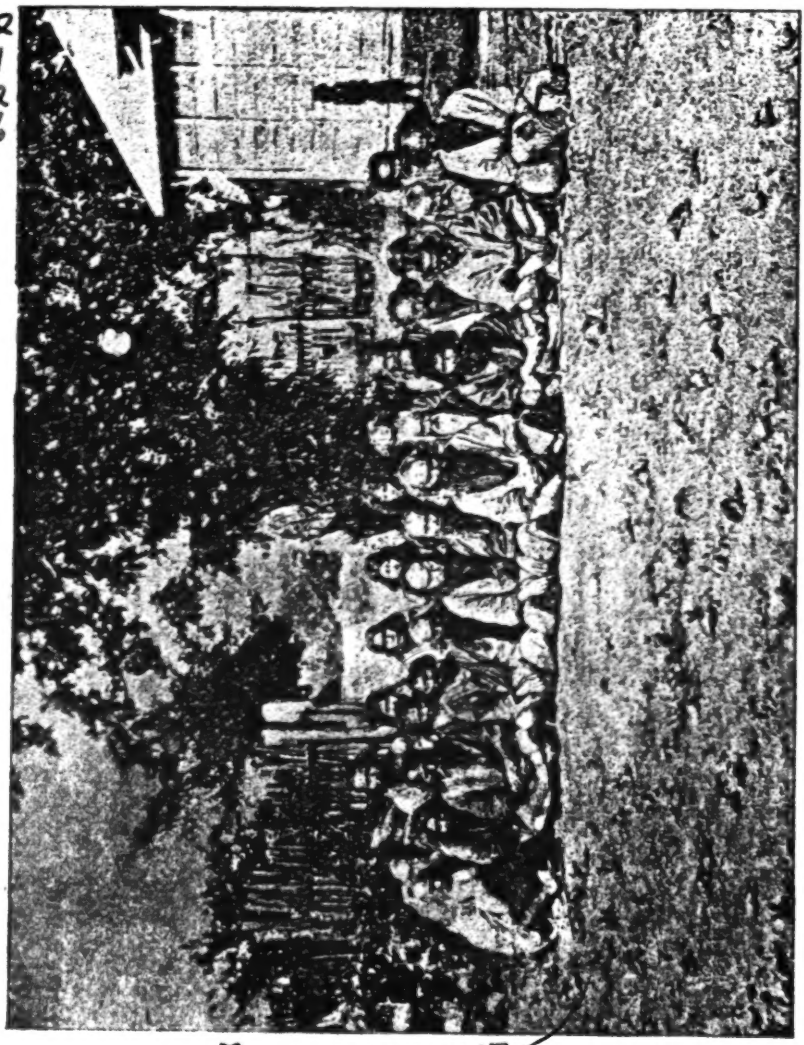
The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

14-2
291
302
516



TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

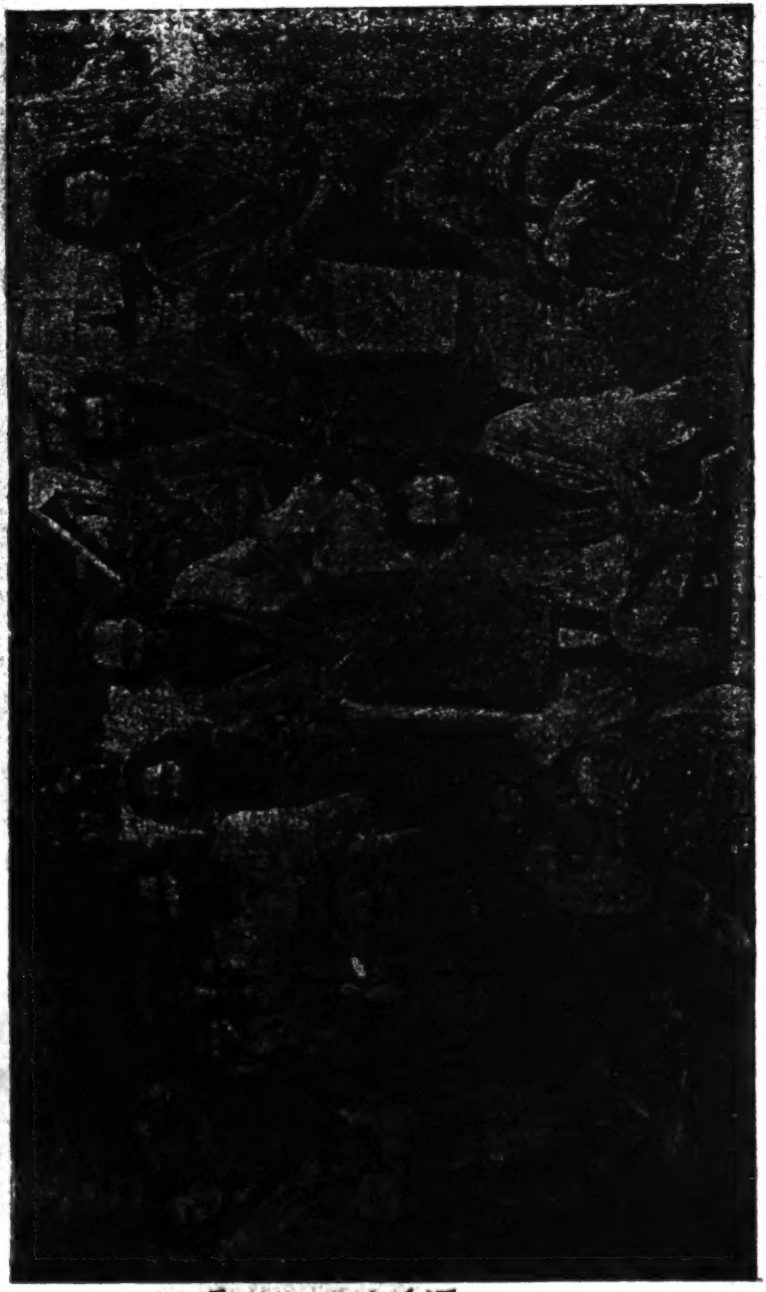
N-2
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516



GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.

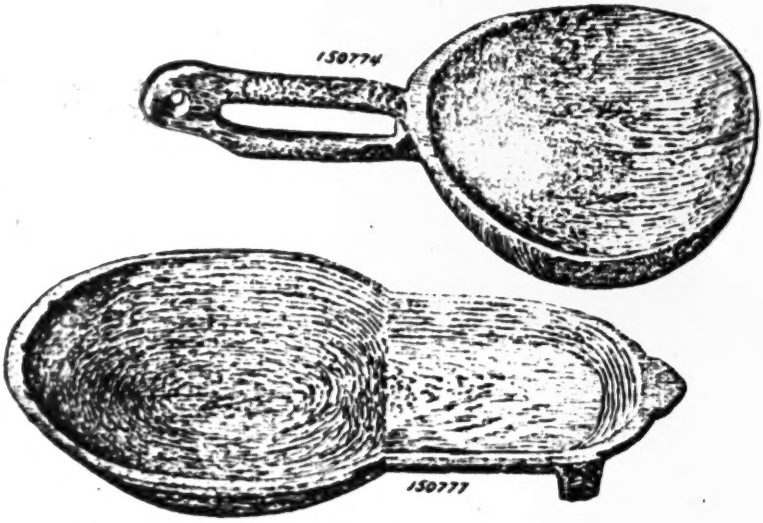


Fig. 68.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 this is gradually extended until a more or less broad band surrounds the mouth and perhaps extends in a tapering curve on both cheeks toward the ears. The arms also are tattooed in various patterns. [437] The tattoo marks are made by cross-hatching the skin with knives, which they get from the Japanese. Into the cuts thus made the soot of burning birch (*kaba*) bark is rubbed, which is collected on the bottom of a dish held over the fire. The color of the marks thus made is distinctly bluish, and for this reason it does not show so conspicuously in photographs as it appears to the eye. The width and extent of the tattoo marks, as well as the depth of the color, is different in various parts of Yezo. In the north it is a narrow band on both lips, not very conspicuous, as shown in the picture of two young women of Tokoro, Plate XCII. At Ohotsu, on the southeast coast, the bands are wider, but not much extended on either side of the mouth, and the color is almost black. This pattern is seen also about Urap (Pls. XC and XCIII.) In other localities the band is very broad and well extended towards the ears, as shown in Plate XCIV, but in this case the color is in wavy lines and not deep.

On the road from Tamakomai to Sapporo I met two women with vertical tattoo marks on the forehead between the eyes. This observation was only casual and therefore not entirely satisfactory, for I supposed it would be possible to further verify it by visiting some of the villages in that region. This I was unable to do. But the practice of tattooing the forehead has been noted by other observers. Mr. Batchelor has casually mentioned that the Aino women "in some cases tattoo their foreheads." This, as well as an allusion to the fact by Dr. Scheube, confirms my own observation. Prof. H. E. Stockbridge, with whom I have since spoken on the subject, informs me that he has frequently noticed this form of tattooing, and that it seems to be most common along the west coast.

The tattoo marks on the arm are best shown in Plate XCV, which represents an old woman of Tokoro. The patterns vary greatly in [438] different cases, but they all have the same general character of alternating horizontal lines and crossed lines.

The origin and significance of tattooing among the Ainos is obscure. It seems to be merely an inherited custom without any recognized object.

STAGE OF CULTURE.

Probably few who read these lines have ever seen the lower stages of human savagery and barbarism, still less have they an adequate conception of the physical and moral condition, or of the manner of life, which characterizes the lower types of human existence. The American Indian is a picturesque character as we think of him roaming over plains and through forests, hunting the buffalo and other wild animals, sleeping peacefully in his wigwam, and enjoying the fruits of a luxuriant soil. But come nearer, and we find that the hunt is for

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
53.

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (442)

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

#2
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

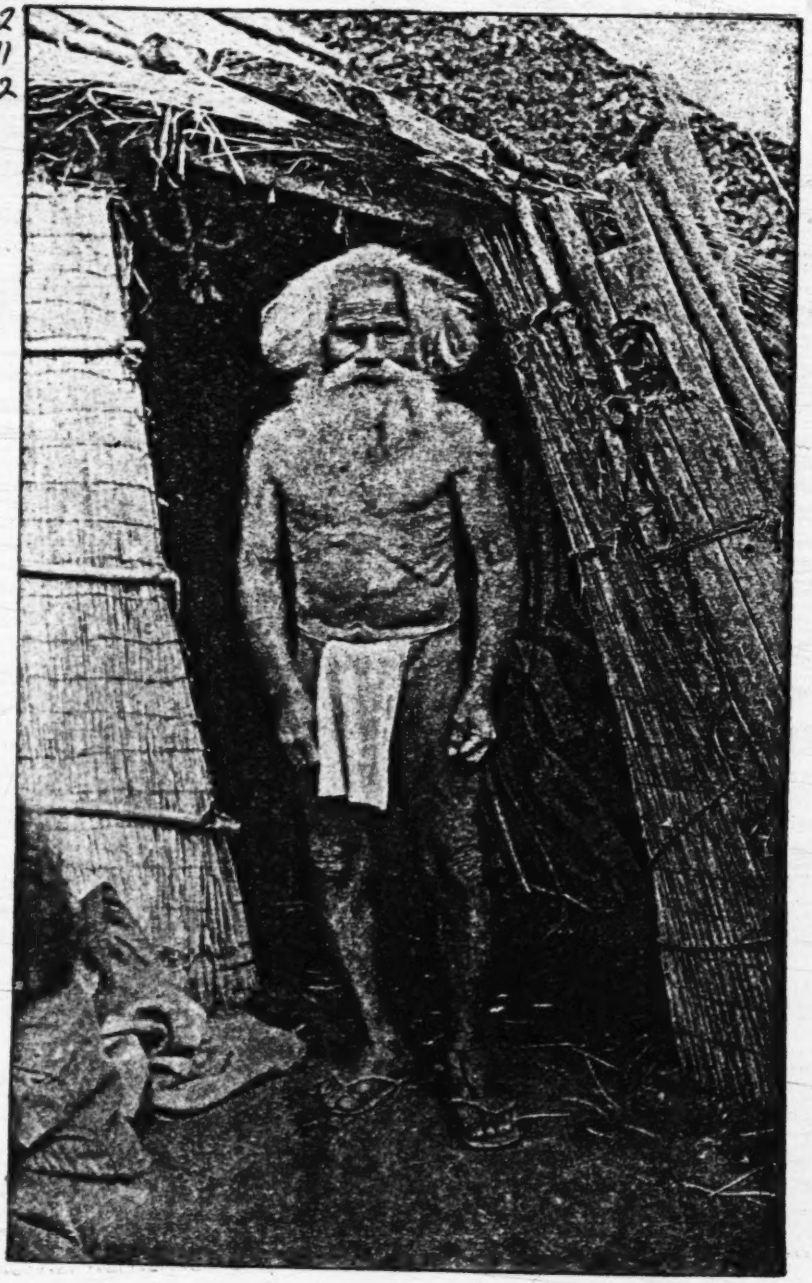
142
302
291
56

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Aino AB6

142
291
342



OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302

AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

442
291
551
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

144 microscopical investigations. He found that the hair of the head was coarse, slightly curved, and of a pure black color. The hairs are not so numerous over a given area of the head as on Japanese or Europeans. On 1 square centimetre 214 hairs were counted. On a Japanese with rather fine hair he found 286; on another with coarser hair, 252; on a fine-haired German, 280; on another with coarser hair, 272.*

Nevertheless, the volume of hair on the Ainos is not small, since this depends both upon the number and the size of the hairs. The Aino hair is oval in section, and the greatest diameter is from 0.1 to 0.125 millimetres. The measurements were made by securing single hairs in a cylinder of wood and by turning this about, measuring the diameters with a microscope. The following measurements are given:

Aino No. 1	One large hair ...	0.078	0.125
Aino No. 2.....	One hair	0.090	0.106
Aino No. 3.....	....do	0.095	0.127
Aino No. 4.....	....do	0.085	0.127
	....do	0.093	0.138
	....do	0.090	0.140
Aino No. 5.....	....do	0.067	0.106
	....do	0.079	0.111
	....do	0.079	0.111

The flattening is in proportion of 2 to 3. According to the same authority the hair of the upper body is principally about the middle of the breast and on the line below. The breast hairs were 6 millimetres in length, about twenty-four on a square centimetre. They measured 0.106 by 0.069 millimetres in diameter.

In addition to these observations, Mr. John Aspinwall has examined several specimens of hair which I obtained—not without evident misgivings on the part of the people—from the Ainos at Piratori. Mr. Aspinwall's measurements have been numerous, and his results are given here in considerable detail.

[126]

REPORT OF MR. JOHN ASPINWALL.

In accordance with your request, I have made a microscopical examination of the five samples of Aino hair collected by you. Two objects were kept in mind in this examination: First, I wished to obtain a true cross-section; second, To discover the true relation of the plane of natural curvature of the hair to the figure of the cross-section.

To obtain the first, it seemed necessary that no more pressure should be given to the hair than that exerted by the knife of the microtome in cutting. This was accomplished by splitting a cork, placing the hair upon it with its plane of natural curvature parallel to the cut, partially embedding it in a gelatine-glycerine mass, and then laying the other half of the cork gently on the hairs without disturbing them. The cork with the inclosed hairs was immersed in alcohol as soon as the imbedding mass had set, and there allowed to remain until the mass was hardened

* It has been found by Dr. Wilson that the number of hairs per square inch upon the head of a fairly healthy person is 1,066, which gives for the entire head the number 127,920. Some persons have as many as 150,000 hairs on the head.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

sufficiently for cutting. The cork here acted as a backing to the imbedding mass while the hairs were held in place for mounting. In clamping in the microtome, care was taken to clamp far enough below the cutting plane to avoid pressure on the hair at the cutting point. In this manner I believe a true cross-section was obtained, as shown in my photographs of the sections. 141

A different mode of treatment seemed to be necessary to obtain the true relation of the plane of curvature to the form of the cross-section. If sections of the hair were made by the above method, the relation of the curve to the shape of the section would only be obtained at the point of cutting. This would be sufficient if the relation were constant, but if the relation varied in the same hair, it would not be shown by such a method. I therefore resorted to the examination of a single hair in which the natural curve had evidently been preserved. The hair was cut with sharp scissors as nearly at right angles to the axis as possible. The hair being placed in the stage-forceps, the surface of the cut was brought into focus and measured with an eye-piece micrometer. It was cut again, both across the long axis and then across the short axis. Under this treatment the oval sections did not vary sensibly in character, and the lengths of the axes were not affected to any extent by the direction of the cuts. This was done to a number of hairs until I was convinced that the direction of the cut would not perceptibly alter the shape of the section or the direction of the long axis. After this all hairs were cut in one direction, and I think the tables given prove that the mode of cutting gave true results.

It will be seen by the tables that the plane of curvature, in its relation to the longest diameter of the section, as well as the shape of the cross-section itself, varies, in many instances in the same hair, both with man and woman. My observations in this direction were limited to three of the samples of hair sent, because they were the only ones that had been cut off sharp in a lock. The other samples were not in a condition to show the natural curvature. These latter samples I carefully cut with the scissors in three places, viz, at the butt, middle, and end. These faces were carefully measured with the results given in the tables. The scissors seemed to crack the hairs across, leaving a clean surface capable of being accurately measured.

AINO HAIR.

Specimen No. 1.

[Measurements in millimetres made from sections.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Figure of the cross-section.
1.....	.113	.0756	Oval.
2.....	.1235	.103	Do.
3.....	.1063	.069	Do.
4.....	.1063	.0706	Do.
5.....	.0882	.0617	Round (irregular).
6.....	.0884	.0411	Oval.
7.....	.079	.0706	Round (approximately).
8.....	.0882	.079	Oval.
9.....	.1046	.0723	Oval (approximately).
10.....	.1063	.0617	Oval.
11.....	.0884	.079	Do.
12.....	.103	.0882	Do.
13.....	.0723	.0650	Round (approximately).
14.....	.0756	.069	Do.
15.....	.0317	.0477	Do.
16.....	.079	.0583	Oval.

Average of long axes ..... .0[illegible]
Average of short axes ..... .07[illegible]
Or nearly related as 1 to 1½.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Specimen marked No. 3. Aino hair from man named Benri.

[The measurements read downward, i. e., the first is at butt of hair, the second near the middle, and the third near the end. Measurements are in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of the section.
1	.1475	.132	White	Oval.
	.168	.09		Do.
	.132	.0855		Do.
2	.132	.1	Black	Not noted.
	.168	.1		
	.132	.0855		
3	.115	.082	do	Oval.
	.132	.1		Approximate triangle.
	.15	.05		Oval.
4	.082	.082	do	Round.
	.1	.0855		Oval.
	.082	.03		Do.
5	.1155	.115	White	Approximate round.
	.168	.082		Approximate oval.
	.1685	.082		Oval.
6	.132	.1	do	Do.
	.168	.1		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
7	.132	.1	do	Do.
	.132	.115		Triangle.
	.1	.0855		Oval.
8	.15	.082	do	Do.
	.198	.1		Do.
	.168	.115		Do.
9	.1	.082	Black	Approximate oval.
	.1	.082		Do.
	.115	.082		Do.
10	.168	.1	White	Do.
	.15	.115		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
11	.082	.0856	Black	Approximate round.
	.115	.068		Oval.
	.082	.03		Do.
12	.082	.0855	do	Do.
	.1	.0855		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
13	.1	.082	do	Approximate oval.
	.1	.082		Do.
	.1	.0885		Oval.
14	.1	.082	do	Do.
	.115	.0855		Do.
	.0855	.038		Do.
15	.1	.082	do	Approximately round.
	.132	.082		Oval.
	.082	.03		Do.
16	.082	.082	do	Approximately round.
	.115	.0855		Oval.
	.082	.038		Do.
17	.1	.09	do	Approximately oval.
	.1	.068		Oval.
	.082	.032		Do.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Specimen marked No. 3. Aino hair from man named Henri—Continued.

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of the section.
18...	.1	.082	Black...	Oval.
	.1	.0655		Do.
	.082	.03		Do.
19...	.168	.082	White ..	Do.
	.15	.09		Do.
	.1	.0655		Do.
20..	.115	.09	...do	Do.
	.168	.082		Do.
	.082	.05		Do.
21...	.132	.09	...do	Approximately oval.
	.183	.09		Oval.
	.1	.0655		Do.

AINO HAIR—MAN.

Specimen marked No. 4.

[This specimen was cut from the person and its hairs were full length, nor had they a root end. Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of cross-section and remarks.
1...	.118	.09	Black...	Oval.
	.125	.09		Do.
	.125	.09		Do.
2...	.125	.082	..do	Do.
	.125	.082		Do.
	.168	.082		Do.
3...	.14	.1	..do	Egg.
	.132	.09		Oval (approx.).
	.14	.09		Do.
4...	.115	.09	..do	Do.
	.115	.1		Oval.
	.125	.09		Do.
5...	.14	.09	..do	Do.
	.14	.09		Do.
	.0735	.0655		Do.
6...	.168	.09	..do	Oval (approx.).
	.1	.082		Do.
	.168	.0735		Oval.
7...	.09	.0655	...do	Do.
	.0735	.0655		Do.
	.0655	.038		Do.
8...	.14	.09	...do	Do.
	.14	.09		Oval (approx.).
	.183	.09		Oval.
9...	.1	.0655	...do	Do.
	.09	.0735		Do.
	.0735	.038		Do.
10...	.125	.09	.. do	Do.
	.14	.09		Do.
	.125	.1		Egg.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

14

AINO HAIR.—WOMAN.

Specimen marked No. 5.

[These hairs were full length, with root attached. Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of cross-section.
1	.108	.09	Black	Oval.
	.108	.082		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
				Do.
2	.108	.082	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.125	.09		Do.
				Do.
3	.1	.09	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
				Do.
4	.108	.09	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.104	.09		Do.
				Do.
5	.108	.09	do	Do.
	.125	.0735		Do.
	.09	.058		Do.
				Do.
6	.09	.082	do	Do.
	.108	.082		Do.
	.09	.082		Do.
				Do.
7	.09	.09	do	Round (approx.).
	.108	.09		Oval.
	.09	.09		Round (approx.).
8	.125	.082	do	Oval.
	.115	.09		Do.
	.082	.058		Do.
9	.108	.0735	do	Do.
	.108	.0735		Do.
	.108	.09		Egg.
10	.108	.09	do	Oval.*
	.108	.082		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.

* Note that this hair is of same dimension as No. 1 in this specimen.

AINO HAIR—SPECIMEN NO 1.

Table showing relation of plane of natural curvature to the axes of the cross-section.

No. of hair.	Ratio of length of long axis to that of short axis.	Direction of plane of natural curvature.	Remarks.
1	4 to 2½	Short axis	Oval section.
2	7 to 5	do	Do.
3	8 to 4	do	Do.
4	3 to 2½	do	Do.
5	7 to 4½	Long axis at outer end, short axis at other.	Large, stiff, well curved hair, oval.
6	4 to 3 3 to 2½	At butt, short axis; at end, same.	Oval section.
7	Not noted	Butt, midway; end, long axis.	Do.
8	do	Butt, midway; end, short axis.	Do.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINO HAIR—SPECIMEN NO. 1—Continued.

Table showing relation of plane of natural curvature to the axes of the cross-section—Cont'd. 144

No. of hair.	Ratio of length of long axis to that of short axis.	Direction of plane of natural curvature.	Remarks.
9	Not noted.....	Butt, long axis; end, midway.	Oval section.
10	5 to 3	Butt, short axis; end, short axis.	Do.
11	4 to 2	Butt, long axis; end, short axis.	Do.
12	Butt 3¼ by 2¾, end 4¼ by 2¼.	Butt, short axis; end, long axis.	Do.
13	4 by 2¼.....	Butt, midway; end, long axis.	Do.

SPECIMEN NO. 2.

1	7 to 4	Short axis	Oval section.
2	8 to 5½	...do	Do.
3	9 to 4½	....do	Do.
4	6½ to 4	Long axis.....	Do.
5	7 to 5	Short axis	Do.
6	8 to 5	Long axis	Do.

NOTE.—The table readily shows that the relation of the plane of natural curvature to either one of the axes of the cross-section, varies in different hairs, as well as at different points in the same hair.

AVERAGE OF ALL MEASUREMENTS MADE.

[Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of specimen.	Average of measurements at root end.		Average of measurements at middle.		Average of measurements at end.		No. of hairs measured.
	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	
3.....	.114	.0837	.136	.0746	.105	.0571	21
4.....	.1198	.0852	.12	.0853	.11265	.0777	10
5.....	.1053	.0850	.1104	.0841	.1016	.0828	10
Average..	.1'3	.0843	.1221	.0808	.1064	.0725	41
Average of all measurements of long diameter.....							.1138
Average of all measurements of short diameter							.0827
Nearly related as 1 to 1½.							

Figures of the various sections: Oval, 95 sections; approximate oval, 14; round, 1; approximate round, 6; egg, 2; triangular, 1; approximate triangular, 1.

NOTE.—The same hair sometimes represented different figures at the three points where sections were made; for instance, hair No. 5, of specimen No. 3, was approximately round at butt, irregular oval in middle, and oval at the end. It may be noted that in specimen No. 3 we have the greatest average length for the long axes and the shortest average length for the short axis of the figures of the cross-section. Also note the evenness of the average length of short axes of specimens No. 4 and No. 5, the variations being but .0082 millimetres while the long axes varied .0161 millimetres in the same specimens.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

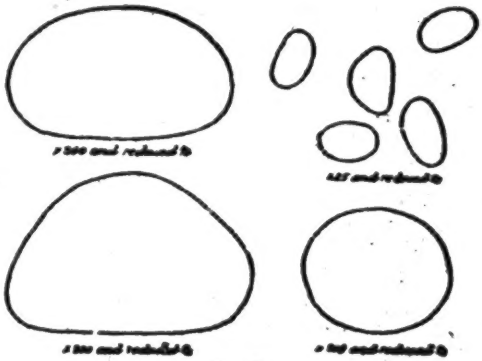


Fig. 70.

OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.

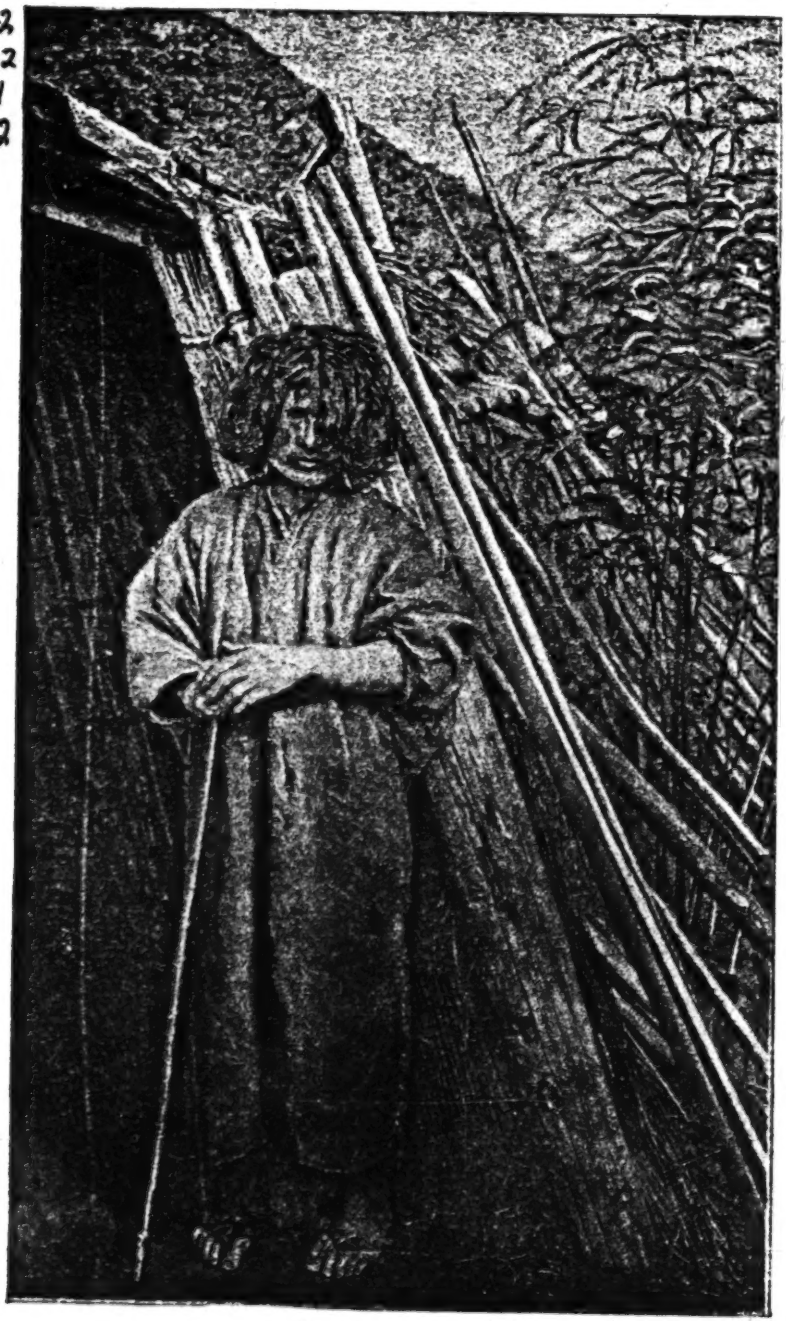
(From photographs.)

This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
342

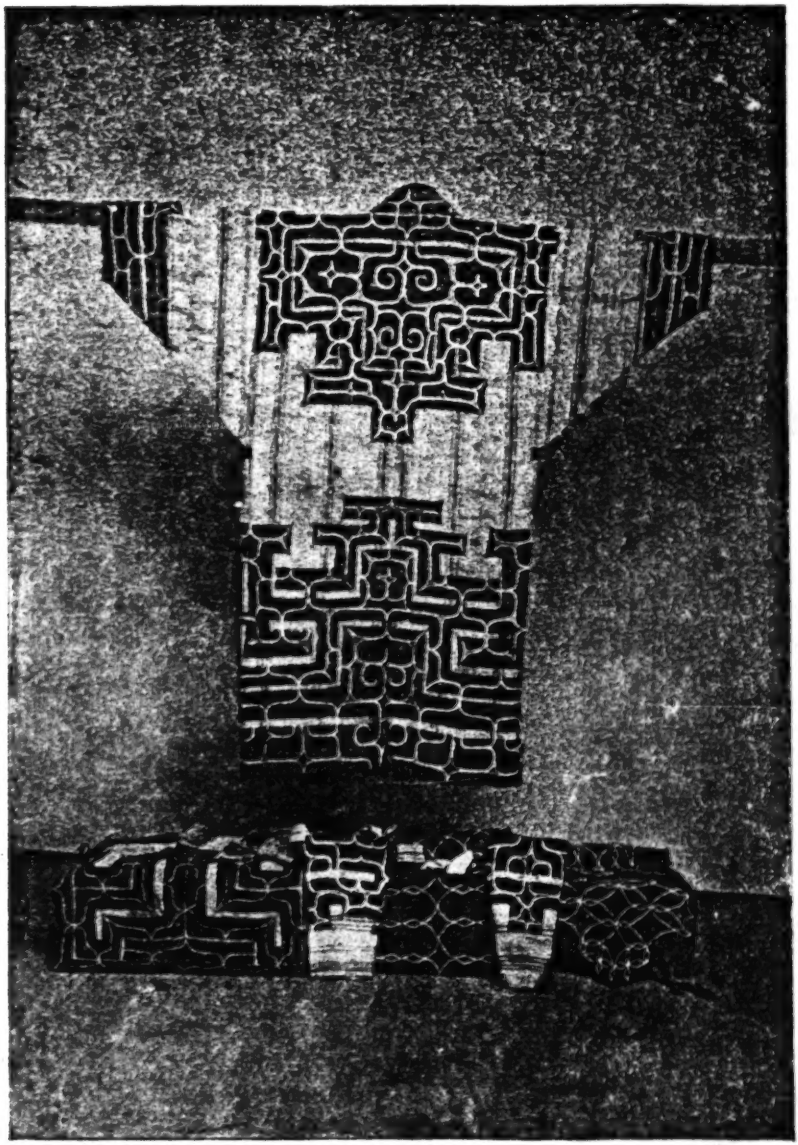


OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531

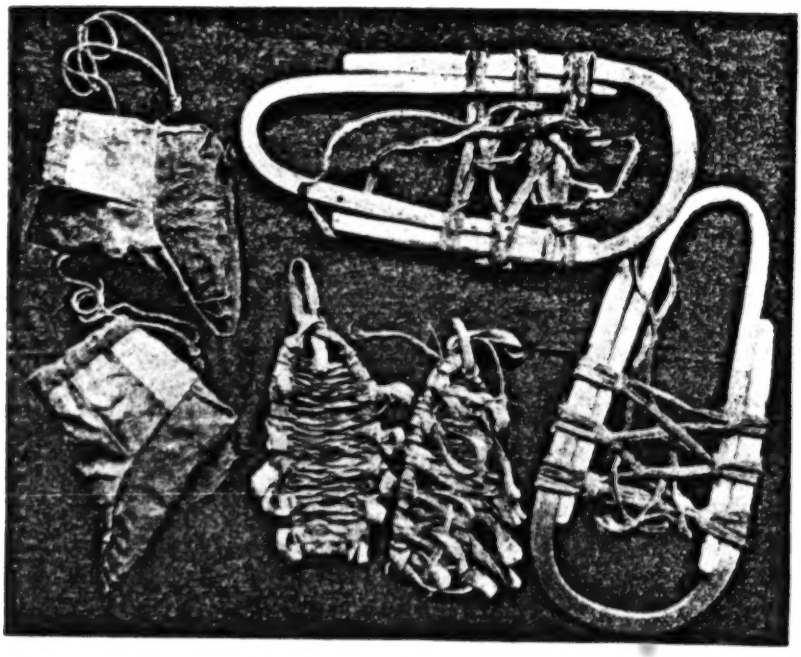


AINO CLOTHING.

[Facing p. 450 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481

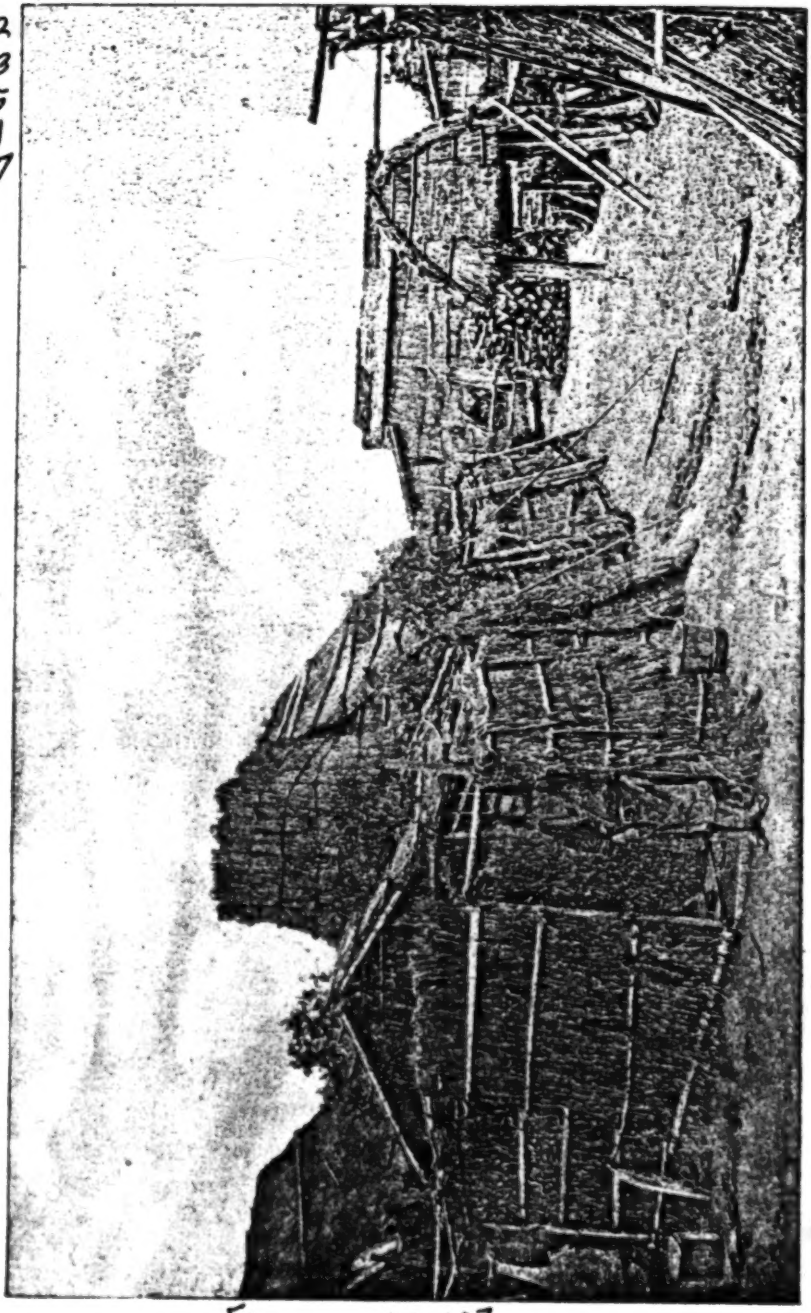


AINO SANDALS, SNOW-SHOES, AND FISH-SKIN SHOES.

[Facing p. 450 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417

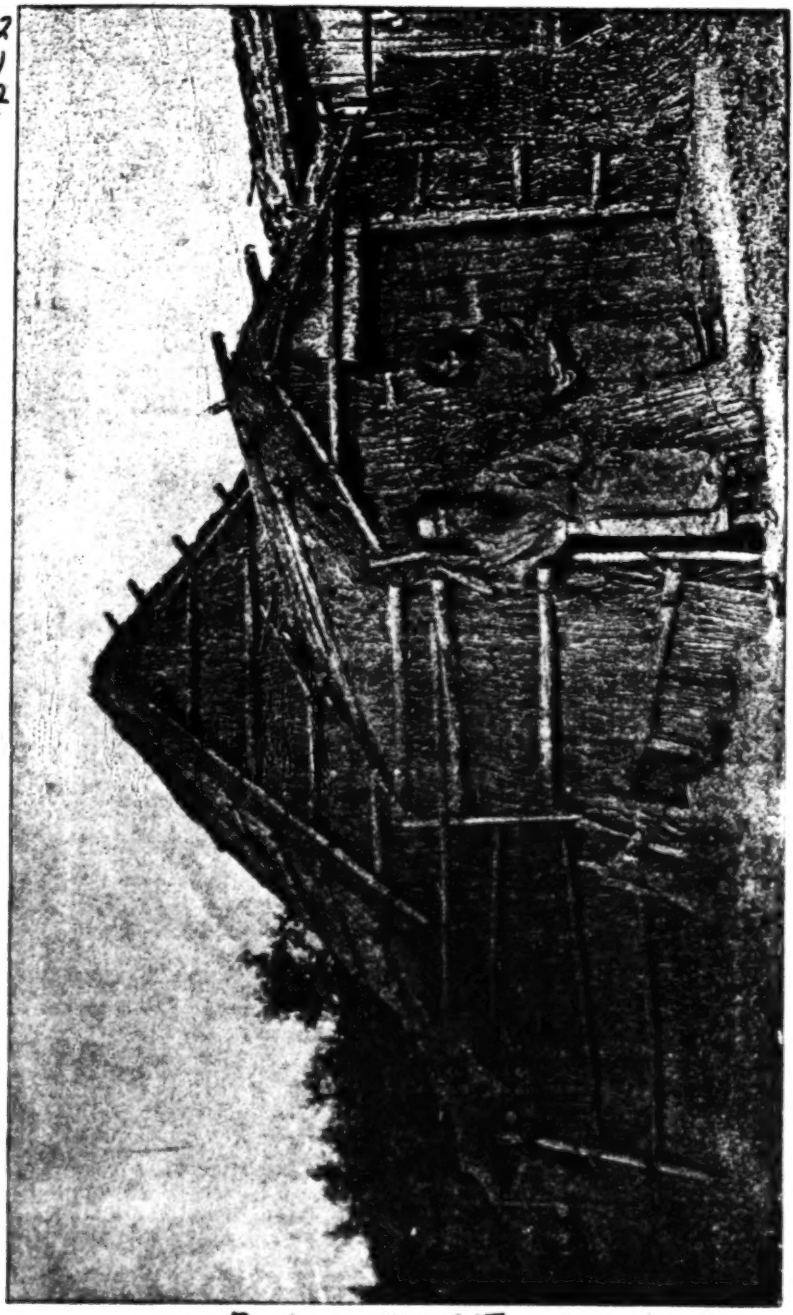


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
291
302

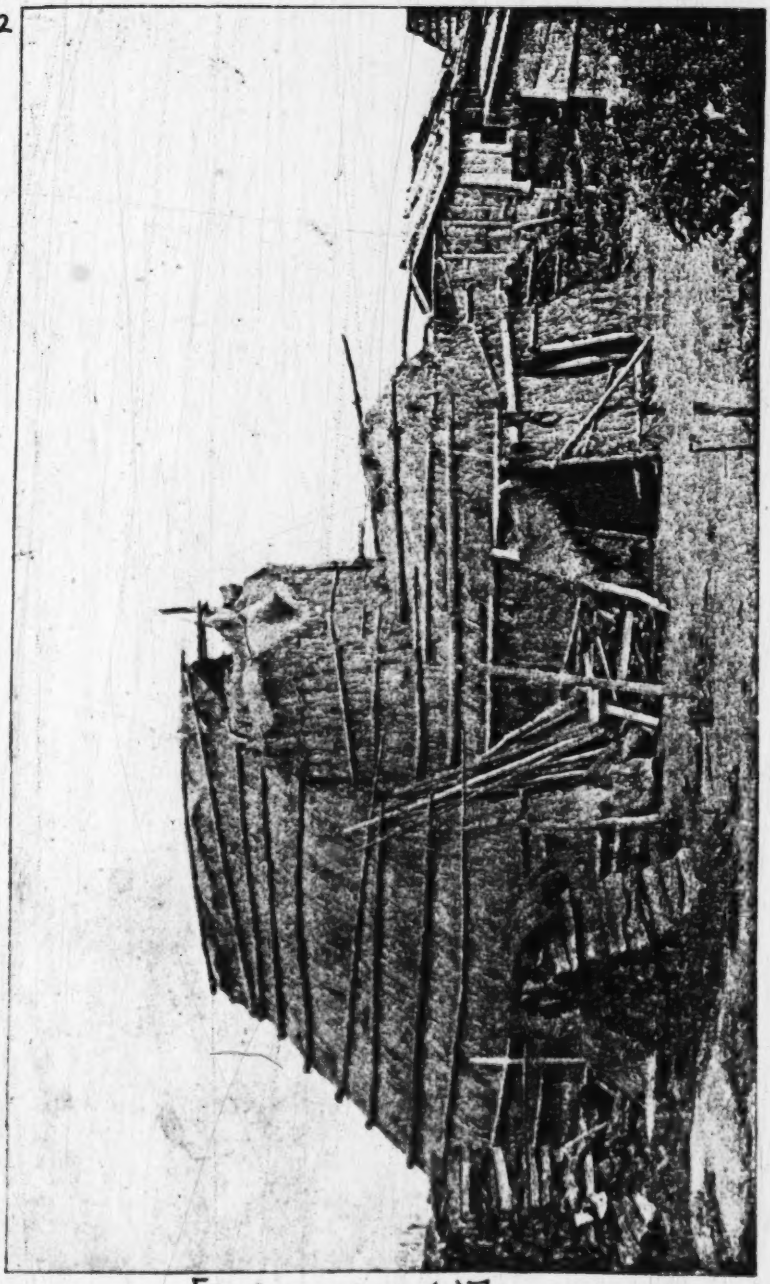


AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342



AINO HOUSE AND SIDE TENT, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

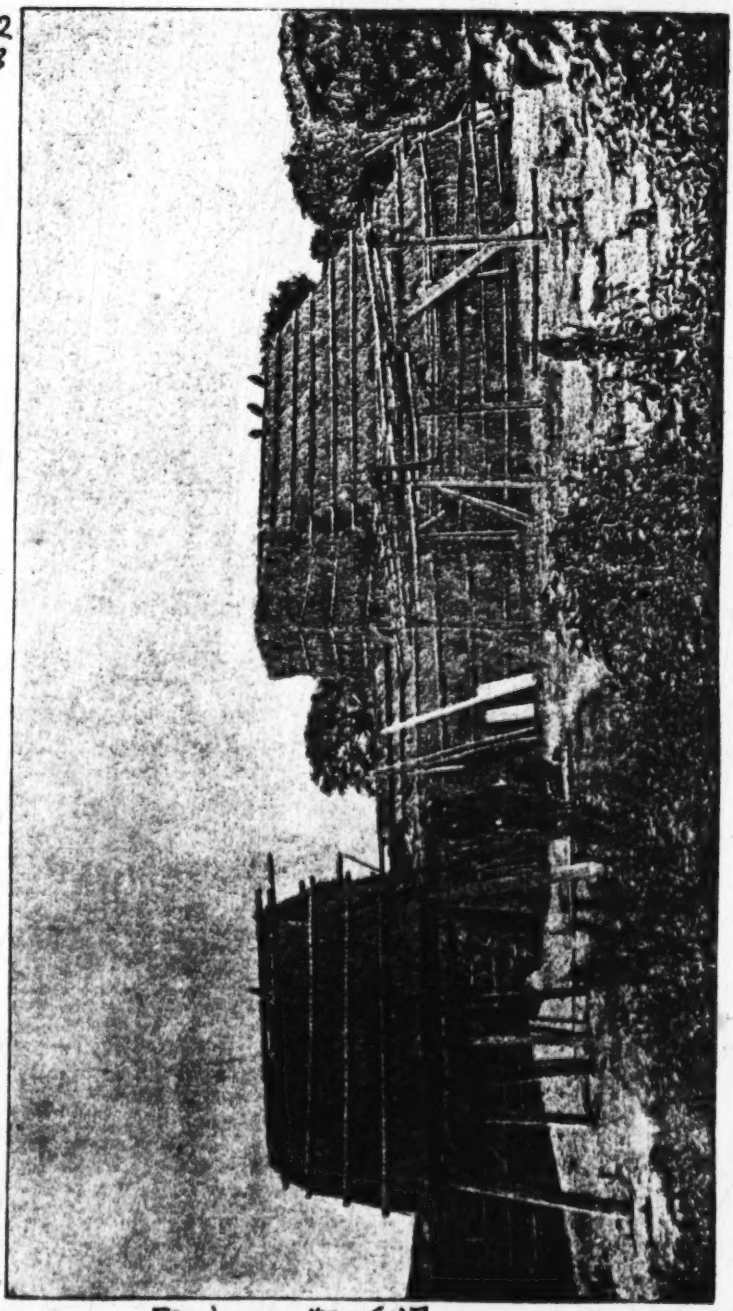
342
343

AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 431]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [838] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

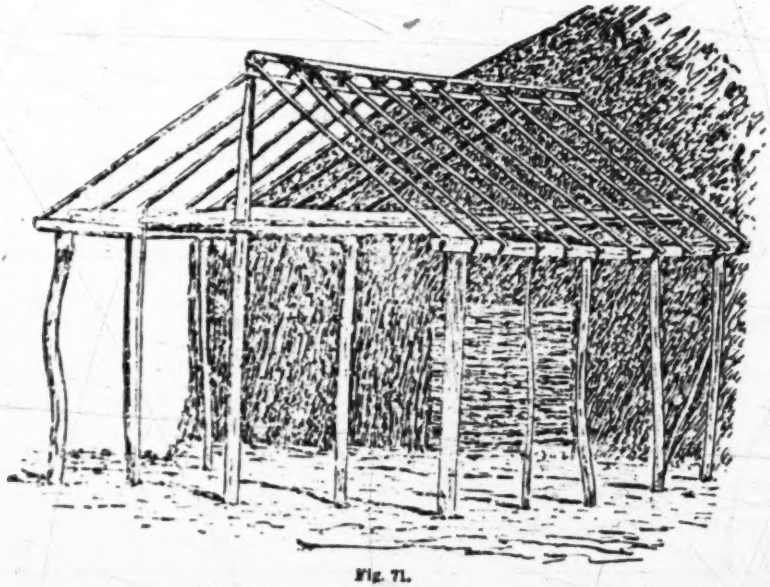


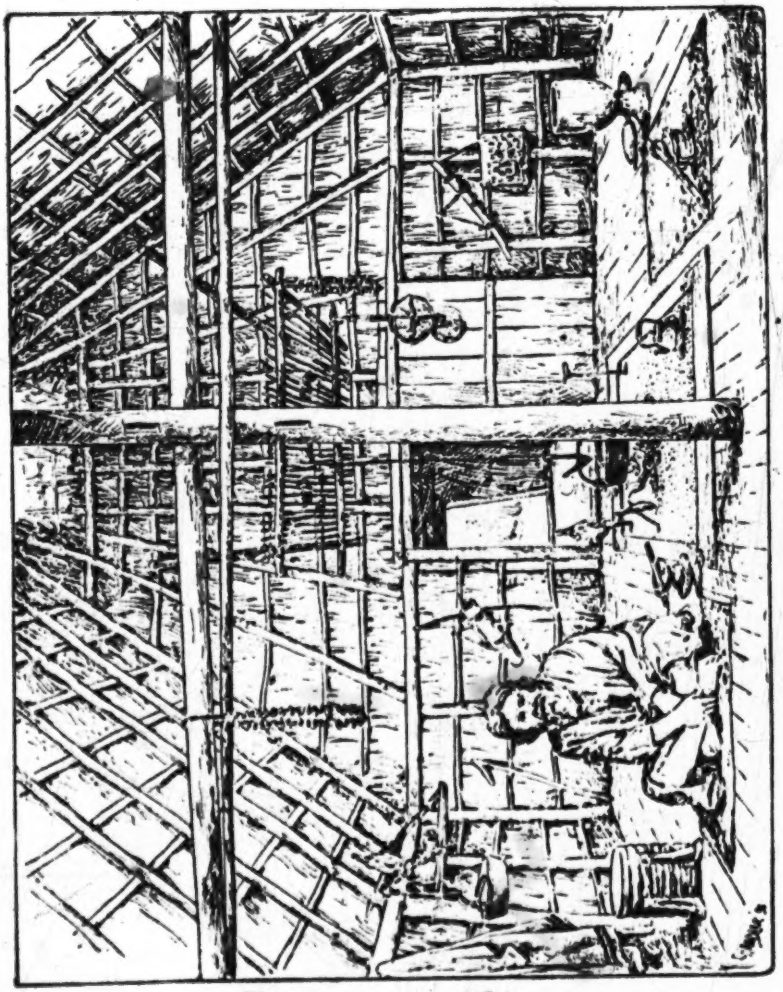
Fig. 71.
FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINU HOUSE.
(From a photograph.)

The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or gold-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate c, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

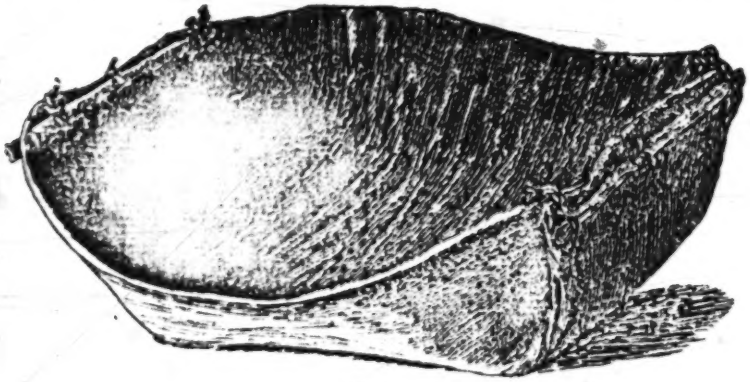
HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Wooden spoons

(Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or 442-322



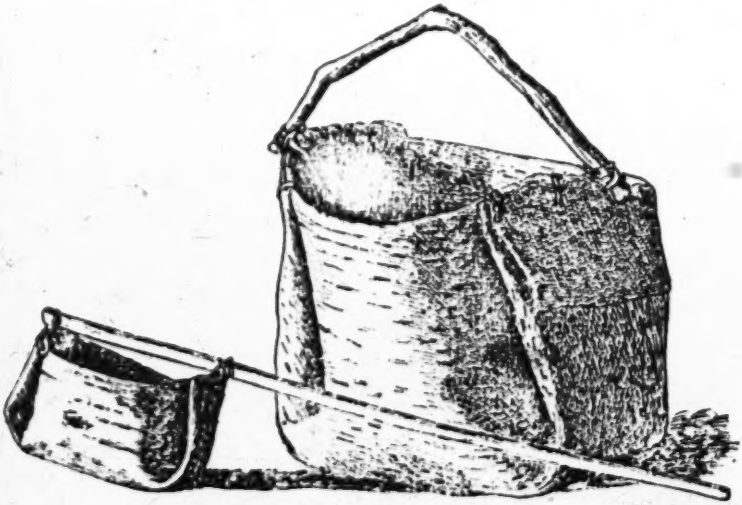
[415]

150673

Fig. 72.

BARK DISH USED AS A FISH-PLATE.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife-blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



[415]

150688

Fig. 73.

BARK WATER BUCKET AND DIPPER.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
442
531

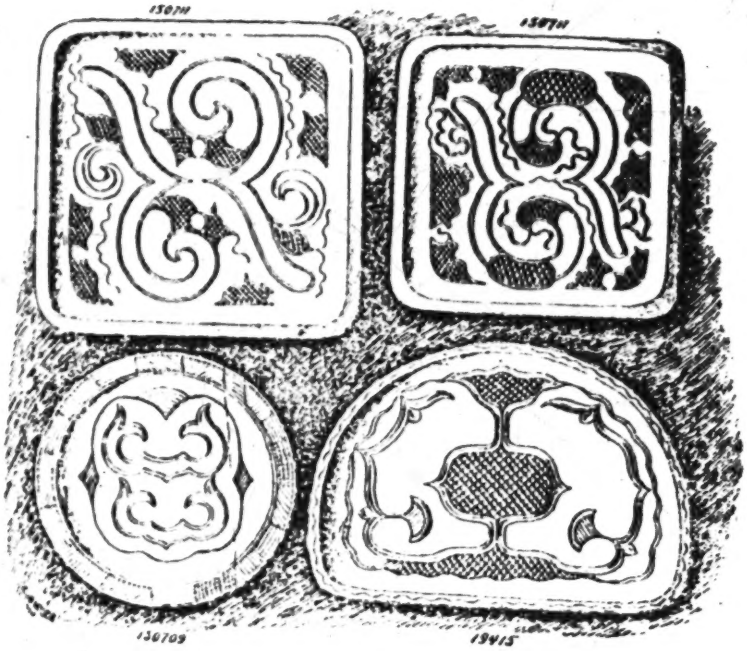


Fig. 74.
CARVED WOODEN PLATES.

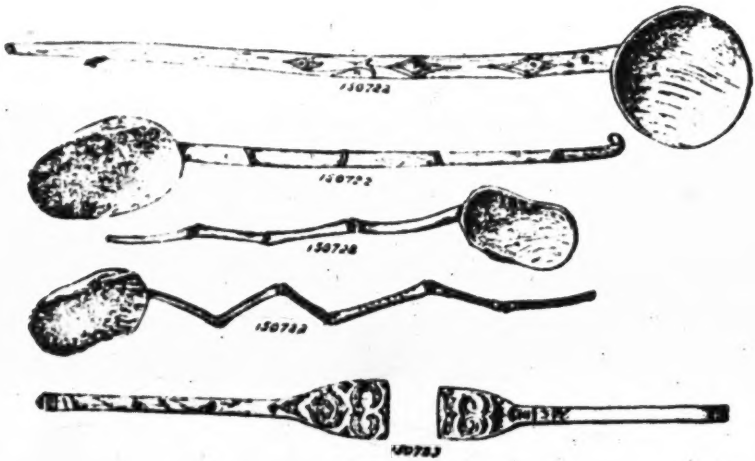


Fig. 75.
WOODEN SPOONS AND CARVED SPATULAS USED IN EATING.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

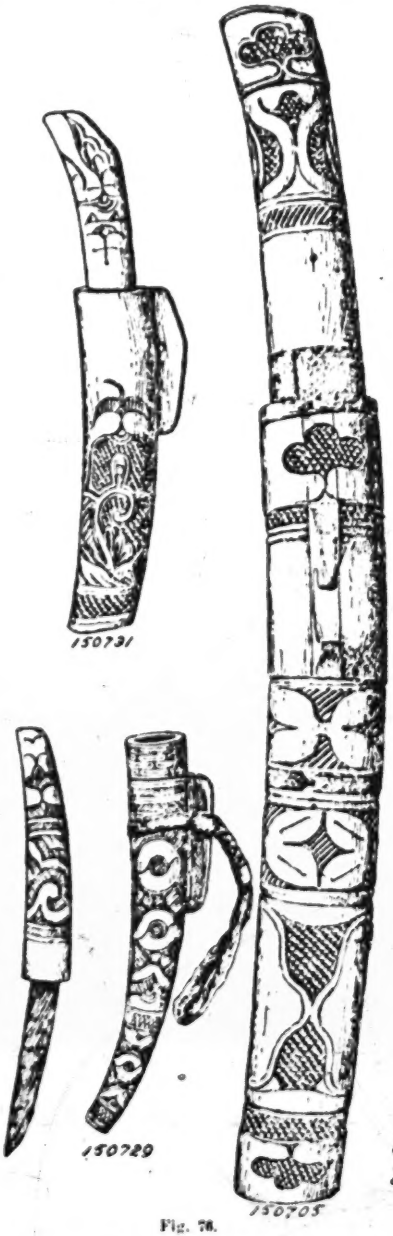


Fig. 76.
CARVED KNIFE CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

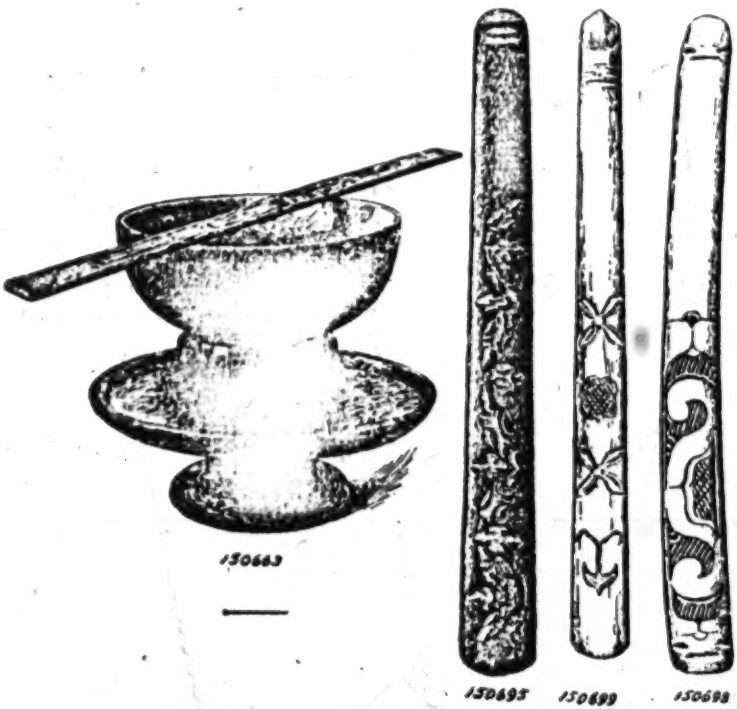
SAKÉ DRINKING.

From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

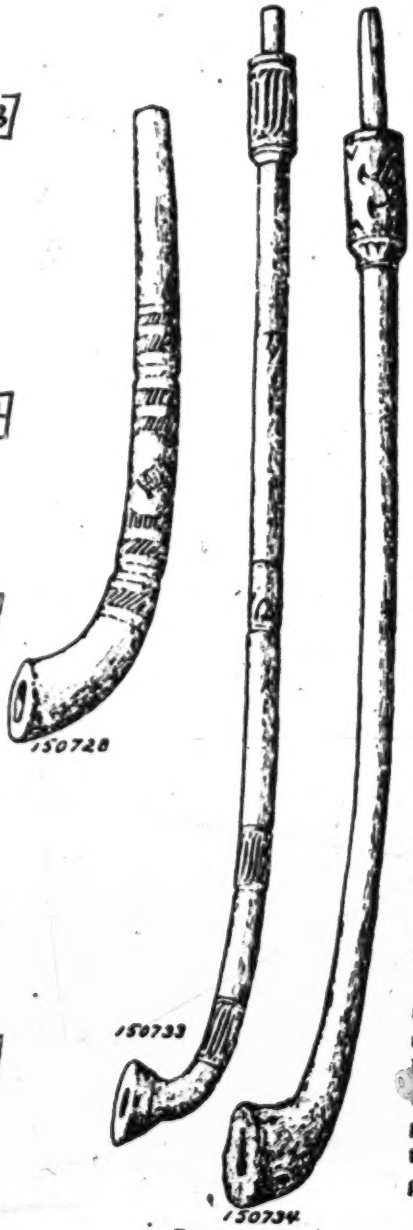


Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 746 782

The sakó drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

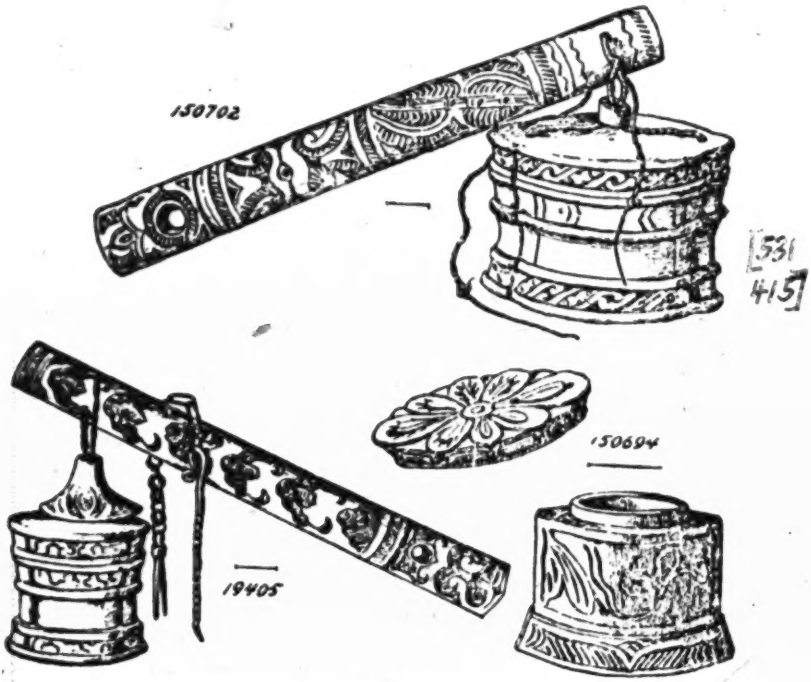


Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Ainos are not a very musical people, and the only instrument that can positively be identified as their own is a kind of Jew's harp made of bamboo. Fig. 80

Fig. 80.
A MOKURI PLAYER.

shows this instrument and how it is played. The one in the Museum collection measures 5¾ inches in length.

There is a kind of five-stringed guitar, which I have only seen figured in books. At the Sapporo Museum there is a three stringed instrument, but of quite a different shape. The former, known as the *tonkari*, has been described by Dixon in the "Chrysanthemum Magazine," of 1882, where there is an excellent illustration; but since that publication is not now accessible, Fig. 81 is copied from a Japanese *makimono* belonging to Dr. G. Brown Goode. Mr. Blackiston, in speaking of this instrument, says it was mentioned by a Japanese traveler in Yezo long before the Ainos from Saghalin took up their abode in Yezo, from which he infers that it was not introduced from Saghalin. It is not common, and in the course of my travels I was unable to discover a single one, although the instrument was known to the Ainos in different sections of the country.

Fig. 81.
TONKARI.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

WEAVING.

As already stated, the Ainos use the bark of the *Ulmus montana*, 286
which they call *ohiyo*, sometimes also the bark of *U. campestris*, for the manufacture of cloth. The fiber is not disintegrated, as for spinning, but the bark is softened by soaking in water and working, when it is easily separated into thin, wide ribbons, and these are readily split into long, slender threads. These threads are tied together end to end, without twisting, and wound into balls. Such threads are used for both warp and woof.

The loom is simple, but well made. Fig. 82 represents an Aino

Fig. 82.
AINO WOMAN WEAVING.

woman engaged in making the *ohiyo* cloth. The weaver sits on the floor, passing the rope at the lower end around the body, and stretches the warp by leaning back against it. As the cloth is woven, it is rolled on the stick in the well-known manner.

Mats are woven in the same manner as in Japan. Plate CIV repre- 285
sents an Aino woman making a mat. The long binding-threads are weighted with stones at the end and thrown over the beam, alternately backward and forward, twisting the threads each time. Such mats, varying greatly in size, are in universal use among the Ainos. They are made of the rush known by the Japanese as *suge*, *Scirpus maritimus*. They are usually woven with brown and black squares, arranged in peculiar but regular patterns. The colored parts are made with dyed 285
bark, probably because the rush does not take color well. The bark of 386
Shina-no-ki (*Tilia cordata*) is usually employed for the colored portions, but I have also specimens of the *ohiyo* bark from Abashiri, which have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *okiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

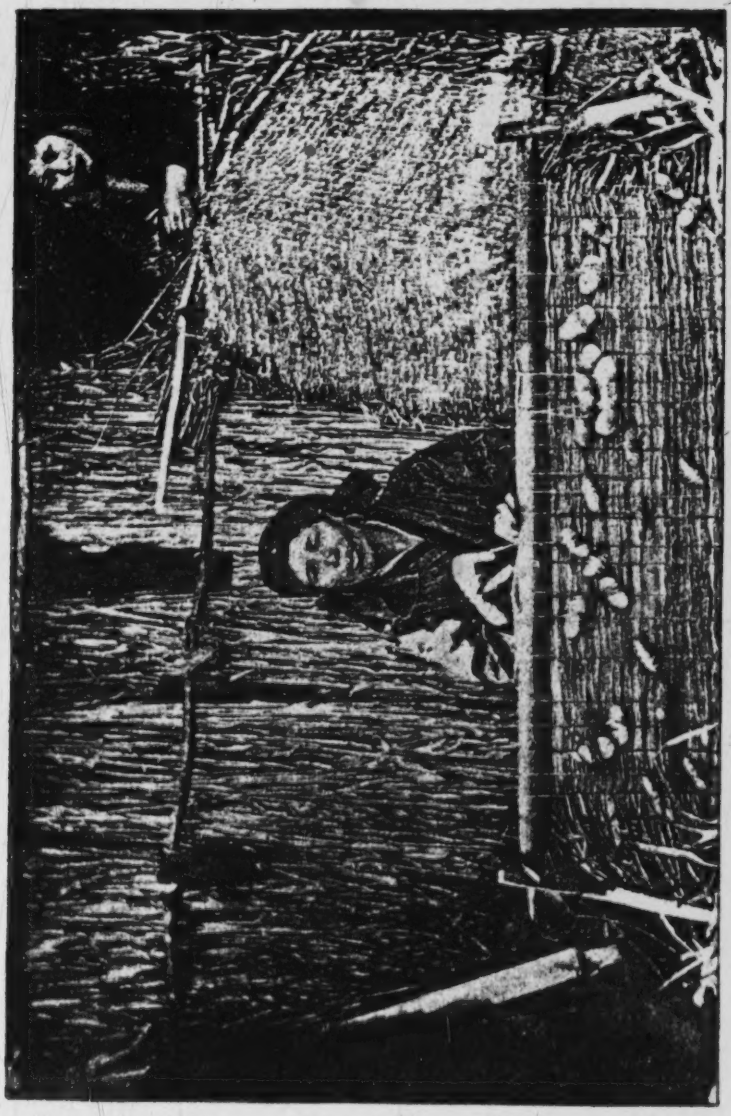
> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

285
291
142

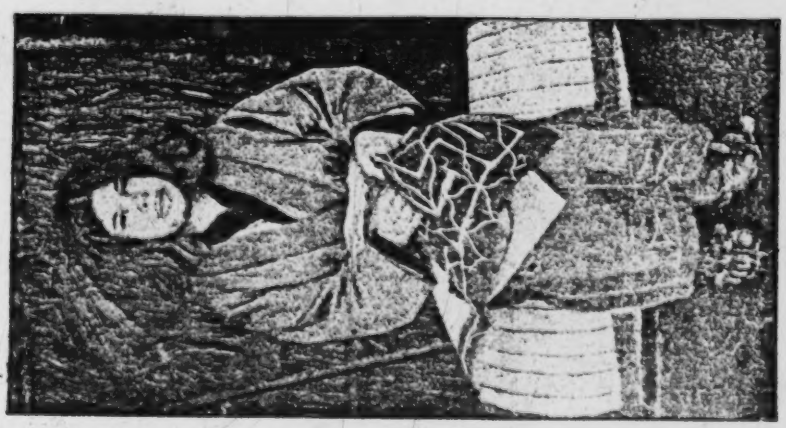


AINO WOMAN MAKING A MAT.

[Facing p. 464 (A)]

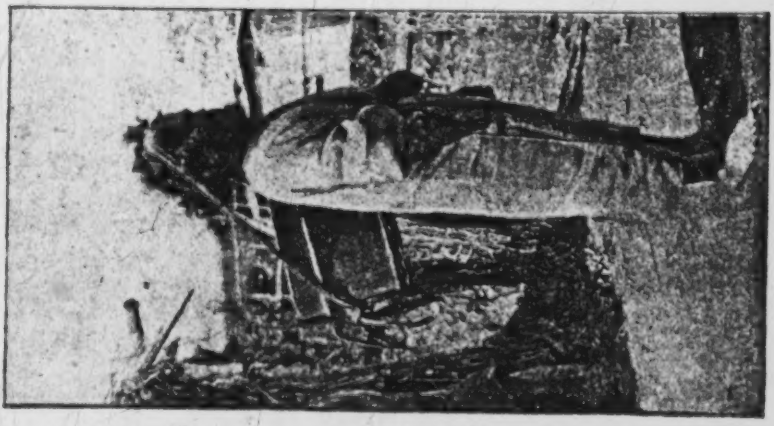
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINOS GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog. 576

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey. 576 593

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage. 582 [595 836]

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents. 584 585 [591]

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age. 163 853

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent. 586

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin, 764

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 lying at full length, with household implements and weapons; but no food or drink is offered, nor is either placed on the grave. The coffin is placed in the ground, with the head to the east. Each mourner throws earth upon it and a rude monument is erected.

It is difficult to find the burial places, which are in desolate, unfrequented spots, seldom visited by the people. Dr. Scheube remarks that the Ainos give no thought to the departed and seem to have a dread of visiting their graves. Several forms of monuments are represented in Fig. 83, standing at the head of graves, which, however, were not

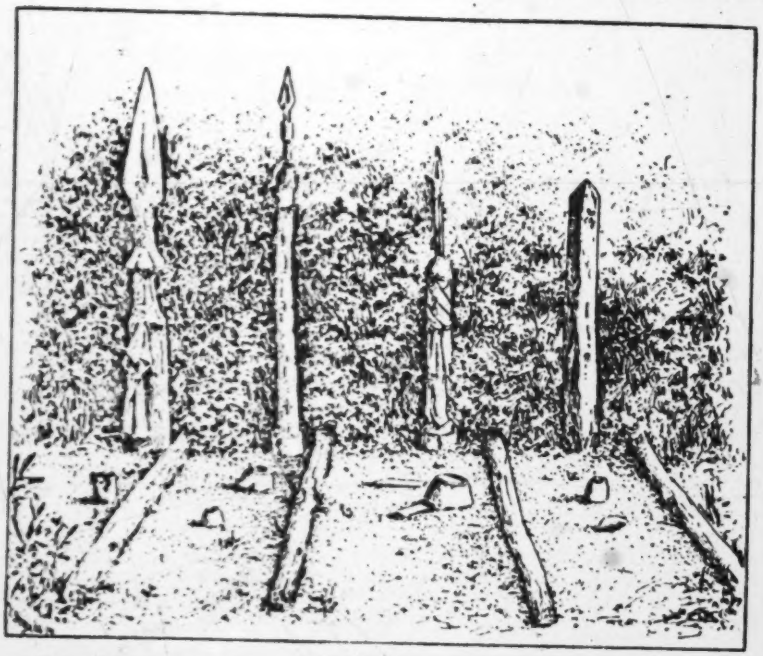


Fig. 83.
AINO GRAVES.

grouped together in the manner shown in the picture. Each grave is marked by an upright post and a recumbent log. The one on the left is from Urap, not far from Hokadate. The drawing was copied from a photograph. The two in the middle are from Dr. Scheube's plate.

The straight post with a rude X and pyramidial apex represents the form of several monuments, which I found under the guidance of a Japanese near Tokoro. A long tramp through tangled underbrush, soaked by the recent rain, brought us to a lonely spot behind the village. The posts were at the west end of the graves, and the X mark faced the west. It was not on the side overlooking the grave, as it is shown to be in the drawing.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebeld. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [615] [680] 114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

These fe-
rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 84. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

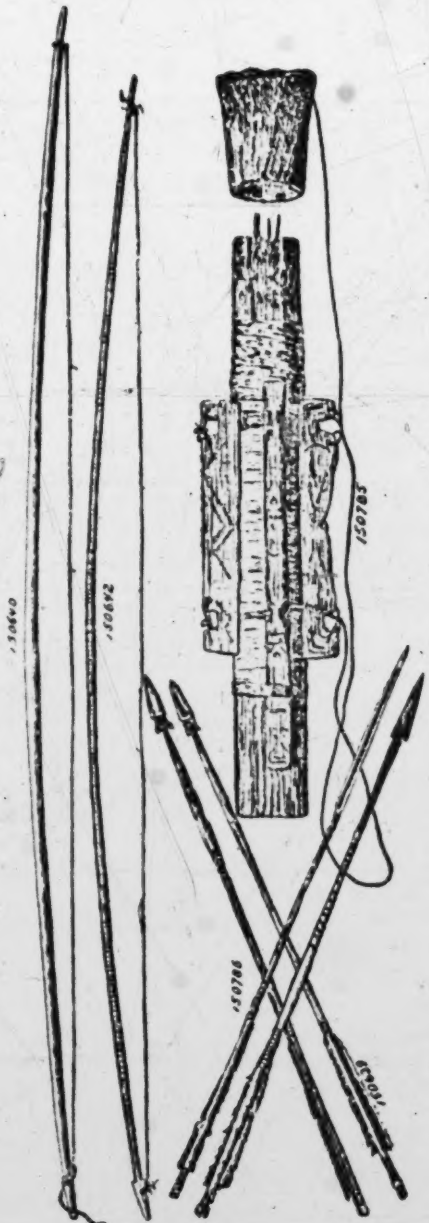


Fig. 84.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side. 441

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII. 224 441

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows: 278 441

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation. [287]

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead. [204]

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875-'76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

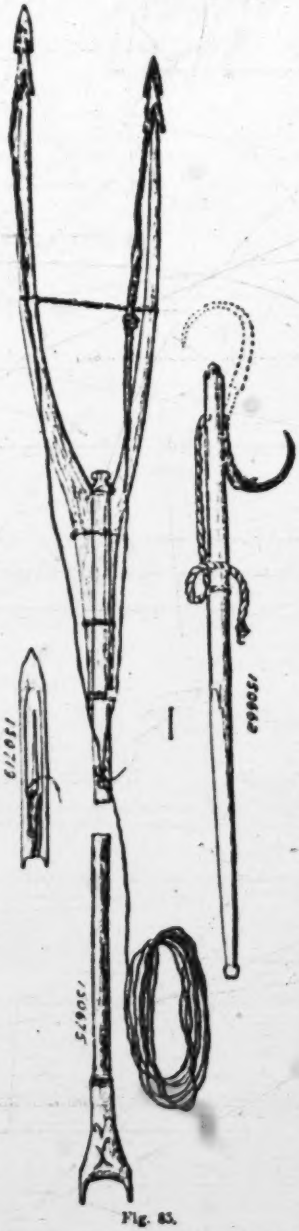


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

532
224

HUNTING SCENE, SET-BOW.

[Facing p. 470]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. 226
Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, ev[illegible]s than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen [illegible]ng over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This 225
two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large 226
fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone 226
and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of [283]
the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage [648]
the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, [237]
or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Teshkaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are 772 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against 777 enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

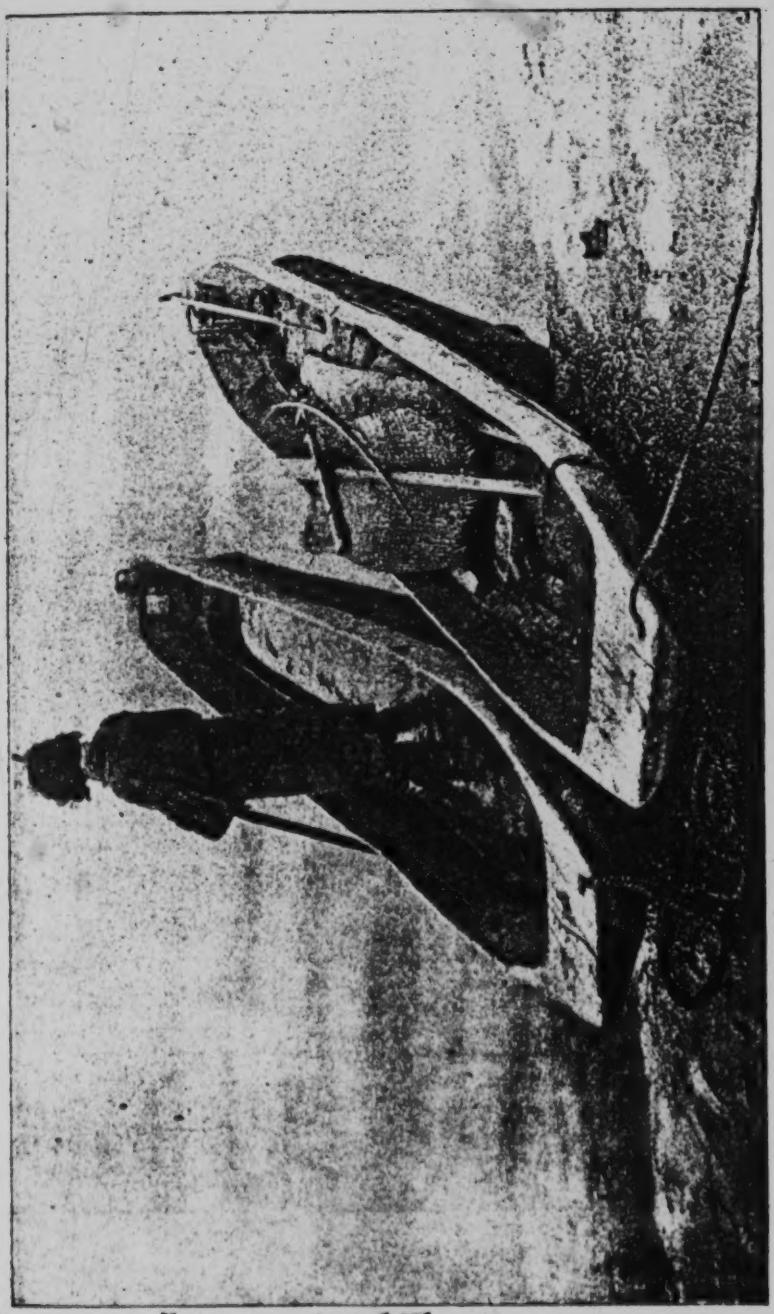
225
501

SPEARING SEAL.

[Facing p. 472 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291

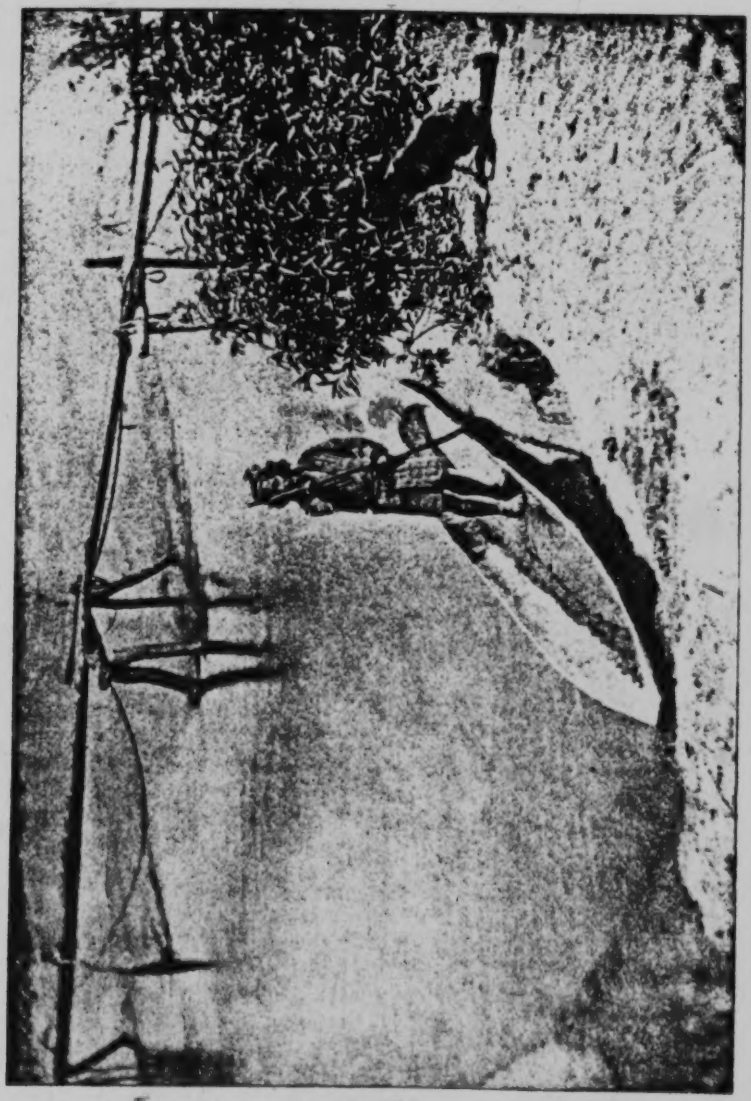


AINO RIVER BOATS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 472 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291
491

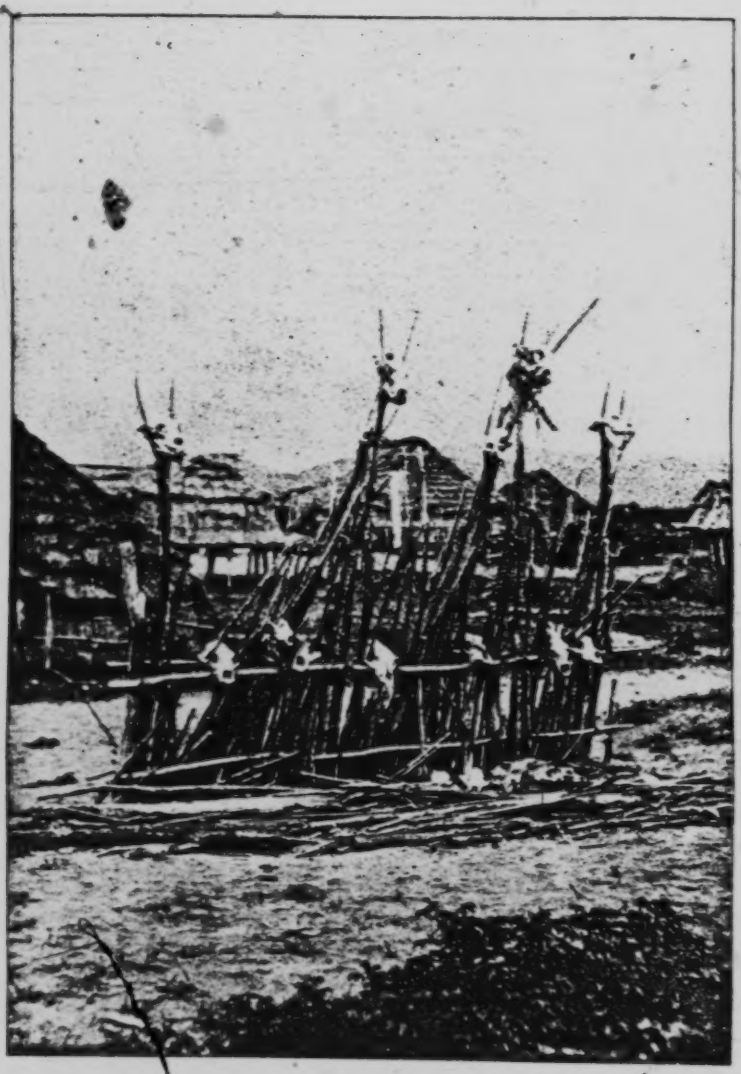


AINO RIVER BOAT, URAP.

[Facing p. 472(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T18
237
342



SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukutakusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground. 778

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos. 821 776

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton." 776 177

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast. 778

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea [825 787] as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

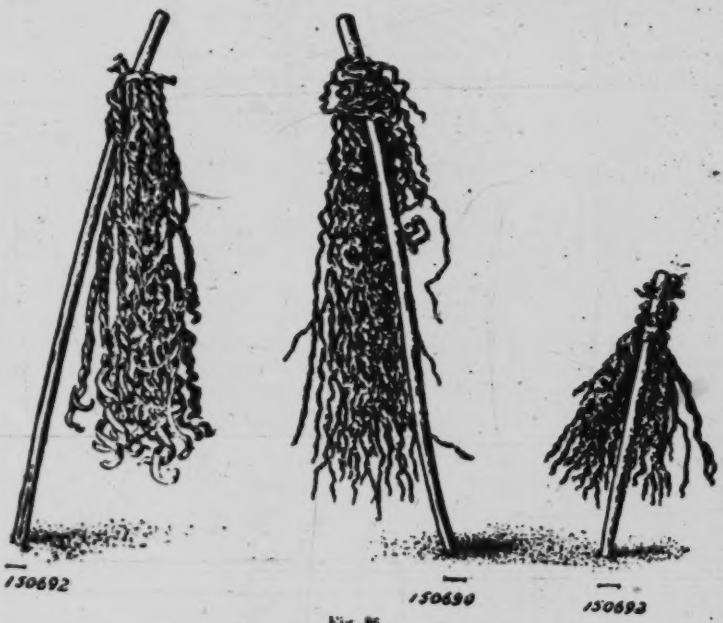


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

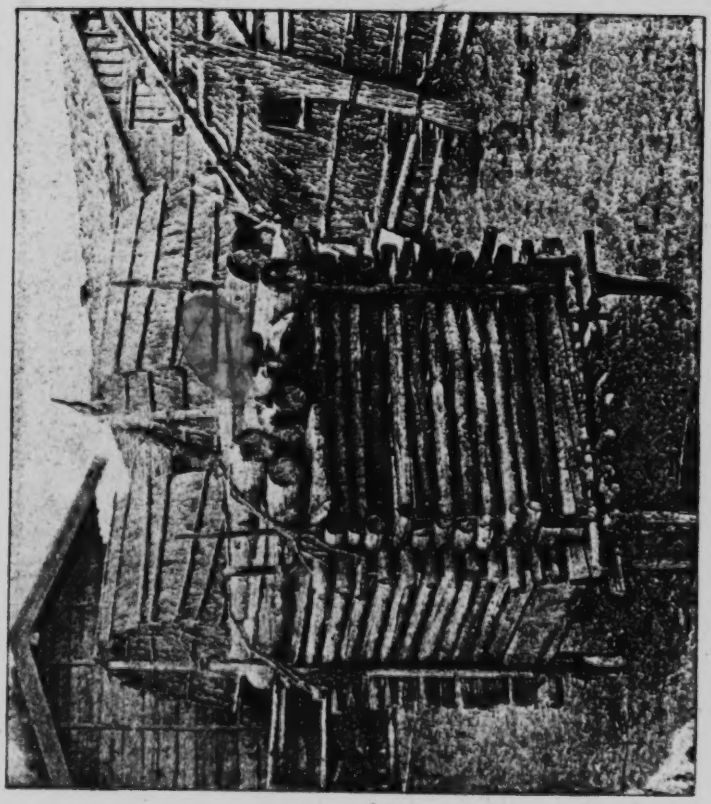
787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, [685] but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO BEAR CAGE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 474]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted. 796

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it. 343

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience. 778

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance. 114

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 825 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1889.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on

Fig. 87.
CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 778 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *miru no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei*† of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the 796 four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which [782] the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainos, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large [413] draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

[782] After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

[782] † The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the noise around him, and began to jump about in the cage and set up 786
a mournful howl.

At the same time our attention was directed to another scene before the sacred hedge. The hedge was decorated with five new inao, to which leaves of bamboo were attached. The bamboo leaves signify that the dead bear may again come to life. Perhaps the evergreen color of the leaves, or the indestructible character of the bamboo, has led to its use here. In addition to this, swords and sacred quivers, known as *ikayup* or *ikor-kamui*, were suspended on the hedge. There were also bows and arrows, the latter always three in number, with which the bear was to be shot, and ear-rings and necklaces, to be laid on the bear after death. The men now found another opportunity to drink, and they made their drink-offerings before the sacred hedge. [782]
This time the Otena, or chief of Oshamambe, made the beginning. Three young men, who afterwards took the bear from the cage, each added two inao. Already there were noticeable signs of the industrious application of the drinking cup, and some men, hilarious with saké, began to dance before the hedge, with their hands raised to heaven to make their happiness known to the gods, and this became more frequent as the feast continued.

The bear was taken out of the cage by the bravest young Aino, assisted by two others. Donning a fine garment owned by the chief, he climbed to the top of the cage and removed the stopes and top logs, and threw a rope around the neck of the bear. With this the bear was drawn out of the cage and led around for a time, that he might once more enjoy a sense of freedom before his death. Then he was made a target for the archers and shot with arrows which, instead of the pointed heads, bore blunt wooden ends decorated with bits of red cloth (Plate CXV).

Next the bear was taken before the sacred hedge, a piece of wood placed in his mouth, and he was crushed to death in a manner shown in the Japanese illustration (Plate CXVI). The poor animal died without a groan. The women danced around, with lamentations, and struck the men to manifest their indignation at such cruelty. The skin was then cut in the middle line of the belly. The bear was laid on a mat before the hedge, the sword and quiver from the latter hung about him, and food and drink were offered. A female bear is also decorated with necklaces and ear-rings. The food consisted of a plate of millet mush, another of millet cake made in the same manner as the Japanese *mochi*, with fish-oil poured over it, a can of saké with drinking cup, chopsticks and moustache-stick, the latter provided with spiral shavings.

The men then seated themselves before mats spread before the bear (Pl. CXVII), each with his drinking set before him, and began to make libations of saké and to drink unlimited quantities. It is the custom for the chief to begin this drink-offering, but he yielded the honor to the oldest man present. This man made the offering before the bear in [782]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the same manner as above described, using the drinking apparatus which was set before the bear. The others followed, and soon a good portion of the company was lying helplessly drunk upon the mats. The older men far excelled the younger in excessive drinking.

Turning now to the women, the sorrow which they, especially the older women, manifested when the bear was crushed, soon passed off and gave place to general hilarity which, since they did not despise the saké, increased at times to ecstacy. They gave themselves up to the pleasures of the dance, in which only short breathing spells were allowed. The older women showed themselves the more vigorous and wildest dancers.

Meanwhile the feast had reached its height, and the young men who had led the bear from the cage, mounted to the roof of a house in order to throw millet cake from a basket among the people.

The bear is usually cut up on the following day, when the company again assembles to continue the drinking bout. After the animal is skinned and disemboweled, the legs and trunk are separated from the head, which remains in the skin. One of the young Ainos acted as butcher, while the others stood or sat around. The blood was caught by these in cups and greedily drunk. The liver was taken out, cut in small pieces, and eaten raw with salt. The flesh and other entrails were preserved in the house, to be divided among the participants in the feast on the following day. During this work the women danced around the sacred hedge, as they did around the cage at the beginning of the feast.

The bear's head, within the skin, was placed before the hedge and decorated in the same manner as the body was adorned before, one inao being added, and a general drink-offering was made. At the end of this the skin was drawn from the skull, leaving such as adheres to the snout and ears. In the left side of the back skull-bone of male bears, in the right side of females, an opening is made, through which the brains are removed. These are divided in the cups, mixed with saké, and drunk. The skull is then filled with shavings. The eyes were taken out and the orbital fat was bitten off and eaten by the young butcher. The eyes were wrapped in shavings and returned to their sockets. The mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves and the skull decorated with shavings. The skull was again returned to the skin, and both, with sword, quiver, inao, and the piece of wood which the bear held in his mouth when he was crushed, were laid before the hedge. After another drink-offering the skull was raised upon a pole in the hedge, (Fig. 88,) which terminated in a forked end, and the entire company of men and women, singing and crying, danced before it. The pole had also an inao on either side of its upper forked end, and bamboo leaves attached. Beneath the skull, the piece of wood from the bear's mouth was fixed crosswise, and from it the sword and quiver were suspended. The two latter are usually removed in the course of an hour. A final

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796

SHOOTING THE BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

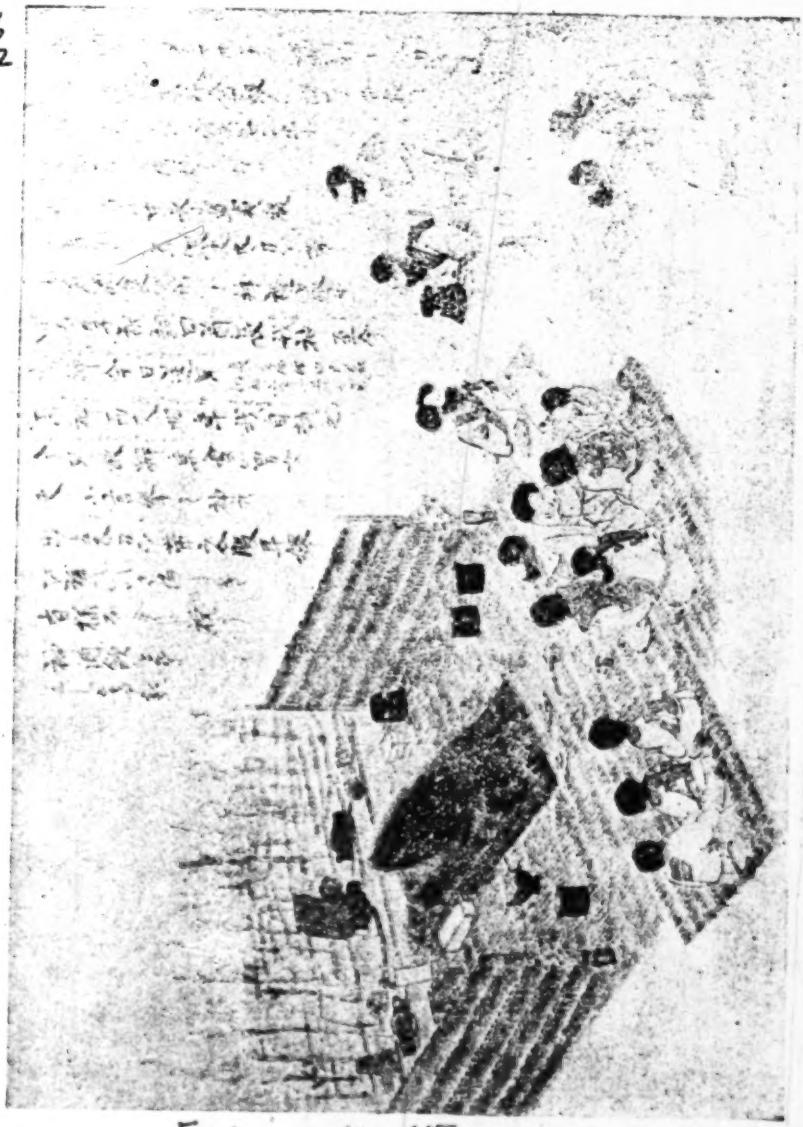
796

CRUSHING THE BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782

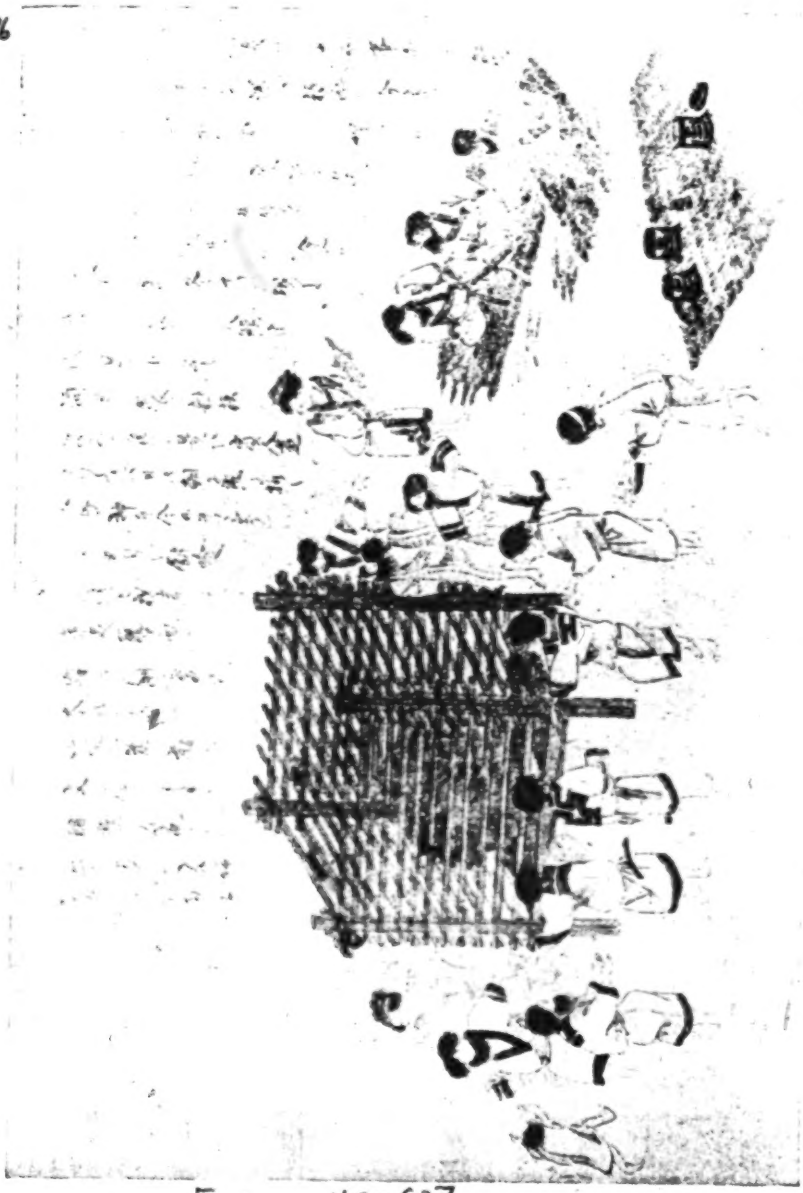


OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796



DANCE AROUND THE BEAR CAGE.

[Facing p. 480 (b)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

 A 796 [722]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

A [778]
A G 171 796

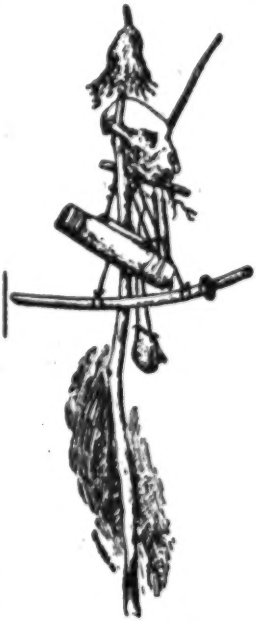


Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[765] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
537 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
777 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking.

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD.

773
539

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

TT3
539

see the luminary, should rule the world. If the bad gods should be the first to see it rise, then they should rule; and if the good gods should be the first, then they should rule. Therefore both the bad gods and the brilliant gods looked toward the place whence the sun was to rise. But the fox-god alone stood looking toward the west. After a little time the fox cried out, "I see the sun rise." On the gods, both good and bad, turning around and gazing, they saw in truth the refulgence of the sun in the west. This is the cause for which the brilliant gods rule the world.

WHY THE COCK CAN NOT FLY.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the Creator had finished making the world and had returned to heaven, he sent down the cock to see whether the world was good or not, with the injunction to come back at once. But the world was so fair that the cock, unable to tear himself away, kept lingering on from day to day. At last, after a long time, he was on his way flying back up to heaven. But God, angry with him for his disobedience, stretched forth his hand and beat him down to earth, saying: "You are not wanted in heaven any more." That is why, to this day, the cock is incapable of any high flight.

ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the world had only recently been made, all was still unsettled and dangerous, for the crust of the earth was thin. It was burning beneath, and unstable, so that the people did not dare venture outside of their huts even to obtain food, for they would have scorched their feet. Their necessities were relieved by the god Okikurumi, who used to fish for them, and then send his wife, Turesh, round with what he caught. She every day popped in at each window the family meal for the day. But the conditions of this divine succor was that no questions were to be asked, and that none should attempt to see Turesh's face. Well, one day a certain Aino, in one of the huts, not content with being fed for nothing, must needs disobey Okikurumi's commands. Curious to see who was the lovely ministering maiden, he watched for the moment when her hand with food in it appeared at the window, seized hold of it and forcibly pulled her in, disregarding her screams. No sooner was she inside the hut than she turned into a wriggling, writhing sea monster. The sky darkened, crashes of thunder were heard, the monster vanished, and the hut was consumed by lightning. In punishment of that one man's curiosity, Okikurumi withdrew his favor from the whole race and vanished. Ever since then the Ainos have been poor and miserable.

According to another tradition, which seems to be among those most widely spread, the Japanese hero Yoshitsune arrived on the scene some time after Okikurumi had begun teaching the Aino men how to fish and hunt, and Turesh had begun teaching the Aino women how to sew. Being of a wily disposition, he ingratiated himself so well with the divine pair that they bestowed on him their only daughter in marriage. The wedding took place at Piratori, in the district of Saru. Yoshitsune was thus enabled to penetrate the secrets of the Ainos. By a fraud, to which his wife was an unwilling partner, he obtained possession of their treasures and of their books and fled, carrying all with him. Okikurumi and Turesh, incensed at this insult, disappeared through a cavern at the summit of Mount Hayopira, near Piratori. Since that time the Ainos have lost the art of writing and of pottery, and have taken to buying their clothes, etc., from the Japanese. When interrogated on any point on which they are at a loss for an answer, the almost invariable Aino reply is, "We do not know, for we have no books. Those that our ancestors had were all stolen by Yoshitsune."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

A handsome and brave young Aino, skillful in the chase, one day pursued a large bear into the recesses of the mountains. On and on ran the bear, and still the young fellow pursued it up heights and crags more and more dangerous, but without ever being able to get near enough to shoot it with his poisoned arrow. At last on a bleak mountain summit, the bear disappeared down a hole in the ground. The young Aino followed in, and found himself in an immense cavern, at the far extremity of which was a gleam of light. Toward this he groped his way, and, on emerging, found himself in another world. All was as in the world of men, but more beautiful. There were trees, houses, villages, human beings. With them, however, the young hunter had no concern. What he wanted was his bear, which had totally disappeared. The best plan seemed to be to seek it in the remoter mountain district of this new world underground. So he followed up a valley, and, being tired and hungry, picked the grapes and mulberries that were hanging on the trees, and ate them while walking leisurely along.

Suddenly, happening to look down on his own body for some reason or other, what was his horror to find himself transformed into a serpent! His very tears and cries on the discovery of the metamorphosis were changed into snake's hisses. What was he to do? To go back like this to his native world, where snakes are hated, would be certain death. No plan presented itself to his mind. But unconsciously he wandered, or rather crept and glided, back to the mouth of the cavern that led home to the world of men; and there, at the foot of a pine tree of extraordinary size and height, he fell asleep. To him then, in a dream, there appeared the goddess of the pine tree and said: "I am sorry to see you in this state. Why did you eat the poisonous fruits of Hades? The only thing for you to do, if you wish to recover your original shape, is to climb to the top of this pine tree and fling yourself down. Then you may, perhaps, become a human being again." On awaking from this dream the young man, or rather snake, as he found himself still to be, was filled half with hope, half with fear. But he decided to try the goddess' remedy. So gliding up the tall pine tree, he reached its topmost branch, and, after a little hesitation, flung himself down. Crash he went. When he came to his senses he found himself standing at the foot of the tree; and close by was the body of an immense serpent, all ripped open, so as to allow of his having crawled out of it. After offering up thanks to the pine tree and setting up divine symbols in its honor, he hastened to retrace his steps through the long tunnel-like cavern, through which he had originally come into Hades.

After walking for a certain time he emerged into the world of men, to find himself on the mountain top whither he had pursued the bear which he had never seen again. On reaching home he dreamt a second time. It was the same goddess of the pine tree who appeared before him and said: "I come to tell you that you can not stay long in the world of men after once eating the grapes and mulberries of Hades. There is a goddess in Hades who wishes to marry you. She it was who, assuming the form of a bear, lured you into the cavern and thence to the underworld. You must make up your mind to come away."

And so it fell out. The young man awoke, but a grave sickness overpowered him. A few days later he went a second time to the underworld, and returned no more to the world of the living.

PANAUMBE PENAUMBE AND THE WEEPING FOXES.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

There were Panaumbe and Penaumbe. Panaumbe went down to the bank of the river and called out: "Oh, you fellows on the cliff behind yonder cliff; ferry me across." They replied: "We must first scoop out a canoe. Wait for us." After a little while

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Panaumbe called out again. "We have no poles," said they; "we are going to make some poles. Wait for us." After a little while longer he called out a third time. They replied thus: "We are coming for you. Wait for us." Then the boat started—a big boat, all full of foxes. So Panaumbe, having first seized hold of a good bludgeon, feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and spoke thus: "Panaumbe, you are to be pitied. Were you frozen to death, or were you starved to death?" With these words all the foxes came up close to him and wept. Thereupon Panaumbe brandished his bludgeon, struck all the foxes and killed them. Only one fox did he let go, after breaking one of its legs. As for the rest, having killed them all, he carried them home to his house and grew very rich [by selling their flesh and skins].

Then Penaumbe came down to him and spoke thus: "Whereas you and I were both equally poor, how did you kill such a number of foxes and thereby become rich?" Panaumbe replied, "If you will come and dine with me, I will instruct you." But Penaumbe at once said, "I have heard all about it before," and went out. Descending to the bank of the river, he called, crying out as Panaumbe had done. The reply was: "We will make a boat at once. Wait for us."

After a little while he called out again. "We are going to make the poles. Wait for us," said they. After a little longer they started a whole boat full of foxes.

So Penaumbe first feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and said: "Penaumbe here is to be pitied. Did he die of cold, or did he die from want of food," with which words they all came close to Penaumbe and wept. But one fox among them—a fox who limped—spoke thus: "I remember something which once happened. Weep at a greater distance." So all the foxes sat and wept further and further away.

Penaumbe was unable to kill any of those foxes, and as he brandished his bludgeon they all ran away. Not one did he catch, and he himself died a lamentable death.

THE HARE GOD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

Suddenly there was a large house on top of a hill, wherein were six persons beautifully arrayed, but constantly quarreling. Whence they came was not known. Thereupon Okikurumi came and said: "Oh, you bad hares. You wicked hares. Who should not know your origin? The children in the sky were pelting each other with snowballs, and the snowballs fell into this world of men. As it would have been a pity to waste heaven's snow, the snowballs were turned into hares, and those hares are you. You who live in this world of mine, this world of human beings, must be quiet. What is it that you are brawling about?" With these words Okikurumi seized a firebrand and beat each of the six with it in turn. Thereupon all the hares ran away. This is the origin of the hare god, and for this reason the body of the hare is white, because made of snow, while its ears, which are the part which was charred by the fire, are black.

THE WICKED WIZARD PUNISHED.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

One day a wizard told a man whom he knew that if any one were to go up a certain mountain peak and jump off to the belt of clouds below, he would be able to ride about on them as on a horse and see the whole world. Believing this, the man did as directed, and in very truth was enabled to ride about on the clouds. He visited the whole world in this fashion, and brought back with him a map which he had drawn of the whole world, both of men and gods. On arriving back at the mountain-peak in Aino land, he stepped off the cloud on to the land, and, descending to the valley, told the wizard how successful and delightful the journey had been, and thanked him for the opportunity he had given him of thus seeing so many strange sights.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The wizard was astounded, for what he had told the Aino was a wicked lie, invented with the sole intention of causing the death of the man, whom, for reasons best known to himself, he hated. Still, as that which he had meant as an idle tale was apparently an actual fact, he decided to see the world himself in this fashion. So, going to the top of the mountain and seeing a belt of clouds a short way below, he jumped on to it, but was simply smashed to pieces in the valley beneath. That night the god of the mountain appeared to the first (good) man in a dream and said, "The wizard has met with the death which his fraud and folly deserve. You I kept from hurt because you are a good man. So when, in obedience to the wizard's advice, you leapt off onto the cloud, I bore you up and showed you the world in order to make you wiser. Let all men learn from this how wickedness leads to condign punishment."

LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

There was a woman who was ever sitting by the window, and doing some kind of needlework or other.

In the window of the house there was a large cup filled to the brim with wine, upon which floated a ceremonial moustache-lifter.

The ceremonial moustache-lifter was dancing about upon the top of the wine cup. In explaining the subject from the beginning and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs as follows:

Now look, do you think that the great god, do you think that the true god, was blind?

In Ainu land there was a great famine and the Ainu were dying for want of food, yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.

Now the great god had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.

And the great god had mercy upon us, therefore he looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu land there was a famine, and that the Ainu had nothing to eat. Then was that cup of wine emptied into six lacquer-ware vessels.

In a very little while the scent of the wine filled the whole house.

Therefore were all the gods led in and the gods of places were brought from everywhere, and they were all well pleased with that delicious wine.

Then the goddess of the rivers and the goddess of the mouths of rivers danced back and forth in the house.

Upon this the gods laughed with smiles upon their faces;

And while they looked at the goddesses they saw them pluck out two hairs from a deer;

And, as it were, blew them over the tops of the mountains; then appeared two herds of deer skipping upon the mountain tops, one of bucks and the other of does.

Then they plucked out two scales from a fish, and, as it were, blew them over the rivers; and the beds of the rivers were so crowded with fish that they scraped upon the stones, and the tops of the rivers were so full that the fish stood out like the porches of houses and were dried up by the sun.

So the things called fish filled all the rivers to the brim.

Then the Ainu went fishing and caused their boats to dance upon the rivers.

The young men now found fish and venison in rich abundance.

Hence it is that Ainu land is so good. Hence it is that from ancient times till now there has been hunting. Hence it is that there are inheritors to this hunting.

LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake.

In this lake there was a monster trout which was so big that it used to flap its (pectoral) fins at one end and wave its tail at the other.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tô (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

TTS 539

He got up greatly rejoicing; he ate some food; strength came back to his body, and—the woman was gone.

Okikurumi saw he had been deceived, but there was nothing to be done and nothing to say; so he got well.

POIYAUMBE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

We three, my younger sister, my dear brother, and I, were always together.

One night I was quite unable to sleep; but, whether what I now relate was seen in a dream or whether it really took place, I do not know.

Now I saw upon the tops of the mountains, which lie towards the source of our river, a great herd of male deer feeding by themselves. At the head of this great herd there was a very large speckled buck; even its horns were speckled. At the head of the herd of female deer there was a speckled doe skipping about in front of its fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled my belt, winding it once around my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened my leggings, made of grass, to my legs, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favorite sword in my girdle, took my quiver sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark, by the middle, and sallied forth.

The dust upon the road by the river side was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and really seemed to go along upon the clouds. Now, my elder brother and younger sister were coming along behind me.

And as we went along, in truth, we saw that the mighty mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does; the bucks had a speckled male at their head, even its horns were speckled; there was also a speckled female deer skipping about at the head of the does.

On coming near them I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the thickest of the herd, so that the mountains became covered with the multitude of those which had tasted poison (*i.e.*, which had been hit with poisoned arrows). And my older brother, shooting into the thickest of the herd of does, killed so many that the grass was completely covered with their bodies; within a very short time the whole herd, both of bucks and does, was slain. How was it that that which but a short time since was a deer became a man? That I can not tell.

With angry words he said to me: "Because you are a brave Poiyaumbe and your fame has spread over many lands, you have come hither with a purpose of picking a quarrel with me, but, however brave you may be, I think you will probably find that you are mistaken."

When he had spoken so much, this lordly person drew his sword with a flash and struck at me with powerful strokes; in return I also flashed out my sword, but when I hit at him with mighty blows there was no corresponding clashing sound. It was extremely difficult to come upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood sparted out of my body. That abominable bad man was also bleeding profusely.

Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought; and when I looked I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain; as he fell he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere; it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (*i. e.*, she died with a groan). Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted, and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then the two, the woman

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman twice or thrice, so that she rode upon the sun; she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus: "Because you are a Poiyaumbe and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called Samatuye. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus, then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful."

Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for long space or a short, I know not; but when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

So I came to myself. And I wondered where Samatuye could be and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come. I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I traveled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the seashore; here I saw many towns and villages.

Here there was a very tall mountain, whose top extended even into the skies; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and, stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fireplace.

Here again was a woman who in beauty excelled my younger sister. Now, the little man spoke thus: "Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over and I am filled with anticipation. You know you have been a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said: "My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me, for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation? I hear news from a distant land; this is news coming from above the mountain of Tomisanpet. The brave Poiyaumbe have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little Kesorap comes flying across the sky from the interior; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, some how or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a Ya un man and a Rep un man; blood is squirting forth from two great wounds; the sword of the Rep un man goes in to the setting sun and is lost; the handle of the sword of the Ya un man shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house I lifted the doors crem over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord; with fear they gazed at me from under their eyebrows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fireplace with hasty strides.

I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fireplace with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus: "Look here, little Samatuye man, I have a word to say; attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the Samatuye man, attacked us without reason? Has he not done so? As you have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

stirred up this war without reason, you will be punished by the gods; you will be annihilated. Listen to what I have to say. Besides, although I am a wounded man, I will overthrow your town. Listen to what I say." And when I had said so much, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with such blows that the wind whistled. We ascended to the ceiling fighting, and here I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated upon the threshold. They were as thick as swarms of flies; so I cut them down like men mow grass.

Whilst this was going on the little woman said: "Oh, my brothers, why did ye commit such a fault as to attack the Poiyaumbe without cause? Was it that ye desired to slay those who had no desire to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the Poiyaumbe. Listen to my words."

When the little woman had thus spoken, she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass; we fought side by side. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house, and when we looked at them, there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little Samatuye man; yes, he was there. In a very short time those few persons were all killed. After this I went after the Samatuye man with hasty strides, and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much, and spake, saying: "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, oh Poiyaumbe. Listen to what I say."

AN AINO RIP VAN WINKLE.

In conclusion comes the story of Rip Van Winkle, told in so many forms by so many peoples. It should be compared with the legend of the fisher boy Urashima and his Pandora's box, which Professor Chamberlain has so well rendered in verse from the Japanese. The translation of this Aino version is also by the same pen.

A certain Aino went out in a boat to catch fish in the sea. While he was there a great wind arose, so that he drifted about for six nights. Just as he was like to die, land came in sight. Being borne on to the beach by the waves, he quietly stepped ashore, where he found a pleasant rivulet. Having walked up the bank of this rivulet for some distance, he descried a populous town, in whose neighborhood were crowds of people, both men and women. Proceeding to the town itself, he found an old man of divine aspect, who said to him: "Stay with us a night and we will send you home to your own country to morrow. Do you consent?"

So the Aino spent the night with the old chief, who next morning addressed him as follows: "Some of my people, both men and women, are going to your country for purpose of trade. So, if you will put yourself under their guidance, you will be able to go home. When they take you with them in the boat you must lie down and not look about you, but completely hide your head. That is the condition of your return. If you look, my people will be angry. Mind you, do not look." Thus spoke the old chief. Well, there was a whole fleet of boats, inside which crowds of people, both men and women, took passage. There were as many as five score boats, which all started off together. The Aino lay down inside one of them and hid his head, while the others made the boats go to the music of a pretty song, which he much enjoyed. After a while they reached the land. When they had done so the Aino, peeping a little, saw that there was a river, and that they were drawing water with dippers from the mouth of the river and sipping it. They said

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Rhododendron turbinatum*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [413]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888.
150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888.
150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888.
150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888.
150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888.
150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888.
150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashira, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet.
150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888.
150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888.
150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684 [445]

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3½ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2½ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1½ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made
[534] to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukuskina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

411 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head
[224] and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

Bark fish tray.—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches;
[415] width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[241] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786 [441]

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving chiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150789

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150790

Wooden plates.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416 [445]

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745 [342]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
[342]

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—This house has a thatched chimney in front of the smoke-hole under the ridge, but no opening in the roof. The smoke-hole is larger in houses of this kind than in those like 745. The entrance is through a passage way in front of the door, which affords protection from cold winds. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 746

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Showing the characteristic strong growth of hair on the legs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 749

Aino house, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the method of construction. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 750

Two Aino girls, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the ordinary dress and the rough sandals. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 751

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Leaning on his staff at the door of his hut. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 752

Aged Aino woman, Tokoro, Yezo.—The wife of the man shown in 752. Showing the tattoo marks on lips and arm. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 753

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Nude figure, showing growth of hair on body and limbs. The hair about the breast and shoulders is very long, but the color is not dark enough to show distinctly in the photograph. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 754

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Back view of the man shown in 754. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 755

Aino canoes, Tokoro, Yezo.—Boats used in river fishing, rudely dug out of a single log. The form varies in different parts of the island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 756

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—One holding a child. Good faces, long unkempt hair. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 757

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Good types of Yezo Ainos in ordinary dress. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 758

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—One an old, patriarchal Aino, such as may often be found in Yezo. Dressed in good clothes, he would appear a dignified and wise old gentleman. The hairiness of the lower limbs well shown. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 759

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—Excellent types. They are both tattooed, but the blue marking does not show distinctly in photographs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 760

Aino man, Abashiri, Yezo.—A large and powerful man, chief of the Aino village. A sleeping dog on the ground. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 761

Main street, Abashiri, Yezo.—A Japanese town on the northeast coast. The low houses, with roofs weighted down with stones, being characteristic of the whole island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 763

Aino man carrying a water tub, Abashiri, Yezo.—The usual manner of carrying a load on the back. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 767

Aino Village, Yezo.—The village adjoining the Japanese town Abashiri. View along the beach, the houses all facing the sea, only far enough back to be beyond the reach of the waves in stormy weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 768

Beach, and fishing boats, Abashiri, Yezo.—View of the beach within the bar and boats, from behind the houses shown in No. 763. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 769

House on Shikotan.—Occupied by Kurile islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 770

Shikotan village.—General view of village from the hill-side on the west. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 771

Street scene, Shikotan.—General view of the street from the south. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 772

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Aino girl, Urap, Yezo.—Seated in Japanese fashion. Lips tattooed. Wearing large silver earrings. Embroidered garment. Print from a Japanese negative. 788

Aino man, Hakodate, Japan.—Back view, showing embroidered pattern on coat. Print from a Japanese negative. 788

Aino in canoe, Urap, Yezo.—Showing the form of canoe used in the locality. A bridge ferry, common on rapid streams. Print from a Japanese negative. 789

Aino bear cage and hedge.—A view at Urap, showing the square cage built of logs and the sacred hedge with bear skulls on the tops of the poles. Print from a Japanese negative. 790

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ANUTSCHIN. Materalien zur Anthropologie Ostasiens. Russische Revue.

ASTON, W. G. Russian Descents in Saghalien and Itorup in the years 1806 and 1807. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, I (1882), 78–86.

BAELZ, E. Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Feb., 1883, 330–359.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Grammar. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Vocabulary. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, X (1882), 220–251.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. On the Ainu Term "Kamui." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 17–32.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. Specimens of Ainu Folklore. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 111–150.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Yesso. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 353–361.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Saghalien and the Kurile Islands. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 361–377.

BIRD, ISABELLA L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. London, 1880.

BLACKISTON, T. W. Japan in Yezo. Yokohama, 1884. Office of Japan Gazette.

BRIDGFORD, Capt. R. M. A. A Journey in Yezo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, II (1882), 78–100.

CACHON, MERMET DE. Les Ainos, Paris, 1863. Pamphlet.

CAPRON, HORACE, commissioner and adviser, and his foreign assistants. Reports and official letters to the Kaitakushi. Tokyo, 1875.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. A catalogue of books relating to Yezo and the Ainos. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. An Aino Bear Hunt. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XV, (1887), 126–129.

CHAMBERLAIN, B. H. Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the words "Kamui" and "Aino." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 33–38.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. The Language, Mythology and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

DAVIDOW (A. J. VON KRUSENSTERN). Wörtersammlung aus der Sprache der Ainos, der Bewohner der Halbinsel Sachalin, der Insel Jesso und der südlichen Kurilen. St. Petersburg, 1813.

DAVIS, J. B. Description of the skeleton of an Aino woman. Anthropological Society of London, III (1870).

DAY, Lieut. M. S., U. S. Navy. Trigonometrical Survey Map of the Island of Hokkaido, 1875.

DEBROTVORSKY'S DICTIONARY. Ueber den Bau der Aino-Sprache.

DENING, WALTER. A Vocabulary of Aino Words and Phrases. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1881.

DIXON, J. M., M. A. The Aino Language. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1883.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 DIXON, J. M. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XI (1883), 39-50.

DOENITZ, Prof. W. Bemerkungen über Aino. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Heft. 6, 1874, 61-67. (With plate showing skulls.) [See also Hilgendorf, Dr.]

ELDRIDGE, STUART. On the Arrow Poison in use among the Ainos of Yezo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, IV (1876), 78-86.

FURET. Vocabulaire Aino de Hakodate.

GREEY, EDWARD. The Bear Worshipers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto. Boston, 187-. [Illustrated.]

HASHIBA, Y. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin, Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152.

HILGENDORF, Dr. Bemerkungen über die Behaarung des Ainos. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Heft 7, 1875, 11-13.

LYMAN, B. S., and Japanese assistants. Geological Sketch Maps of the Island of Yezo. Sapporo, 1876.

MEIK, C. S., C. E. Around the Hokkaido. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 151-172.

MILNE, JOHN. Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate, with a few general remarks on the Prehistoric Remains of Japan. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, VIII (1880), 61-87.

MILNE, J. Notes on the Koro-pok-guru or pit-dwellers of Yezo and the Kurile Islands. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, X (1882), 187-198.

MILNE, JOHN. The Stone Age in Japan. Journal of the Anthropological Society, May, 1881.

NICOLAI, ELIND. Neue und Wahrhaftige Relation von dem, was sich in Beederley d. i. in den West- und Ostindien zugetragen, u. s. w., Munich, 1619.

PFIZMAIER, A. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Aino-Poesie.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Erörterungen und Aufklarungen über Aino. Vienna, 1862.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Untersuchungen über Aino-Gegenstände. Vienna, 1863.

PFIZMAIER, AUGUST. Untersuchungen über den Bau der Aino-Sprache. Vienna, 1851.

PFIZMAIER, A. Vocabularium der Aino-Sprache.

REIN, J. J. Japan nach Reisen and Studien. Leipzig, 1881.

RITTER, HERMAN. Ueber eine Reise im südwestlichen Theile von Yezo. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Heft 6, 1874, 1874, 55-59, Heft. 7, 13-17.

SATOW, E. M. Murray's Handbook for Japan. London, 1884.

SCHEUBE, Dr. B. Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste der Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze Derselben. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Heft 22 (1880), 44-51.

SCHEUBE, Dr. B. Die Ainos. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für. Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens, III (1882), 229-245 (Plates I-IX).

SCHRENK, L. von. Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande, vol. III.

SIEBOLD, HEINRICH, VON. Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso. Berlin, 1881. (Illustrated.)

SIEBOLD, HENRY VON. Notes on Japanese Archæology. Yokohama. [Illustrated.]

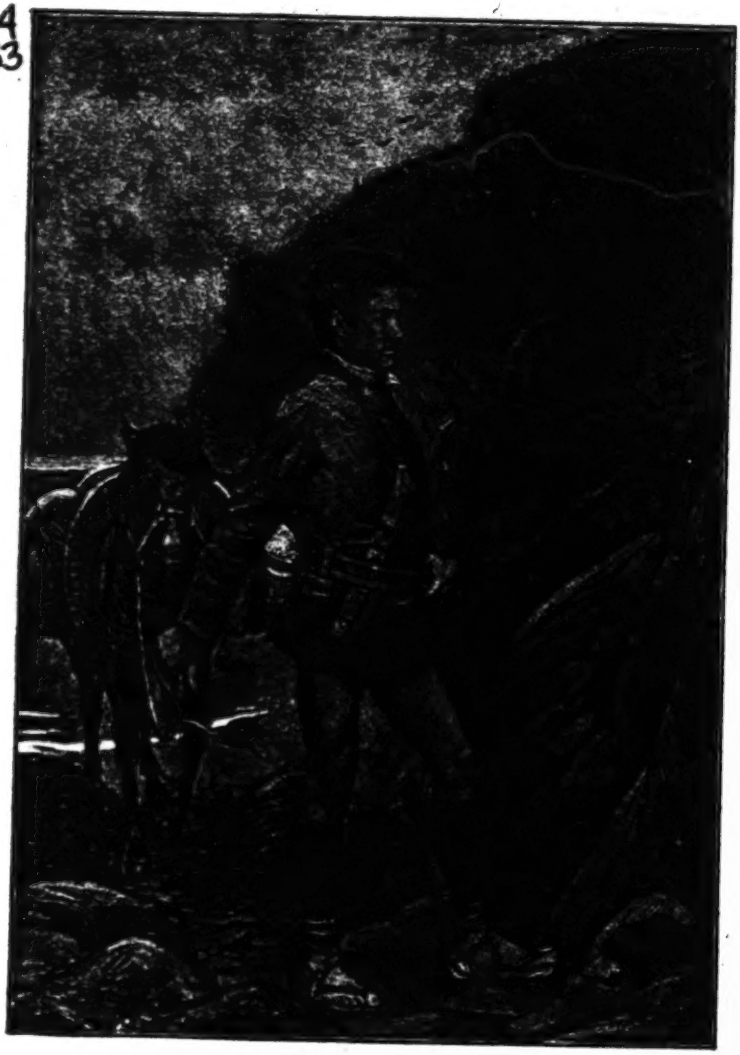
SIEBOLD, PH. FR. VON. Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern. 1835.

ST. JOHN. The Ainos: Aborigines of Yezo. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

SUMMERS, Rev. J. An Aino-English Vocabulary. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XIV (1886), 186-232.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

114
133



[Frontispiece.

PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

"When my clothes came to an end I did without them."

[Frontispiece]

[Facing Title page] [p. iv]

[p. i – iii are blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

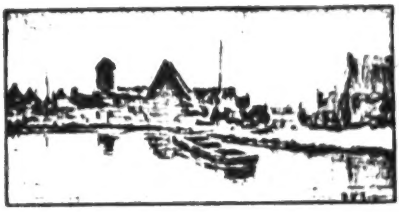
ALONE WITH THE HAIRY AINU.

OR,

3,800 MILES ON A PACK SADDLE IN YEZO AND A CRUISE TO THE KURILE ISLANDS.

BY

A. H. SAVAGE LANDOR.



WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR.

[Title Page]

[p. v]

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1893.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Nkd71
A2
893l

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I

Dedicate this Book

TO MY

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER.

[P. vii]
[P. viii is blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record —an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public. 121

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear. 114

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself 123

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

161 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

191 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE 000

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange institution among them 1

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River 12

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief 22

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival 30

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo 35

CHAPTER VI.

From Cape Erimo to the Tokachi River 44

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing 50

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Tokachi River to the Kutcharo River 68

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers 78

[p. xi]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER X.

PAGE

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay 95

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People 106

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands 121

CHAPTER XIII.

On the East and North-East Coast—From Nemuro to Shari-Mombets 133

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-East Coast—From Shari-Mombets to Poronai 145

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya . . 157

CHAPTER XVI.

From Cape Soya to the Ishikari River 167

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River 179

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nearing Civilisation 187

CHAPTER XIX.

Completing the Circuit of Yezo—The End of my Journey . 196

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism 207

CHAPTER XXI.

Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos 218

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII.

PAGE

Ainu Heads, and their Physiognomy 229

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes 236

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing 245

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing 255

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations 266

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses 274

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments . . 281

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that limit Population . . . 293

APPENDIX.

I.—Measurements of the Ainu Body, and Descriptive Characters 298

II.—Glossary of Ainu Words, many of which are found in Geographical Names in Yezo and the Kurile Islands . . . 304

INDEX 313

[p. xiv is blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Portrait of the Author—*Frontispiece.*	
Aputa	1
Ainu Woman saluting	6
Toya Lake, near Aputa	11
Fisherman's Hut	12
Pack-Saddle	18
Norboribets Volcano	19
Horobets	21
Storehouses at Piratori	22
Benry, the Ainu Chief of Piratori	25
Ainu Man waving his Moustache-lifter before drinking	29
Ainu Festival, An	30
Ainu Women dancing	33
Piratori Woman in Costume	34
Utarop Rocks	35
Ainu Lashed Canoe	37
Front View of Lashed Canoe	38
Ainu Oars	38
Sailing Canoe	38
Ainu Wooden Anchors	39
Ainu Canoe, Top View of an	39
Erimo Cape	43
Natural Stone Archway, A	44
Iwa Rocks at Biru	49
Ainu Houses and Storehouse, Frishikobets, Tokachi River	50
Madwoman of Yammakka	55
Ainu Woman of Frishikobets, on the Tokachi River	60
Shikarubets Otchirsh, The	67
Ainu Man of the Upper Tokachi	68
Ainu Hook for Smoking Bear-Meat	77
Koro-pok-kuru Fort	78
Flint Arrow-Heads	78
Flint Knives	79
Koro-pok-kuru Pottery and Fragments of Designs	86
Stone Adzes and Hammer	94
Ainu Huts and Storehouses on Kutcharo Lake	95
Kutcharo Lake from Mount Yuzan	98
Sulphur Mine	100
Akkeshi in a Fog	105
Ainu Man and Woman on Horseback	106
Ainu Bits	110
Semi-Ainu Rat Trap	120
Ainu Woman of the Kurile Islands	121
Shikotan Ainu	126
Woman of the Kurile Islands	132
Abashiri Island	133
Ainu Belle, An	140
Saruma Lagoon	144
Eagle-displayed Sable, An	145
My Host, the Madman	148
Sarubuts, showing River-Course altered by Drift Sand	157
Ainu Village on the East Coast of Yezo	166
Mashike Mountain	167
Ishikari Kraftu Ainu	178

[p. xv]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

	PAGE
Kamui Kotan Rapids, The	179
Woman of Ishikari River	186
Ainu Bark Water Jugs	187
Ainu Half-caste Child of Volcano Bay	194
Komatage Volcano, Volcano Bay	196
Wooden Drinking Vessels	207
Kammakappe, The, &c.	209
Ahunkanitte, The, &c.	210
Atzis-Cloth in process of Weaving	210
Roasting Hook	211
Ape-Kilai, The, or Earth-Rake	214
Pestle, Mortar, Spoon, &c.	215
Ainu Pipe Holder and Tobacco Pouch	217
Ainu Knife, with ornamented Sheath, &c.	218
Kike-ush-bashui, or Moustache-Lifters	220
Suggestions of Leaves, &c.	221
Elaborations of Chevrons, Wave Patterns, &c.	222
Tchutti, or War-Clubs, &c.	223
Ainu Knives	224
Monuments for Women	225
Wooden Monuments over Men's Grave	225
Wooden Blade	226
Ainu Pipe, An	228
Ainu Man walking with Snow-Shoes	236
Thiaske-Tarra, The	238
Atzis, The	245
Atzis, after Japanese Pattern	245
Winter Bear-skin Coat	245
Atzis, Back of	246
"Hoshi," The	247
Boots, Deer-Skin Shoe, &c.	248
Tattoo-marks on Women's Arms	253
Snow-Shoes	254
Ainu Salutation	255
"Mukko," A, or Musical Instrument	258
Wooden Pipe, A	265
Naked Ainu Man from the North-East Coast of Yezo	274
Trophy of Bears' Skulls	281
Inao-netuba, &c.	292

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them. 114

Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their

[p.1]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

pretty *kimonos* (gowns) and with oil-paper umbrellas, were toddling along on their wooden clogs, and a crowd of loafers stood gazing at the ship as she came to anchor. The Peak, more than 1000 feet high, was towering on our south side, forming a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, and the large bay swept round us, forming nearly a circle. The place has a striking resemblance to Gibraltar.

I landed, and put up at a tea-house, where I was in hopes of learning something regarding the island from the Japanese settlers, but no one knew anything. The reports that there were no roads extending beyond a few miles; that there was but very poor and scarce accommodation along the coast; that the Ainu, who lived further north, were dirty people; and that the country was full of bears, were certainly not encouraging to an intending traveller.

I must confess that my first day in Yezo was a dull one; but the second day I had the pleasure of meeting a Mr. H., a resident, who kindly offered me his hospitality, and the next two were pleasantly spent at his house. In conversation with a friend of his, I heard the remark that no man alone could possibly complete the circuit of the island of Yezo, owing to the difficulties of travel; and my readers can imagine the astonishment of my interlocutors when I meekly said, that if no one had ever done it, I was going to do it; and, indeed, that I intended to set out alone the next morning.

"Impossible!" said one, "you are too young and too delicate."

"Absurd!" said my kind host, "it would take a very strong man to do it—a man who could stand any amount of hardships and roughing." At the same time he gave me a pitiful look, which undoubtedly meant, "You are a mere bag of skin and bones."

However, the bag of skin and bones kept his word, notwithstanding the poor opinion that his new friends had formed of him.

The preparations for my journey were simple. In two large Japanese baskets I packed three hundred small wooden panels for oil-painting, a large supply of oil colours and brushes, a dozen small sketch-books, my diary, three pairs of boots, three shirts, an equal number of pairs of woollen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

stockings, a revolver, and a hundred cartridges. The remainder of my luggage was left in charge of Mr. H. till my return. I did not burden myself with either provisions or a tent.

I rose early the following morning and bade good-bye to my kind host. "Good-bye," said he, "I expect we shall see you back to-night to dinner." The word "dinner" was the last English word I heard from the mouth of an Englishman, and it was five long months before I heard another.

The first thirty miles of my journey were ridden in a *basha*, a covered cart built on four wheels that ought to have been round, but were not. There were no springs for the comfort of the traveller, and no cushions on the seats. The conveyance was public, and was drawn by two sturdy ponies. The driver, a Japanese, carried a brass trumpet, on which he continually played.

I might have begun my story by the usual "One fine day," if, unfortunately, the day on which I started the rain had not poured in torrents. A Japanese policeman and a girl were my only fellow-passengers. Travelling at full gallop, on a rough road, in a trap with unsymmetrical wheels and with no springs, during a heavy storm, is scarcely what one would call a pleasant mode of progression; but after some hours of "being knocked about," we went zig-zag fashion, first up a steep hill, then down on the other side, giving the horses a rest at a roadside tea-house by the famous lakes of Zenzai. The larger of these two lakes—the Ko-numa—is extremely picturesque, with its numerous little islands wooded with deciduous trees. In shape it is very irregular, and many points, which project into the lake, add to the loveliness of the scene, while the high ridge over which I had come, on the one side, and the rugged volcano of Komagatake on the other, form a beautiful background to the limpid sheet of water. The outlet of this lake empties itself into Volcano Bay, S.E. of the Komagatake Volcano. The other lake, though smaller, is quite as striking, and possesses the same characteristics of its larger brother. It goes by the name of Ono-numa. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they abound in a smallish fish—the *funa*—which is greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

I sat down in the tea-house on the soft mats, and my *bento*

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—Japanese lunch—was served to me on a tiny table. There was water soup; there was sea-weed; there was a bowl of rice, and raw fish. The fish—a small *funa*—was in a diminutive dish and its back was covered by a leaf; the head projected over the side of the plate. On the leaf were placed several neatly-cut pieces of the raw flesh, which had apparently been removed from the back of the underlying animal. As I had been long accustomed to Japanese food of this kind I ate to my heart's content, when, to my great horror, the *funa*, which had been staring at me with its round eyes, relieved of the weight that had passed from its back into my digestive organs, leaped up, leaf and all, from the dish and fell on the mat. All the vital parts had carefully been left in the fish, and the wretched creature was still alive!

"Horrible!" I cried, violently pushing away the table and walking out disgusted, to the great surprise of the people present, who expected me to revel in the deliciousness of the dish.

For days and days after I could see in my mind the staring eyes of the *funa*, watching each movement of my chopsticks, and its own back being eaten piecemeal! Wherever I went this big eye stood before me, and increased or diminished in size according to my being more or less lonely, more or less hungry. I had often eaten raw fish before, but never had I eaten live fish!

133 The journey in the *basha* was resumed that afternoon, and, more dead than alive, I alighted in the evening at Mori, a small Japanese village at the foot of the Komagatake Volcano. The peak of this mountain is 4000 feet above the level of the sea, but its basin-like crater is at a somewhat lower altitude. Up to a certain height it is thickly wooded with deciduous trees and firs, thence its slopes are bare of vegetation, rugged in form, and very rich in colour. It makes part of a volcanic mass which extends from the Esan Volcano, further south, to the limit of the Shiribeshi province, crossing straight through the province of Oshima as far as the Yurapdake Mountain. Komagatake is one of the most majestic and picturesque mountains I have ever seen, as it possesses lovely lines on nearly every side. Its isolation and sudden sharp elevation, rising as it does directly from the sea, gives, of course,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

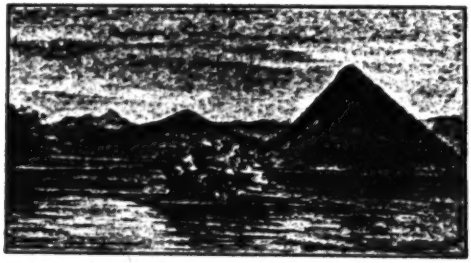
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake, with its three pretty islands in the centre and the magnificent Uso Volcano on its southern shores. The walk there and back was hardly fifteen miles, over a mountain track and through forests of pine-trees and oaks. The lake is about 250 feet above the level of the sea, and is about five miles in diameter. Its shores are surrounded with thickly-wooded hills, which have grassy terraces at a certain altitude, extending especially towards the north-western shores of the lake. The barren Uso Volcano, with its sterile slopes, is a great contrast to the beautiful green of the comparatively luxuriant vegetation of the lower altitudes. The lake finds an outlet into the Osaru River by means of a high waterfall.

The following day I rode back to Mombets, and the next on to Shin-Mororran (the *new* Mororran, distinguished by this affix from Kiu-Mororran, the *old* settlement on the northern shore).

Mororran has a well-protected harbour, and it would be the best future port in Hokkaido if the anchorage were of a larger capacity. In more speculative hands than the Japanese this port would be a great rival to Hakodate. It consists of a thickly-wooded peninsula, which forms a well-sheltered bay, at the entrance of which the picturesque island of Daikuku stands high above the sea-level. In the harbour itself, smaller islets and huge rocks contribute to its beauty.

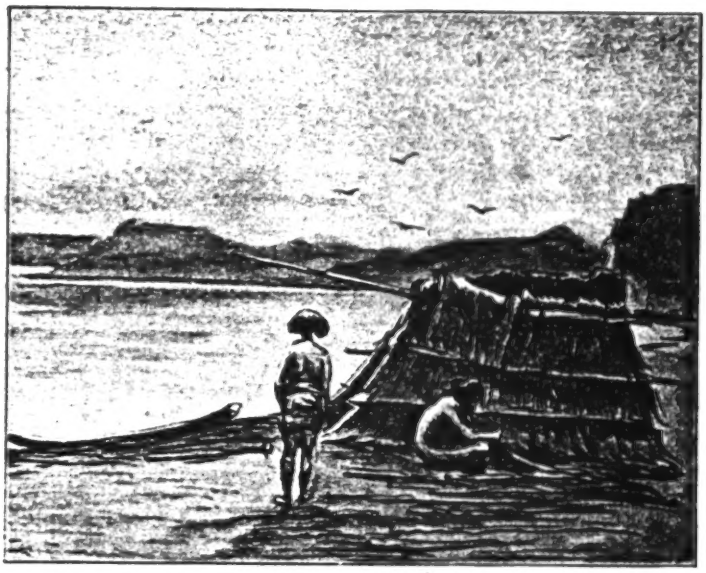
OSO The village of Mororran is a mere streak of fourth-rate tea-houses along the road by the side of the cliffs. Apart from the natural loveliness of the harbour, it has, indeed, no claims to consideration at present. In former days it was called by the Ainu, Tokri-moi, "the home of the seals," for these valuable [136] amphibious animals were said to be then plentiful in the bay.



TOYA LAKE, NEAR APUTA.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[550] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

knives. They did not pay much attention to me, and this disregard of what would be to others a cause of curiosity and interruption I afterwards found to be a characteristic of the Ainu. They are seldom distracted from any particular idea that occupies their mind at a certain moment. In fact, they are so little accustomed to reflect at all, that it seems almost impossible for them to think of two things at the same time. Of all the existing races of mankind they may be said to be the most purely one-idea'd. 123 609

Stark naked, with their long hair streaming in the wind, they formed a picturesque group. What a chance for a sketch! I sat down on the sand, opened my paint-box, and dashed off a picture, when a young lad, who had taken his share of the fish, came over to see what I was doing. "What is it?" he asked me in broken Japanese, to which question I answered that I was painting the group of them. The news seemed to give him a shock. He rejoined the others, excitedly muttered some words, and apparently told them that I had painted the whole group, fish and all. Had anyone among them been struck by lightning, they could certainly not have looked more dismayed. I never knew until then that painting could have such an overpowering effect on people, except, perhaps, when one has sat to an amateur artist for one's own likeness, the result of which is often one of dumb and blank amazement. Anger and disgust naturally followed. The fish was thrown aside, but not the knives, armed with which they all rushed at my back. The sudden change of ideas had evidently made them exceedingly angry. The grumbling became very loud, and louder still when they saw me complacently giving the finishing touches to the fish, which was now left alone, and not as before shifted about every second. They grew wilder and wilder, until one of the crowd shouted in my ears some words which sounded remarkably like swearing. Nevertheless it takes more than that to stop me from sketching; but . . . "By Jove!" I exclaimed, when, all of a sudden, a rush was made on me. My paint-box, picture, palette and brushes were snatched out of my hands and smashed or flung away, and I found myself stretched on the sand, my late involuntary sitters holding me down fast by the legs and arms. A big knife was kept well over my head, so that I should not attempt [291]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

to move, while the painting, on a heavy wooden panel, was being mercilessly destroyed by others. "If these are Christians, well I am . . ." were, I must confess, the first words that rose to my lips.

It is, indeed, difficult to describe how and what one feels when, to all appearance, one is going to be murdered—for painting a fish! My first thought, of course, went to my parents. My next was, what a nuisance it was to be murdered with the sun shining in my eyes, so that I could not even see who would give me the "finishing touch." All the events of my life, the bad ones first, flashed across my mind in those few seconds, and then I almost began to feel as if I had made my first steps into the other world, and I could see angels and devils disputing for my company—the devils, of course, having by far the largest claims. The bitterness of death had in some sense passed, when, to my great astonishment, and with a few, but very sound, kicks I was made to understand that I could get up and go.

The sensation of being brought back to life, when one has made up one's mind to be dead, notwithstanding the abrupt manner in which it was produced, was indeed a pleasant one. I did get up, and pretty quick, I can tell you; but only to see my poor wooden paint-box floating half-smashed in the sea, my brushes stuck here and there in the sand, and the sketch utterly destroyed.

My assailants were about fifteen or twenty, and I was alone. Stupidly enough, and relying on the Christianity of the people, I had not burdened myself with the extra weight of my revolver; I had left it with my heavy luggage in the small Japanese tea-house where I had put up, nearly a mile away. The Japanese police-station was at Washibets, another village some miles off. Nothing was left for me but to pick up the few unbroken brushes which were within easy reach and retire; but I was neither frightened nor conquered, and I swore to myself that I would have my revenge. I hurried to the tea-house, took my revolver, and filled my pocket with cartridges, then I ran back to the spot where I had sketched and been assaulted. There they all were as I had left them, one of them mimicking me with the broken palette, which he had fished out of the sea. I had kept well behind

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

some thick brushwood, so that they should not see me, and for some time watched them unobserved. The imitation was perfect. The impromptu Raphael's hair was long enough to give him the look of an artist, and he was sufficiently brave to carry on his imitation sketching under a shower of missiles and sand thrown at him by his friends and companions. As he turned his head I recognised in my brother-artist the man who had been holding the knife over my head about an hour before, and also the very person who had given me the soundest kick. Just like a brother-artist! If my sketching had not lasted long, his parody was even shorter. I sprang out from the brushwood screen and caught him by the throat, pointing my revolver at his head, and telling him in Japanese to follow me to the police-station. Another man, attacking me from behind, stabbed me in my left arm, but not very severely, as I saw him just in time to avoid his blow. The sight of my revolver had a salutary effect on my hairy friends, and they were done out of their fun when, keeping them at bay, I told them that if they did not follow me they would all be dead men before they knew where they were. They had seen guns of the Japanese, and they knew the effects of them, so the saucy gentlemen stroked their hair and beard and made signs of submission and obedience. However, I was not to be easily appeased, as it was necessary to give them a lesson to prevent the same thing happening to future travellers; so I made them march in front of me, not caring to have them at my back, and thus took them all to the Japanese police-station, where they were duly arrested. The Japanese are very severe with recalcitrant Ainu, and my assailants would have been unmercifully dealt with had it not been for their wives and children, who came to me begging me to forgive their husbands and fathers for what they had done. I willingly did so, on condition that they should all come and prostrate themselves at my feet, imploring pardon and forgiveness and offering submission, as well as confessing their sorrow. This penitential function was reluctantly fixed by the Japanese policeman—the only one in the place—at a late hour in the afternoon. During the interval, as I fortunately had a large supply of painting materials, I managed to re-paint from memory the scene represented in the sketch

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 [789] [753] One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

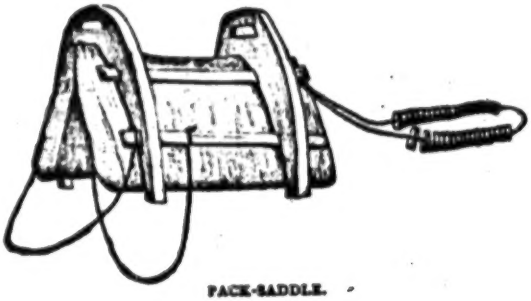
The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492 mat cushions or pads, which are somehow supposed to fit the pony's back; and by means of three ropes, one of which is passed under the pony's body and fastened on each side of the saddle, while the others hang loose across its chest and



PACK-SADDLE.

under its tail respectively, the pack-saddle is made to remain in position either going uphill, downhill, or on level ground. Stirrups, of course, there are none; and mounting involves some difficulties at first. One has to face one's pony and place the left foot on the breast-piece, lift oneself up and swing right round, describing three-quarters of a circle before attaining one's seat in the saddle. If distances are miscalculated in this gymnastic feat, it is a common occurrence to find oneself seated on the pony's neck, or else landed heavily on either of the two hard wooden arches of the saddle, instead of gracefully falling between them. Keeping your equilibrium when you are on is also a trying exercise to anybody not born and bred a circus rider, and balancing your baggage perfectly on each side of the saddle is somewhat more difficult than it sounds.

133 Nine miles from Horobets one comes across the Noboribets[1] hot-springs. There was, formerly, a *geiser* here, but it is seldom active now. These hot-springs are situated two-and-a-half miles from the sea-coast, and a miserable building, which is a mere shanty, is built in the vicinity of them, where people who wish to be cured of different complaints put up and take the waters.

000 I rode on to the Noboribets village, consisting of a few houses

[1] *Nobori*, mountain, volcano; *bets*, river, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

only ; and, though I reached it late in the evening, I had to ride fourteen miles further to Shiraoi, "a place of horse-flies."[1]

At sunrise I was up again and on my way to Tomakomai,[2] the largest Japanese fishing village between Mororran and Cape Erimo.

Sardine fishing is the principal and, indeed, the only industry of the place. It is carried on in a practical way.

NOBORIBETS VOLCANO.

When the long nets are ready, and one end of them is fastened to the shore, they launch the boat, which is rowed rapidly by twenty or thirty strong men, while the net is dropped as the boat goes along. Having thus described a semicircle, the boat is beached. All on board jump out, and the net is pulled on shore amid the shrieks and yells of the

[1] *Shirao*, horse-fly ; *i*, a suffix meaning *a place*.

[2] *To*, lake, swamp ; *mak*, behind ; *oma*, inside ; *i*, a suffix meaning *a place*, or "a place behind which a hidden swamp is found."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

excited fishermen. Myriads of sardines are caught each time the net is hauled in; and it is a fantastic scene to see the naked crowd which, in clearing the nets from the beheaded fish, get covered with silver scales, which stick to their arms, legs, and body, and give them a strange appearance.

Look-out towers are built on four high posts, where a watchman is posted to signal the arrival and approach of the shoals. The sea is so dense with them that it changes its colour, and these moving banks of sardines are distinguishable four or five miles from the coast. This method is the same as that adopted in Cornwall when the pilchards are expected, and the same discoloration of the sea takes place.

From Tomakomai a road branches to the north leading to Sappro, the capital of Hokkaido, and it is the last place on the southern coast which is visited by that rare specimen of the globe-trotter who ventures to Yezo. He hastily makes his way from here to Sappro and Otaru on the northern coast, and waits for a ship to be conveyed back to Hakodate. He then, of course, tells his friends that he has been round and about and through Yezo, while in fact he has seen absolutely nothing of Yezo or its inhabitants. About half-a-dozen Europeans, however, have been further on—as far as the Saru River; and each one has written a book on the Ainu, for the most part copying what the previous author had written.

As far as Tomakomai there is a road—a sure sign of civilisation—but nothing but a horse-track is to be found all along the southern coast after this place has been passed.

Changing my ponies at Yuhuts,[1] nine miles east, and again at Mukawa and Saru-buto, I was able to reach Saru Mombets that same night. Many Ainu and Japanese fishermen's huts are scattered between Horohuts[2] and Yuhuts, on the sandy track along the sea.

The traveller then leaves the sea on the right, and by a very uneven track, and after fording several rivers of little importance comes to Mukawa, a dirty little village fourteen miles from Yuhuts. My lunch that day consisted of a large piece of raw salmon, which was easily digested in riding nine more miles to Saru-buto. *Sharu* in Ainu, corrupted into Saru,

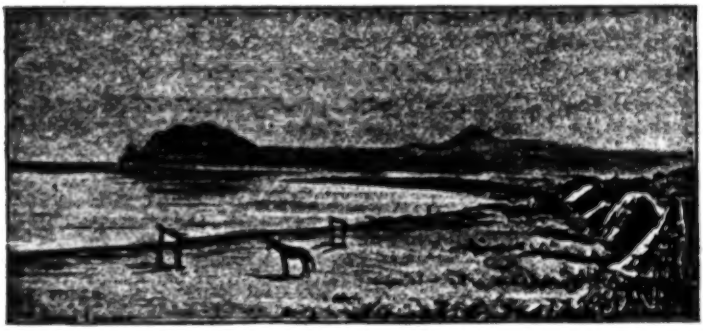
[1] *Yu*, springs; *huts*, mouth of river.
[2] *Horo*, large; *hut*, *huts*, *put*, the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

means a grassy plain; and *buto* is a Japanese corruption of the Ainu word *huts*, the mouth of a river. My ponies must have known of this "grassy plain," for they went remarkably well, and I reached the latter village some time before dark, so that I was able to push on to Saru Mombets, a larger village nearly four miles further. Saru Mombets translated means "a tranquil river in a grassy plain," a name thoroughly appropriate to the locality.

There is nothing to interest the traveller along the coast, unless he be a geologist. Almost the whole of the western part of the Iburi district is of volcanic formation. The eastern part is abundant in sandstones, breccias, and shales. In the neighbourhood of Yuhuts, and all along the coast as far west as Horobets, pumice forms the surface soil, showing that in former days frequent eruptions must have taken place. Vegetable mould alternates with pumice. Sand, clay, tufa, with beds of peat and gravel, are the components of the soil which is found filling up the declivities of mountains, covering low-lands and sea-beaches in this part of the island. Specimens of the palæozoic group are found in the pebbles of the Mukawa River and valley, like amphibolite, limestone, phyllite, sandstone, and clay-slate, besides variegated quartzite of greenish and red layers. Primary rocks are common all through Iburi and Hidaka.

The terraces surrounding the Saru valley are mostly wooded with oak, and the swampy region between the Mukawa and Sarubuto has many patches of green grass, and a thick growth of high swamp reeds.



HOROBETS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottema* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first 123
he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present
finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

292
622
276
301
516
531

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the 123
almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched,
he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He 292
produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese —while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a 126 trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

595 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very 123 talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

529
516

AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

529 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

529
123
576 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [292] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 273 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 373 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to [576] [580] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of [573] this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy [576] chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed [592] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and 527 524 535 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
482

UTAROP ROCKS.

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo.

AFTER quitting Saru Mombets I was altogether out of the 133
beaten tracks. The twenty-two miles to Shimokebo were monotonous in the extreme. High cliffs towered above me on the one side, and the sea stretched into infinity on the other. River after river had to be waded, the At-pets,[1] the Nii-pak-pets,[2] and the Shibe-gari-pets.[3] The Nii-pak-pets is wide and fairly deep. Near the At-pets river the Japanese Government has established a horse farm, in order to improve the breed of Yezo ponies. A few miserable Ainu huts are [361]
scattered along the coast, and millions of scavenger crows, with their monotonous cries, seem to claim sovereignty over these shores. Near the Takae village, on the Nii-kap-pets, is an enormous perpendicular cliff, which, jutting out into the

[1] At-pets—Elm-tree river (*at*, elm-tree ; *pets*, river).

[2] Nii-pak-pets—also called Nakap-pets. *Nii*, a wood ; *pak*, under ; *na*, more ; *kap*, bark of tree.

[3] Shibe-gari-pets—Salmon-trout river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 sea, bars the way to the traveller; therefore I had to abandon the sandy shore, and with considerable trouble get the ponies to climb over the steep banks, which was no easy task for them.
000 Shimokebo is a peculiar-looking place. It is entirely a fishermen's village, and I put up at the Ogingawa Zunubi yadoya—a tea-house owned by a Japanese fisherman.

Japanese will be Japanese wherever they go, and people who have had anything to do with them know how difficult it is to satisfy their curiosity.

"How old are you?" inquired the *occamisan*—the landlady. "Where do you come from? What is your country? Why are you travelling? Have you a wife and children? Can you eat Japanese food; also Ainu food? Can you sleep in *foutangs?*" (Japanese bedding). "Also with a *makura?*" (a wooden pillow).

About fifty more personal and indiscreet questions were also asked, and all my belongings were examined with ever-increasing astonishment as one thing after another was handled and investigated. I was tired, and felt as if I could have kicked the whole crowd of them out of my room; but I was unintentionally polite to them to such an extent that the *occamisan* loudly exclaimed—

"*Honto Danna, Anata Nihonno shto onaji koto!*"—"Really, sir, you are just like a Japanese!"

"*Domo neh!*" rose up in a chorus from the large assembly, "*nandemo dannasan wakarimas!*"—"The gentleman really understands everything!" This was a decided compliment, and I was bound to accept it as it was intended. When they heard that I was indeed "*Taihen kutabire maskita*" (very tired), they reluctantly left the room, and closed the *shoji* (sliding doors of tissue paper on a wooden frame). Each bowed gracefully, drawing in his breath at the same time. This is the Japanese polite way of leaving a room. Their conversation was resumed in the next apartment, regardless of the fact that tissue paper walls are not sound-proof. Remarks on me, not quite in harmony with their courteous bearing, were passed freely about, and the politest thing I heard them say was that I must be a *lunatic* to travel alone in these inhospitable regions, and what a pity it was for a man *so young* to be so fearfully afflicted.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyomo skto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

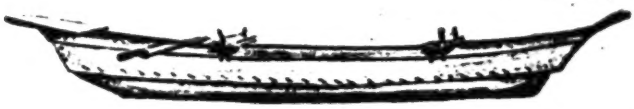
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

50| together with the fibre of a kind of vine. The concave bottom is all of one piece—a partial "dug-out"—to which are added the side pieces, of three planks each, sewn together at an angle of about 170°, and made to fit the sides of the "dug-out." Two more pieces, one aft and one forward, meet the side planks at right angles. The length of these canoes varies from 10 to 15 feet, the width from 3 to 3½ feet. Two pieces of wood are then lashed horizontally, which answer the double purpose of strengthening the sides of the canoe and, being provided with pins outside the canoe, of allowing it to be used as an outrigger when rowing. Canoes are either rowed or sailed. The oars are made of two pieces firmly lashed

FRONT VIEW OF LASHED CANOE.

AINU OARS.

together. A hole is bored in the part which is to be passed through the pin in the outrigger. One person is generally sufficient to row an Ainu canoe, and he does so standing. There is no steering gear or rudder, and when rowing the oars are used for that purpose. Ainu canoes are not decked, and therefore cannot stand heavy seas. They are alike on both sides, and in most cases the two ends of the canoe are also shaped alike. There are, however, certain canoes which, in [177] my opinion, have been suggested to the Ainu by Japanese boats, and which are flat at the stern. These are generally larger, and used for sailing. A square mat sail is rigged on a



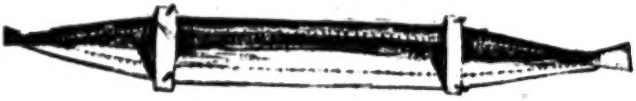
SAILING CANOE.

short mast forward, and the steering is done with one of the oars at the stern. The sailing qualities of these canoes, however, are not very great, and the slightest squall causes

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 granite pillars boldly standing out of the sea. The sandy beach came to an end, and huge cliffs barred my way in front. I could see that the water was not very deep round these rocks, as the waves were breaking a long distance from the cliff, a sure sign of shallow water, though even then it might have been too deep for my ponies to go through. With great
000 difficulty I got the two brutes into the sea, trying to round the large rocks for the better ground, which I hoped to find on the other side. The tide was low, but the sea was still rough, and nearly every wave as it came in went right over my ponies, frightening them, and made them extremely difficult to hold. The instinct of self-preservation made them rush for the cliff, with the only result that they missed their footing, and they and I were both swept away by the next receding wave. I was carried off the saddle, but I had sufficient presence of mind to hold on to the bridle. An awful struggle ensued between my ponies and myself. Each wave that came carried and knocked us one way, each wave that retired carried and knocked us the other. In the midst of all this danger I suddenly remembered that some years ago a lady who knew all about palmistry prophesied that I should one day be drowned.

Had the day come now? Not if energy and perseverance would avert the doom! After a long struggle, I succeeded in pulling my horses where the water was a little shallower, and there we three stood for some minutes, trembling with cold, my two ponies looking reproachfully at me with those half-human eyes of animals when forced into positions of danger which they can neither understand nor overcome. It is wonderful the amount of expression that horses have in their eyes, and how plainly one can read their dumb thoughts and formless emotions!

From the point where I was standing I could see that I had to go on but a few hundred feet more, and that then my ponies and I would be safe. Sure enough, the water grew shallower and shallower, and, to my delight, I was soon on the other side of the cliff. At high tide, and in very rough weather, it is impossible to pass by this ocean-ford.

133 Shamane is a picturesque little fishing village, built on the side of a promontory jutting out into the sea. From there, looking towards Urakawa, there is a lovely view of all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

small islands and picturesque rocks, standing like huge jewels in the water, while on the Horoizumi side, as far as the eye can see, there are only cliffs of peculiar shapes, and marvellously rich in colour. 133

I got two fresh animals, and pursued my journey towards Horoizumi. Rocks, rocks, nothing but rocks! My ponies stumbled and slipped all the time, and for eighteen miles the riding was hard and intricate. I had to lead my ponies most of the way, and help them, pull them, or push them, from one rock on to another, and down the next, and so on.

The scenery all along was magnificent and grand. A short distance from Shamane a large natural archway emerges from the sea, which is called by the Ainu, Shui-shma, "a hole in stone."

Holes have been pierced through the rocks in several places, to give comparative safe passage, and to prevent wayfarers from being carried away by the waves. Over the entrance of one of these tunnels a pretty waterfall, descending from a great height, gives a poetic effect to the scene, while it obliges the unfortunate traveller to take an extremely cold shower-bath, should he wish to push forward on his journey.

As if all these discomforts combined were not enough, it is to be added that the rivers in this part of the coast, though not wide, are extremely swift and dangerous to cross. My second pony was carried away by the strong current when I crossed the Poro-nam-bets,[1] and I had great difficulty in rescuing him.

At Shamane there are a few Ainu, but from there to Horoizumi I saw none. [162]

Sardines are very plentiful all along this coast, and long seaweeds also abound. The latter is used for export, chiefly to China. Horoizumi, a nice little village of one hundred and fifty houses, is the most picturesque in Yezo. It is built on the slopes of a high cliff, and it reminds one much of the pretty villages in the Gulf of Spezia. I arrived at sunset, and the warm red and yellow tints which the dying orb of day was shedding on the weather-beaten brownish houses, gave a heavenly appearance to this very earthly place. As I got nearer, a good deal of the heavenly had to be discarded, for the odours of fish-manure and of seaweed are two smells 136

[1] *Poro*, large; *nam*, cold; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

which can hardly claim to be classed under that heading. The inhabitants of the place themselves seem to feel the ill-effects of constantly living in that corrupted atmosphere and on a fish and seaweed diet; for, indeed, it is revolting to see the amount of horrible cutaneous diseases which affect them. One hardly sees one creature out of ten that is not covered with a repulsive eruption of some sort. Leprosy, too, has found its way among the fishermen; and my readers can easily imagine how pleasant it was for me, when I was sketching, to be surrounded by a crowd of these loathsome people, who all wished to touch my clothes and all my belongings, and who would even lean on my back and rub their heads against mine, when trying to get a better view of the sketch.

Poor things! I never had the courage to scold and send them away. It was enough that they were afflicted, and I did not like to add humiliation to their other sorrows by showing them my disgust.

[32] I rode on to Erimo-zaki, or Rat Cape. Thick fogs are prevalent during the summer months along the whole of the south-east coast, of which Erimo-zaki is the most southern cape. It is the terminating point of the backbone of the main portion of Yezo, which extends from Cape Soya to Cape Erimo from N.NW. to S.SE. A lighthouse has lately been erected on the cliffs by the Japanese Maritime Department, and a steam fog-horn has also been provided for the greater safety of navigation, as a reef of rocks and a stretch of shallow water extend out in the sea for about two and a half miles from the coast.

The foghorn, I was informed, was only blown when the lighthouse-keeper suspected some ship was likely to make for the rocks! A likely thing, indeed!

"But how are you to know, especially when there is a thick fog on?" I asked.

"So few ships pass near here," was the reply; "and it would not be much use keeping steam up all the time to blow the horn, considering that we have fog during nearly four months in the year."

"Then," I could not help remarking, "I expect you only light the lighthouse when there is going to be a wreck?"

"Oh, no; we show the light every night."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

This was just like the Japanese! Owing to the imperfectness of charts—none delineating correctly that part of the coast—the strong currents, the thick fogs, and the dangerous reefs, there could not be a more perilous coast for navigation than that which terminates in Cape Erimo. The ships which go from Shanghai, or some of the ports in the Petchili Gulf in China, to North American ports, often steer this course through the Tsugaru Strait and pass directly south of Cape Erimo. Thus the *Mary Tatham* (an English screw-steamer), while on her journey from Shanghai to Oregon, was lost in 1882, with nearly all lives on board, about two miles from this cape.

At the foot of the Erimo cliffs is a small fishing village called Okos. The sea is shallow at this place, and there are many low-lying reefs which afford abundance of kelp and seaweeds.

A short time before I arrived at Okos a man had gone out in his boat to save some nets in which a large fish had got entangled. His boat capsized, and he was drowned. His wife was in a dreadful state of mind, not for the loss of her better half, but for the more irreparable loss of the nets.

The distance between Horoizumi and Cape Erimo is seven and a half miles, and the track is exceedingly rough in many places. Nearly half-way between the last-mentioned village and the cape are the three high pillars called *Utarop*, which are represented in the illustration at the head of the chapter.

As it was impossible to take my ponies along the few miles between Cape Erimo and Shoya, following the precipitous coast, I retraced my steps to Horoizumi, meaning to attempt the mountain pass the next morning.

[133]

ERIMO CAPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

A NATURAL STONE ARCHWAY NEAR SHOYA.

CHAPTER VI.

From Cape Erimo to the Tokachi River

133 THE mountain pass between Horoizumi and Shoya is sup-
136 posed to be very dangerous on account of bears. I rode the ten miles quietly, but failed to meet or see any. The way through thick woods is exceedingly pretty. After traversing a small valley with a dense growth of scrub-bamboo, it climbs a small hill, from the top of which a lovely view of Cape Erimo lies like a picture before one's eyes. There are only thirty houses at Shoya, and the place could not be better described than by the words "a miserable hole." The rough weather, as well as several landslips, had some time before my arrival broken all communication between Shoya and the next village east of it. There is a rough mountain trail as far as Saruru, but my ponies could not possibly get through the scrub-wood and heavy climbing, and none of the natives could be induced to carry my luggage. They all positively refused to follow me on account of the multitude of bears which they said were on the mountains.

"If the sea goes down," said an old fisherman, "you may be able to get through early to-morrow morning at low tide; and, if you are careful, you will not be washed away by the waves."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The cliffs near Shoya are remarkable for their beauty. They are mostly older eruptive rocks which nature has carved into hundreds of rugged and fantastic forms. About a mile from the village is a huge natural archway, and from this point begin the precipitous cliffs, pillars, and rocks which make the journey so difficult. 133

At Shoya there are no pure Ainu, but some of the fishermen exhibit traces of Ainu blood. My recollection of Shoya is decidedly not of a pleasant character. I put up in the house of a fisherman, which also answers the purpose of a tea-house for the few stranded native travellers. [62]

"We are so poor," said the landlord when I asked for something to eat, "and we have finished our provisions of rice. The other people in the village are poorer than we are, and they also have none; and as for fish, the sea has been so rough for several days that we have not been able to catch any. We ate the last scrap of fish we had just before you arrived! If you gave me a fortune, I could not give you anything to eat."

When the landlord confessed this to me in the evening, I had already been fourteen hours without food. The prospect of not getting any more for at least the next eighteen or twenty hours was not an agreeable look-out. I was very hungry, but, failing a meal, the next best thing was to try and go to sleep. Even that did not prove successful, for hunger keeps you awake, and in its first stages sharpens all your senses considerably.

The night I spent at Shoya is worthy of a description. From top to bottom the corners of my room were filled with webs, which the spiders had spun undisturbed in all directions across the room. Hundreds of flies and horseflies rose buzzing when I entered the room, and I had to engage in a very unequal war against them before I could settle down on the hard planks. In one corner of the ceiling a big, long-legged spider, too high for me to reach, was enjoying a good meal out of a huge horsefly which he had captured in his net. I almost envied the long-legged epicure. Nature will be ironical sometimes. When night came, and I was still sleepless, the planks on which I was lying seemed harder than any planks I had ever slept on before. I turned round one way,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

then the other, then another, till all my bones were aching. Finally, through exhaustion, I fell asleep, and even had a nightmare. In my dreams, the ghosts of all the spiders I had killed, magnified to the size of human beings, were dancing round me, while one fat old fellow—fatter than any two others put together — was gravely sitting on my chest watching the performance. His weight was such that I was nearly suffocated. Sometimes he would seize me by the throat and almost choke me, while the dancing spiders would choke themselves with laughing . . . when—

"*Hayaku Danna!*"—"Quick, sir!" said a Japanese voice, waking me suddenly; "get up, or else the tide will rise, and you will not be able to get to Saruru."

I opened my eyes; the dream passed, and the monstrous spiders vanished; but the pain caused by the emptiness of my stomach was still there, and my throat was dry and aching.

It was before sunrise, and it was almost in complete darkness that I left Shoya. I was weak and chilly. The monotonous sound of the waves breaking over the shore added melancholy to *malaise*, and made me very doleful and limp. Nevertheless, as I was in for it, I pushed my way with my ponies along high cliffs and among rocks, and got on as best I could.

Where the sea had receded the stones were slippery, and my two animals were no sooner on their feet than they were down again on their knees. The hollow sound of their hoofs on the rocks was echoed from cliff to cliff, and awakened the sleepy crows from their night's repose. I had to walk most of the way, and urge on my ponies with howls, as well as stir them up with the whip. Though the tide was low, the waves often washed up to my waist. Daylight came, and I went along, following the high, rugged cliffs, through tunnels occasionally, among rocks continually. The scenery was really magnificent, seen as it was in the mysterious morning light of the rising sun. My horses were done up when I got to Saruru, and I exchanged them for fresh ones. By this time the tide had risen, and it was not possible to proceed any further along the sea-shore. I was glad of it, as I should

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus be forced to try the mountain track, which I was told was not so very rough from this point. A half-caste offered to show me the way. It was a very stiff climb among thick shrub, but it was comparatively smooth work after the experience of my journey from Shoya. I came across many tracks and footprints of bears on the mountain. In some places the marks were quite fresh and of different sizes, varying in length from one foot to four inches. The half-caste told me that black bears seldom attack men unless they are hungry. They often attack horses.

"But if they hear that a man is near they will not dare to attack even the horses," he said, and then began to sing at the top of his voice. His singing, half Japanese, half Ainu, was so excruciating that it was no wonder to me that it kept the bears away.

We crossed two rapid streams before reaching the summit of the mountain range. The view from the summit was lovely. In the distance I could distinguish two headlands, while an immense stretch of stormy sea and a high mountain were in the foreground. I began to descend, and again I got into the region of thick forest and scrub. I perceived a few houses near the coast, and we made for them. It was the village of Moyoro,[1] or Biru, as it is called by others.

Between Saruru and Biru, where the mountain track sometimes descends to the shore, I found many Ainu and half-breeds, especially in the two villages of Onnito[2] and Bitatannuki.[3] They are said to be very bad, and what I saw of them, even at Biru, corroborated this assertion.

Biru is situated on a small bay, in the centre of which some gigantic pillars stand out at a great height. The rough sea dashes against them, and thousands of crows and sea-birds have chosen these rocks for their abode. Biru is not a large village. There are only forty fishermen's huts, most of which are on the high cliff surrounding the small bay; the others are down on the beach. Kelp, seaweed, and sardines

[1] Moyoro. *Moy*, a bay; *oro*, to be in.
[2] Onnito. *Onni* or *Onne*, great, large; *to*, lake, swamp.
[3] Bitatannuki. *Bita*, to undo; *tannu*, long; *ki*, rushes, reeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are as abundant here as on the south-west coast, and maintain the staple industries of the inhabitants. The sea-weed is of great length but small width. Fourteen more miles over the cliffs brought me to Perohune.[1] There were four large deltas to cross, that of the Toyoi-pets[2] being the largest. The current in all these rivers is extremely swift.

Perohune enjoys a big name, but there is only one house in the place. I was, however, fortunate enough to get two good ponies there. The fog was settling down thicker and thicker, and I could not see more than a yard or two in front of me; but at times it lifted up for a few moments, and showed me either the dangers I was nearing or the landscape I was losing. I passed two lakes, the Tobuts,[3] otherwise called Oputs, and the Yuto. Both are divided from the sea by a narrow sand-ridge. There is but little of human interest along this deserted coast. There are no houses and no people, but many small rivers, and now and then high cliffs. My ponies, driven mad by the *abus*, the terrible horseflies of Yezo, constantly threw themselves down and rolled on the sand.

From Perohune to Yuto Lake the distance is about eleven miles, and from Yuto to Otsu it is eleven more miles, on a very easy track. I saw some large sea-birds and penguins, and I was struck by the great number of drift logs which had been washed on shore by the sea. The last thirty-eight miles of the coast was literally covered with this drift wood. During the summer months the fog is always dense along this coast, greatly owing to a cold current which comes from the Otkoshk Sea, passes through the strait between Kunashiri and Etorofu, in the Kuriles, and then turns south, following a great part of the south-east coast of Yezo. Not far from Erimo Cape it meets a warm current from the China Sea, which passes through the Tsugaru Strait, and which in all probability is the Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current. This Japan current parts from the main stream near the south-western

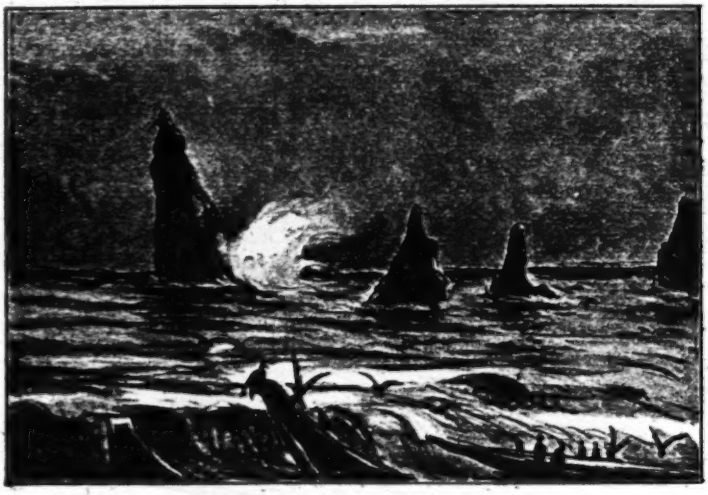
[1] *Pero* or *Pira*, cliff; *Hune*, *Hun*, a particle indicating the existence of something at a place.

[2] *Toy*, earth; *o*, (?) *i*, a place; *pets*, river.

[3] *To*, lake, swamp; *buts*, mouth of a river. *O*, a meaningless prefix; *puts*, mouth of a river.

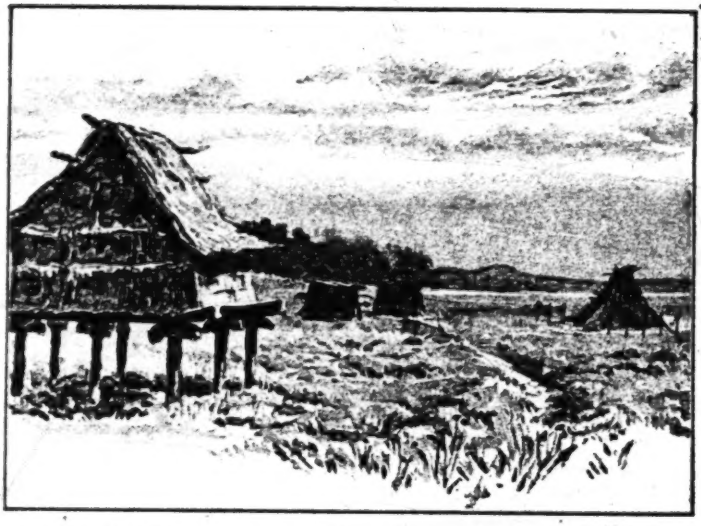
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extremity of Japan, goes through the Corean Strait, and follows the north-west coast of Nippon, passing then through the Tsugaru Strait. As will be seen later, a branch of this current runs along the north-west coast of Yezo, and through the La Perouse Strait.



IWA ROCKS AT BIRU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKOBETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is a kind of a jungle, in fact," said they, "in which yellow and black bears are plentiful. The rivers, which are numerous, are swollen by the heavy rains that have fallen lately. The natives up the river are unsociable and bad, and they will kill you. Then in the high grass horse-flies, black-flies, and mosquitoes abound."

"If you attempt it alone," said the wise man of the party, "you will not come back alive."

These reports were not encouraging, but, anyhow, I determined that, Irish as it may sound, *dead* or *alive*, if there were any Ainu up the stream I would see them. Owing to the difficulty of taking even my usual baggage, and not wishing to burden my ponies with more than was necessary, I decided to carry with me only a paint-box, many wooden sketching panels, my diary, and my revolver. I left all my other things at Otsu to wait for my return.

"Should you not come back again, can I keep all your belongings as my property?" kindly enquired the landlord of the tea-house, when I bade good-bye to him and to all the villagers who had collected round early in the morning to see me start.

I took two ponies, as usual. I left Otsu at dawn, and followed as well as I could the winding course of the river. Not far from Otsu I came to the thick jungle of high reeds and tall grass of which I had already heard. I made my way through the first obstructions; but I had not been in the jungle more than a few minutes when I was simply devoured by horse-flies, mosquitoes, and black-flies. My ponies were kicking, bucking, and trying to bolt, as they also were literally covered with horse-flies, sucking their blood and stinging them to madness. The reeds and grass were about ten or twelve feet high, so that, being higher than myself on my horse, I could not see where I was going. I kept along the river bank as much as I could; but in many places it was difficult to get through the ravines which one invariably finds along rivers, so I kept a little way off on the west side, and had the noise of the running river to guide me. For many wearisome hours I rode through this jungle, the dividing reeds continually rubbing against my face, arms, and legs, sometimes making pretty deep cuts with their razor-edged long leaves. The huge

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 137 *shirau*—the horse-flies—grew more and more tiresome as the sun got warmer, and my head and hands were swollen and bleeding. The sun was by this time high in the sky, but there were no signs of the jungle coming to an end, no indications of huts anywhere near—no other noise but the sound of the crashing reeds and the running water of the river. My ponies were feeding well, as grass was plentiful; but I was faring badly. What with the exertion of keeping the ponies in order, while the densely-entangled reeds nearly dragged me off the saddle—what with the plague of mosquitoes and horse-flies, added to the sense of weakness caused by fatigue and hunger—it was really a terrible time for me—one of the worst episodes in my life. Nevertheless, I persevered, and went on and on, determined to reach my destination. I came upon two very large swamps, which forced me to make a wide *détour*. The ponies were very tired, and so was I. When darkness set in I halted, took the heavy pack-saddles off the ponies, and tied the animals to them, so that they could not bolt during the night; and wearied, disheartened, and discouraged as I was, I began to think how stupid I had been to start on such an expedition without carrying any provisions with me—without having provided myself with even a tent or a covering of any kind.

Circumstances made me a philosopher. What is the use of worrying about things that cannot be helped? After all, when you get accustomed to it, starving is really not so bad as people think. One of my ponies was of a sentimental disposition, and he seemed to understand my troubles. He came close and rubbed himself against me, placing his head near mine. It was touching, and in the solitude in which I was the sympathy of the dumb beast was as precious as that of a human being. Had he been able to speak, he might have been taken for a Christian, and a good one, too! He had been fearfully stung by horse-flies, and my petting him seemed to alleviate his pain. There is nothing like sympathy and a little personal kindness if one wants to make friends with animals. The last few rays of light were spent in putting together the notes which I had taken during the day, and which enabled me to draw a sketch-map of the river. At [122] Horoizumi some days previously I was able to buy myself

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it was extremely useful to me. [122]

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for Ainu doorways have no doors. 576 [342]

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than [057] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, 123 609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of 136 crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we 229 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and [136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very
[582] numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them
184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely
301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese
[177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142]
[302]
[304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in
291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins.
283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*,
229 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 Ainu the *Shikarubets Otchirsh*, which translated into English means "the white cliff on the bend of the river." This cliff stands very high, and can be seen from a great distance, especially in a north-east, east, or southerly direction. In winter, when the rushes and reeds are not so high in the south-eastern portion of the plain, the white cliff can be distinguished from the whole of the Tokachi valley. The Ainu themselves use the Shikarubets Otchirsh as a landmark when out hunting bears. Owing to its light colour it is visible even at night. I was anxious to ascend it, as I was sure no European foot had ever trodden on it before. Accompanied by Watanabe Masaru, I started out on horseback and crossed the Frishikobets village and river. Here we left our horses under the care of an Ainu till our return. We had to cross the Tokachi in an Ainu "dug-out," and then, proceeding for several miles in a northerly direction, we arrived at the foot of the mountain. It would have been impossible to climb it on the east side, as it is quite perpendicular; but we were fortunate in getting an Ainu called Unacharo, who said he knew a point from which we could ascend, and that he would show us the way. He had been hunting bears on that mountain, and he knew its slopes well; but as to the way which he was to show us, we had to make it for ourselves. With our large knives we were forced to break, cut, and tear the entangled branches of trees and shrubs before we could get on. We actually had to cut our way through the dense scrubwood until we reached the summit. The ascent was rather dangerous in some places, and extremely rough when going through the brushwood. We had to keep as much as possible near the edge of the cliff, for though it involved more danger if we slipped or stumbled, the entangled shrubs were not so thick on the edge as farther inland. Finally, after several hours' hard work, we reached the top, and were well repaid for our fatigues. The whole of the Tokachi valley was stretched before us as far as the sea, and almost the whole course of the winding river, with all its numerous affluents, could be distinguished like so many shining silver ribbons on the green background formed by the tall grass and reeds. As a farming region the Tokachi valley
[134] and high plains are certainly the most fertile in Hokkaido. All the requisites for successful agriculture can be found there.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The absence of the mountain masses of volcanic rocks, so 133
common all over Hokkaido, the richness of the soil, the 134
quantity of water for irrigation or for motive power, besides the comparative facility of making roads on such flat ground, are qualities that good farmers do not generally despise. It is therefore a great pity to see all that Tokachi valley practically deserted and so much good land wasted. Hemp, wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, and all kinds of vegetables and cereals, could be grown with advantage, and the produce carried down the river to the sea without much difficulty and at little expense. At Yamakubiro the land begins to rise in a gentle slope, but only to form a plateau, of which the top is 133
another large plain reaching to the foot of the Oputateishike mountain mass. The Otopke Mountain is the highest peak, and resembles in shape the Fujiama of Japan. On the north-east side of this mountain are the hot springs of Ni-piri-bets.[1] A kind of wood is said by the Ainu to be found near these hot springs which is good for curing wounds, cuts, rheumatism, and other ailments. These hot springs are not of much importance, and it is but seldom that even the Ainu themselves visit them. In going to and returning from these springs the Shikarubets Otchirsh is never lost sight of by the Ainu, and by the aid of this landmark they return safely to their homes.

All the Oputateishike mountain mass is volcanic, and forms the backbone of the island of Yezo. From the Shikarubets Otchirsh I was able to draw a bird's-eye view of the course of the Tokachi River and its affluents, which afterwards helped me much in delineating a sketch-map of the Tokachi region, with its complicated watercourses. The two high mountains of Satsumai and Ghifzan could also be plainly seen from there. Coming down was much easier than going up, and when we had again reached the bottom of the mountain we turned northward until we came to the Shorui-washi River, an affluent of the Tokachi. Previous to this, while following the course of the Otsu River, I saw a strange sight. When on the summit of the Shikarubets Otchirsh I had seen two Ainu "dug-outs" pass up the river, and the Ainu

[1] *Ni*, wood; *piri*, wound; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a 501 distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people 226 in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white [241] cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take 133 a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I felt awfully annoyed at being just one day too late to see it, as then I might have described how the Ainu die. However, I reached the other side of the Tokachi again. A way through the same tall rushes and reeds had to be forced, and the same army of mosquitoes and horse-flies had to be met and endured. It was my intention to push on and reach the coast as soon as possible. At Yammakka the natives had seen my runaway pony galloping at full speed towards the coast, but no one had caught it. Probably no one had tried.

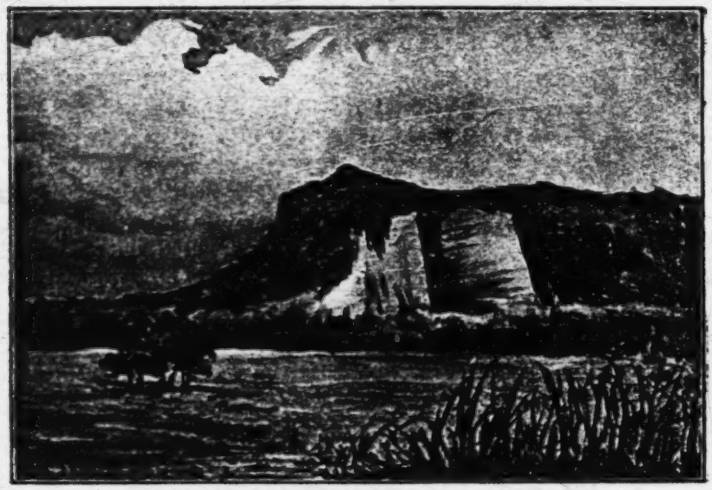
My ponies went well. I could plainly see where I had already come through the jungle, by the long trail of crushed and broken reeds I had left behind me. Everything was calm, but for the monotonous sound of crashing leaves produced by my forcing my way through the reeds. Suddenly my ponies stopped, shied, and began to back. They sniffed the ground, then the air. Their ears were straight up, their eyes were restless, and their nostrils widely distended. They were certainly under some great excitement, and showed unmistakable signs of terror. "What could be the cause of it?" I asked myself, but all the same gave the ponies a sound thrashing to make them go. It was useless—they would not stir. The second pony came by the side of mine, and they both put their heads together, in their own way consulting and concerting. They were utterly demoralised, and were kicking awfully. It was getting dark, and this riotous conduct on the part of my ponies was annoying. Unexpectedly, and with a tremendous growl, a huge black bear sprang towards us, and tried to seize the baggage pony. However, he and the beast I was riding bolted, and ran a desperate race for life; and though Bruin followed us clumsily for some time, we soon were far ahead, and lost sight of him. It was more than I could do to stop the frightened brutes; but finally, after a reckless steeplechase of many miles, after jumping over brooks and splashing across torrents, flying over the ground and through the jungle, without omitting to anathematise a horsefly that had settled on the back of my neck, and was amusing itself by boring holes in different parts of it to find a suitable spot for feeding, finally we came to a halt. It was about time. During the violent ride the reeds had cut my face and neck and hands, and I was bleeding all over. I went

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on and on, and, as my ponies did not seem to be very tired, I tried to reach the coast that night. It grew dark, but the night was fine, and I let the noise of the running river guide me. Each minute seemed an hour, each hour an age. I rode and rode, and still rode, till I was nearly exhausted; and still I was surrounded by the tall reeds and rushes. "Thank God!" I heartily exclaimed, when finally, at a small hour of the morning, I found myself in open ground again, and the wind brought in waves the salt smell of the sea.

An hour or so afterwards two tired ponies were easily pulled up at the tea-house at Otsu, the landlord was roused, and a wearied and half-starved traveller was let in.

133
137



THE SHIKARUBETS OTCHIRSH.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302

AINU MAN OF THE UPPER TOKACHI.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Tokachi River to the Kutcharo River.

I DECIDED to stop a day at Otsu, so as to recover from the fatigue of my late travels and adventures, and I chose my quarters in the *yadoya* of a Japanese called Inomata Yoshitaro. I was told that he was an ex-convict. Be that as it may, he had now turned into a fisherman and innkeeper. Like all Japanese, he was an inexhaustible talker, and his politeness was so great that it became a bore.

It was about three in the morning when I reached Otsu. I had taken off my boots on entering his house—for it is an insult to enter Japanese houses with one's boots on—and I had seated myself on the soft mat in order to rest my aching limbs, when Yoshitaro made me get up to place a small

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

square cushion under me, on which he said I should be more comfortable. I had not been on it one minute before Yoshitaro, wanting to increase my comforts, made me rise again to exchange the first cushion covered with cotton for one covered with silk—a detail to which a man is not likely to pay much attention when tired to death, and only anxious to be left alone. It followed as a matter of course that before I was allowed to go to sleep I had to sip several cups of tea, which Yoshitaro's wife had hurriedly made, and I had to relate the result of my expedition to the sleepy fishermen who had crept out of their *foutangs* at the news of my arrival. In spite of all this, when I had got rid of my audience I had a good night's rest; but when I woke up the next day at noon I found myself surrounded by a crowd of fishermen of Otsu, who had invaded the *yadoya* to have a peep at the young foreigner, while in the back yard I recognised the voices of Yoshitaro and his wife, who evidently were occupied in the exciting chase of a fowl.

A few minutes later Yoshitaro triumphantly entered the room with a large dish, on which the same fowl, uncooked, and cut into a thousand little bits, was served to me, together with pieces of raw salmon, *daikon* (a vegetable), and boiled rice. This he called a European dinner! I did my best to roast the chicken bits on the *hibachi* (the brazier); but I was never well up in the culinary art, and, as my landlord remarked, he had brought up the meat for me to eat, not to "burn."

Fowls are very scarce indeed in Hokkaido, and the few found have been imported; therefore the landlord did not fail to explain, in a roundabout manner, under what great obligation I was to him for killing such a precious bird.

I said that I had not asked him to do this, and with his perfect Japanese politeness, bowing gracefully down to the ground, he said:

"Sayo de gozarimas" ("Yes, your honourable sir"). "But," he added, "the bird was so old that if I had not killed it I fear it would have died by itself ere long." Such a sacrifice undoubtedly deserved a reward, and he assured me that we should be "quite even" if I, being an artist, would condescend to paint twelve portraits of him. I had no little trouble to make him understand that he was mistaking me for

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a photographic camera, but I offered to paint him a small sketch the next morning if he would leave me alone all that day.

Punctually at sunrise he entered my room. He had his best clothes on, and his anxiety to be painted was such that he had not been able to sleep all night. I painted the sketch, and Yoshitaro and his male and female friends joined in exclamations of admiration at the good result of the *abura é* (oil painting). He professed to be very grateful, and carefully packed the picture in a box, which he carried into another room.

I took advantage of his absence to pack up my traps, as I wished to leave for Shaubets that same morning. In a short time Yoshitaro came back to my room, but a different man. He was rude, and tried to bully me. He presented a bill for the sum of sixteen *yen*, equivalent to £3 in English money, which I considered exorbitant for two nights' rest, a few bowls of rice, and the "European dinner." The highest charge made by the very best tea-houses in Hokkaido never exceeds one yen—two shillings and tenpence a day—including all meals. I quietly told the landlord that he was a thief, and that I would punish him by taking the picture away from him; but he swore that he would not surrender it, and that he would fight for it if necessary.

I seldom refuse a challenge when I know that I am going to get the best of it, and as it so happened that my arms were a great deal longer than those of Yoshitaro, I caught him by the throat and shook him so violently that he was nearly strangled. His friends came to his rescue, and when I dropped him he fell heavily on the mats, and had to be carried away. Some minutes elapsed, and while I was hastily taking my heavier luggage out of the house I heard Yoshitaro in the next room call out to his wife to bring him a sword, as he wanted to kill the "*ijinsan bakka*"—"the fool of a foreigner." I entered his room. Yoshitaro, pale with rage, was sitting by his *hibachi*, and round him were eight or ten of his men. They were apparently holding a congress on what to do, and each one of them, as is usual on all occasions in Japan, had pulled out his little pipe, and was continually refilling it with tobacco as they all discussed the matter on hand. I had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

my boots on this time, as I wished to show the scorn I had for him, his friends, and his house. In my coat pocket —the only sound one—I had my revolver, but it was not loaded.

"Yoshitaro," I said, "deliver the picture at once."

"I will not," said he.

"Good!" said his friends in a chorus.

"Yoshitaro," I said again, producing the revolver and pointing it at him, "if I have not the picture before I count twenty you will be a dead man."

I never in my life saw a crowd of bullies so scared. Covering their faces with their hands, Yoshitaro's friends bolted in all directions, some jumping out of the semi-European window, some dashing through the violently opened paper *shojis* (sliding doors), leaving eight or ten pipes and as many tobacco pouches scattered on the mats. The landlord, a moment ago so brave, had not strength to get up, so great was his terror. Pale as death, and with a trembling voice, he called imploringly to his wife, servants, and friends to come and deliver up the picture.

I had counted up to number fourteen, and no one had put in an appearance. Then I incidentally mentioned to Yoshitaro that time was nearly up, and enquired if he preferred to be shot through the head or the heart, at the same time cocking my revolver. Yoshitaro shuddered.

At number sixteen a little girl, the only brave one of the lot, was sent to his help.

"Dutchera Danna?" ("Where is it, sir?") she asked him, quite perplexed.

"Hatchera, hayaku, hayaku nesan!" ("It is there; quick, quick, girl!") pointing to a closet in which a pile of *foutangs* (small mattresses) were kept rolled during the day.

Yoshitaro had hidden the sketch so well in the closet that the little *nesan*[1] could not find it, and when I called out number nineteen the poor girl, discomfited, cried out, "Mi-imasen" ("I do not see it!")

Yoshitaro was more dead than alive; his lips were white, and he tried to articulate some words, but could not. His

[1] *Nesan*, a corruption of *annesan*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyes, fixed on the closet, were glazed and set. His body was beginning to collapse, and every moment I thought that he would faint.

In the meantime the *nesan* hurriedly pulled out all the *fontangs* and unrolled them, and the box with the sketch fell out just as I was about to call out number twenty. She gave me the box and sketch, and I told Yoshitaro that he must now come out with me, and, putting my revolver in my pocket, I pulled the man to the entrance door.

Several villagers had collected at a respectful distance on the road, waiting for the report of the revolver. Yoshitaro's wife was the farthest of all.

I signed to them to come nearer, and seeing that the revolver was no longer in my hands, they came, though very reluctantly. Yoshitaro was beginning to breathe again; and when a sufficient crowd had collected, I compelled him to accuse himself before them all of being a thief, and to confess that he was glad to have been punished. Also I made him promise that he would not play such tricks again on any other traveller.

The Japanese are fond of a good joke, even when it is played off on one of themselves; and when I had seen all my baggage safe on my pack-saddles, I gave Yoshitaro the sixteen dollars he had asked me: "Two dollars," I said, "in settlement of my bill, and fourteen to go to your doctor for restoring you to good health after the fright you have had to-day."

To show how shabby Yoshitaro's nature was, it is enough to state that out of the sum received his munificence went to the extent of five *sen* (2½*d.*) as a present to the girl who had come to save his life!

When my ponies were ready, I showed Yoshitaro and his knavish friends how I had sold them. I brought out my revolver again, and they all saw that not a single cartridge was in any of its chambers. This done, I bade them good-bye, and left them to reflect that it is not always the quietest persons who can be imposed on with most impunity, but that sometimes such quiet persons get the best of it, even against ten bullies or more banded together. I have no doubt that a good many of my readers will think me cruel for carrying a

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

joke so far; but, on the other hand, if placed in similar circumstances, when no redress from without is to be obtained, and one must defend oneself by main force, very few would treat such a serious imposition and offence as a joke.

In going through the village more than one fisherman came to tell me that I had done right in dealing severely with Yoshitaro, as he was known to be a scoundrel and a thief, and they all detested him.

There was little of interest between Otsu and Shaubets, with the exception of the beautiful delta formed in the low alluvial valley by the Otsu River and the Tokachi River, two large estuaries nearly two miles apart, by which the Tokachi River enters the sea. The Tokachi is a river of large volume and considerable length, and even when divided, the body of water carried by both outlets is so great as to make it necessary to cross in boats, fording on foot being quite impossible.

The Urahoro River was successfully crossed, but for the twenty miles on to Shahubets the track was flat and sandy, lying mostly under high clay banks, some of which form picturesque headlands. The country is not mountainous in the proximity of the coast, but it is of a moderate elevation all through, and wooded with deciduous trees. The formation of the south-east coast from Cape Erimo to Cape Noshafu is in many ways unlike that of the south-west coast. The south-western part is more mountainous, and is further characterised by the absence of extensive plains. The coast-line is indented, and there is a striking want of broad beaches. Precipitous rocks are also frequent along the south-west coast, and thick deposits of pumice—as we have seen—are lying over quaternary rocks, filling up the declivities of mountain lands and river shores.

In the western part the tertiaries are more tufaceous than on the south-east coast, and they are distinguished mainly by the presence of shales and andesite breccia. The south-eastern part is characterized by the almost entire absence of volcanic rocks and older eruptive rocks. After leaving the range of mountains forming the *Sparti acque*, east and west of Cape Erimo, high land is met all the way along the south-east coast. Nevertheless, pumice is found in the basin of the Tokachi

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-
[132] looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
222 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

There are also seven or eight Japanese 563
shanties besides the Ainu huts. At the mouth of the Tcharo- 135
bets, near the latter village, coal and lignite of inferior quality are found; but this coalfield was not worked at the time I passed through Shiranuka. The remaining twenty-one miles 000
were monotonous and uninteresting. The long *Kossuri* peninsula was before me, increasing in size as I drew nearer; and after having gone through the two small villages of To'tori and Akan-gawa, in the neighbourhood of Kossuri, I crossed the Kutcharo River, on a nicely-built wooden bridge, and found myself at Kushiro, an important Japanese settlement on the south-east coast. From its favourable situation Kushiro is likely to become one of the chief towns in Yezo, though unfortunately it does not possess a good harbour, and is much exposed to westerly winds. The largest number of the houses are situated on a slight elevation above the reef-harbour, immediately south of the river mouth. In the proximity of Kushiro, and just beyond the range of hills which stretches for 133
about three miles from the entrance of the harbour in a northerly, and for about two miles in an easterly direction, is a lagoon, called by the Ainu "Harutori." This lagoon is nearly two miles long, and certainly not more than a quarter of a mile wide. It is divided from the sea by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the water of the lagoon finds its outlet. On the east side of the Harutori coal has been discovered, [135]
and it seems to be of fairly good quality; and three miles further, quite close to the sea-coast, coal was dug out some years ago, but the quality was so inferior that the works had to be abandoned.

There is a considerable area of good land in the neighbour- 000
hood of Kushiro, and here again it is to be regretted that Japanese farmers do not emigrate to work it. Yezo has a very small population for its size, and I was surprised that emigration from the mainland was not carried out on a larger scale. Yezo is a rich country in many ways. Why do not all the troublesome students, the fiery *soshi* of Japan, abandon politics and futile rows and go and do men's work in that northern region of the empire? They would profit by it, and so would their country. An immense loss occurs every year simply because no one is there to take the profit; and it is a great pity, and almost a shame, to see so much waste and neglect in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koro-pok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172 419 251

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KORO-POK-KURU PORT.

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

172 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island [171] of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,

FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

breadth. The larger ones I saw measured an inch and three-quarters in length by an inch and five-eighths in breadth, while the smaller were seven-eighths of an inch by half an inch. They were triangular, with the angle at the point sometimes more, sometimes less acute, or lozenge-shaped; they are chipped, and not ground. Most of the arrow-heads and a good many of the knives were made of a dark reddish siliceous rock. The adzes also, of course, varied in size and shape, some being oblong in section, others almost rectangular, while others again were oval. They were ground, and always made so that the hand could have a good grip on them. The average length from the sharp edge to the other end would be about four inches, and the sides were rounded. It is apparent that most of these adzes were not originally fastened to a stick or club, but were held in the hand. They usually have a smooth surface, while the knives, as well as the arrow-points, exhibit marks of chipping quite plainly; their edges are very sharp. Hard stones are often found on which the people of the Stone Age used to grind their implements. The knives are mostly rectangular, with very sharp edges, sometimes on both sides. Then there are some in the shape of a sword-blade, rounded at the top, and with a rounded place at the other end, where they were held. Those with two sharp edges were triangular in shape, and were held by the upper part of the triangle, which point ends with a kind of knob.

FLINT KNIVES.

It is a curious fact that bone and bamboo arrow-points—probably Ainu—are sometimes found in pits, and this would lead me to believe, either that the conquering Ainu used these weapons in their attacks upon the pit-dwellers, or, supposing for a moment that the Ainu themselves were the pit-dwellers in former days, that they had abandoned their

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 stone implements and had adopted bone and wood, which they found easier to work. I am inclined to the first supposition as the correct one. The pits are numerous in Yezo, and, following the southern coast from south-west to north-east, we find that they increase in number towards the north. Though stone implements and fragments of pottery are numerous nearly all along the southern coast, but few pits are found either on Volcanc Bay or on the south-west part of the coast as far as Erimo Cape. As we pass this cape and go north, on the south-east coast the pits become more numerous, and at Kushiro—or Kossuri, as the Ainu call it—they are found in great quantities. Further on are some at Akkeshi, and they are plentiful nearly all along that stretch of the coast as far as Nemuro, and on Bentenjima, the small island which forms one side of the harbour at that place. North-east of that, in the Kuriles, at Kunashiri and Etorofu, we have abundant evidence that a large population of these pit-dwellers once existed there. In Etorofu particularly the pits, besides being frequent, are in much better preservation than any on the island of Yezo.

The pit-dwellers do not seem to have been particular as to the shape of their dwellings, though they evidently had a certain predilection for the elliptical and rectangular forms. The pits at Kushiro are nearly all rectangular, while those from Akkeshi to Nemuro are either rectangular or circular.

The average dimensions of rectangular pits are about twelve feet by nine feet, but I have seen some as large as sixteen feet by twelve feet. The sides slope inwards, and the average depth is from three to six feet. Pits which are situated on cliffs, or at any height, are generally deeper, probably for the extra shelter required by those living at an altitude, compared with those living on the sea-level. The round pits are from ten to fourteen feet in diameter, and the elliptical have a length of about sixteen feet, and are about eight feet at the widest part of the ellipse. The pits which I found on the north-east coast of Yezo, from Shari to Cape Soya, were not so numerous as those on the southern coast; but some of them were larger in size, as probably, owing to the greater severity of the climate, more people lived in the same hut for the purpose of creating natural heat. At Tobuts, on the Saruma

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Lake, are three of elliptical shape. Near Abashiri several well-preserved specimens of pottery have been found, especially in the mud of swamps or lakes; but after leaving Lake Saruma, I did not see any traces of the pit-dwellers till I approached Soya Cape. When these pits are excavated, a stratum of sand is generally found, and beneath it a large quantity of charcoal in the centre of the pit. Under the charcoal the earth is burnt, showing that the hearth was in the centre of the dwelling, as it is now in the Ainu huts. This goes to prove that there was one fire, and not, as some travellers have endeavoured to show, five or six burning at the same time, round which, or, rather, between which, the pit-dwellers slept. I have often dug in different parts of pits, and have invariably come upon this burnt charcoal in or near the middle. I never saw any signs of more than one fire in the same pit. Digging in a large pit at Kushiro, I found some stag-horns, and numerous bits of black and red pottery. Some of the fragments had rough line ornamentations on them. There was also a large quantity of war ammunition, in the shape of big pebbles and round stones. Most pits contain heaps of rubbish and bones of animals. Sometimes there are heaps of oyster shells, as near the pits on Saruma Lake; and these shell-heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon. In another pit on one of the forts at Kushiro I found what I thought was part of a human skull; but on a closer examination it turned out to be the skull of an animal—probably a fox or a stag. A bone arrow-point also came to light in the same pit, and several stone defensive weapons. It was interesting to note that this pit was built on the top of a small conical hill, and that the hill itself was surrounded by a ditch only a few feet wide, thus forming a kind of fort. On the side and at the bottom of the fort I saw numbers of stones, which had in all probability been used by the pit-dwellers as missiles against the attacking Ainu during a battle. Besides forts, the pit-dwellers had camps, generally situated in a commanding position above a river, a lake, or a harbour. Single pits also are found only under similar conditions.

Near Kushiro, on the Lake Harutori, which is divided from the sea by a sand isthmus, are several camps and one or two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 forts, the first of which overlooks the sea. Along the Kutcharo River are forts and camps. These camps are on the crowns of the hills, and each is surrounded by a small ditch. In the last, about three miles from the coast, were several square pits, larger than those on the other three forts. This last fort stands some distance back from the river, and is situated in a little plain at the summit of a detached mound, which has the appearance of having been artificially cut from the larger remaining portion of the hill itself. The shape of the fort is a broken cone, and the base measures about nine hundred feet in circumference, while the upper one is about three hundred. From the top, where there is only a small pit, the entrance of the river can easily be watched; and it must have been almost impregnable, as the walls of the fort, or, rather, the sides of the conical hill, rise nearly perpendicularly from the plain. A small stream runs at the foot of the fort.

On the Lake Harutori the range of hills which stretches from the sea for three or four miles along its eastern shores is literally covered with these pits, and on the sandy isthmus separating the sea from the lake some very large pits can be observed. The fort near the sea is called *Shirito* by the Ainu, and that at the other end of the range goes by the name of *Moshiriya*. It was in the latter fort that the well-shaped bone arrow-point was found, as well as one or two stone adzes, which were so shaped as to fit the hand, and evidently had been used as hammers, or weapons of offence at close quarters. In the same fort I found two stags' horns in good preservation, and many bones of different animals. It is doubtful whether these heaps of horns and bones were brought into the pits for the purpose of making arrow-points and other weapons, or whether the stags had been used merely for food. The bone arrow-point found in the same pit was not in such a decayed condition as most of the bones I found there, which led me to believe that it was not made out of the same kind of bone, or that the bone out of which it was made had been cured before its conversion into an arrow-point. I believe that in the neighbourhood of Kusuri—or Kushiro, as it is now called by the Japanese—there are as many as a thousand or fifteen hundred pits. In Etorofu, at Bet-to-bu, on the north-west coast of the island, nearly as many are to be found

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

along the seashore, mostly on the plain at the top of the cliffs overlooking the sea, while the rest are situated on the banks of a narrow stream and along what appears to have been a river course. On the same island, at Ru-pets, are several pits of a similar description, and a fort. 172

As the pit-dwellers have disappeared from Yezo and the Kuriles, and only pre-historic remains and relics have been left behind to indicate their former existence, the questions naturally arise: Who were these pit-dwellers? Whence did they come? and whither have they gone? We can place no reliance on the accounts given by the Ainu or by the highly imaginative Japanese, who, moreover, are perfectly ignorant on this subject. Some Ainu say that Yezo was formerly peopled by a race of dwarfs, who were their enemies, and were extirpated by them after many sanguinary battles. The Ainu are very vague as to when and where these battles were fought, but according to their accounts these pit-dwellers, whom they call the *Koro-pok-kuru*—literally "men of holes"—once inhabited Yezo and the Kuriles. They were only three or four feet in height, and some semi-Ainu stories represent them as being only a few inches tall. This of course might be taken to mean that they were very small by comparison. A few Ainu, yet more imaginative than others, go so far as to say gravely that the Koro-pok-kuru were so tiny that when a shower of rain came they hid under burdock leaves for shelter. Others, however, tell us that these Koro-pok-kuru were their ancestors, and much more hairy than the Ainu of the present day. They were strong, fond of hunting, and able to cross the mountains with great facility and speed. According to Mr. Batchelor, some Ainu state that they themselves formerly lived in huts over pits, and that they changed their method of house-building on coming in contact with the Japanese; but if this were the case it seems unaccountable that they should distinguish their predecessors as pit-dwellers. Moreover, if the influence of the Japanese was sufficiently strong to cause them to make this most important change in their habitations and mode of living, how comes it that in other matters they have not adopted Japanese customs? I was unable to trace the slightest resemblance between Ainu huts and Japanese edifices of any kind, either in their general appearance or in any of 172 173 172

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits ; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs ; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River ; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135 . In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

[323] [177]

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[173]

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Along the south-east coast the pits increase in number as we approach Kusuri, and at this place the largest number of pits in Hokkaido is found; then they are numerous all along the coast as far as Nemuro; and in the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu the population must have been large, as there are numerous pits throughout. Pits are found in the smaller islands of the Kurile group, and I believe also in Kamschatka. From Nemuro, following the coast-line of Yezo, we find some along the north-east coast of Yezo, and none down the west coast until we reach the narrower part of the island near Sappro. This said, we have two points to consider:— 172

(1.) That the pit-dwellers moved from north-east to south-west.

(2.) That the main bulk of the population settled in Etorofu, Kunashiri, and at Kushiro. Few went further south to settle.

All evidence tends to show that they came either from Kamschatka, or perhaps more probably from the Aleutian Islands. It seems not improbable, looking at the volcanic formation of the Kurile group, that in bygone days Yezo was joined to Kamschatka, affording a land passage to the migratory people; but this we need not take into consideration.

From what one can gather of this race, the habits and customs of the Koro-pok-kuru must have had many points in common with the present Esquimaux. Very likely their pits were roofed over with a snow vault. They evidently lived by fishing and hunting, like the Esquimaux, and all that we know identifies them more with the latter race than with the Ainu.

I believe that the present Aleuts have a striking resemblance to the Esquimaux; and if this were the case, there is no reason why we should not suppose that they in former days inhabited the Kuriles, part of Kamschatka and the north-east portion of Yezo. It is a well-known fact that the Esquimaux formerly lived in corresponding latitudes on the east coast of America, and that they withdrew little by little to the more inhospitable regions of the north, and the same might have occurred here after the Ainu invasion of Yezo. The Koro-pok-kuru were apparently more civilised than their conquerors the Ainu, for they made pottery and worked stone; but owing to their retiring nature and weaker physique, and outnumbered by the savage hairy people, they became extinct. As to the Ainu, 174

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they also are undoubtedly a race of the north. Their music, their decorations, their habits, display characteristics of northern origin; but the Ainu, as we have seen from their structures and customs, were by no means accustomed to so cold a climate as their predecessors the pit-dwellers. In my opinion they did not invade Yezo from the Kuriles, but came from the continent of Asia, probably across Siberia, and descended as far as Sakhalin Island, where many Ainu are still to be found. As the Koro-pok-kuru resemble the Esquimaux, the Ainu have a striking resemblance in many ways to the Northmen of Europe, and this is what makes me suppose that they came across the northern part of the continent, and not from the northern islands of the Pacific. They made their way south, probably crossing over the La Perouse Strait, and the main contingent of them came down the north-east coast of Yezo. I base this theory on the fact that the strong current which passes through the La Perouse Strait from west to east would have made it impossible for the Ainu in their light "dug-outs" to navigate against it, or straight across from Sakhalin to Soya Cape, and in crossing they were undoubtedly drifted far south-east on the north-east coast, probably landing near Abashiri or Shari. Another evidence which made me think that the Ainu came from Sakhalin is, that all knew of another island besides Yezo, which they called Krafto, by which name they designate Sakhalin. Of the Kuriles no one knew except those in the immediate neighbourhood. At one time the Ainu are said to have inhabited the whole of Japan as far south as Satsuma. Archæologists are puzzled by the discovery in the main island of Nippon of various kitchen-middens, which include fragments of pottery identical with those attributed to the Koro-pok-kuru, and also of shell heaps, which some consider of Ainu origin, others as pre-Ainu. No pits, however, have been found near these shell heaps, nor on any part of Nippon. Thus another question is raised as to who the originators of these shell heaps and kitchen-middens were. Is it not likely that, as the Ainu proceeded south, they encountered the Koro-pok-kuru at Nemuro and then at Kushiro, and, having easily defeated them, forced some of them to retreat in the direction of the Kuriles, while the rest went towards the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,[1] only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery. [174]

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. [144] [197]

[1] The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

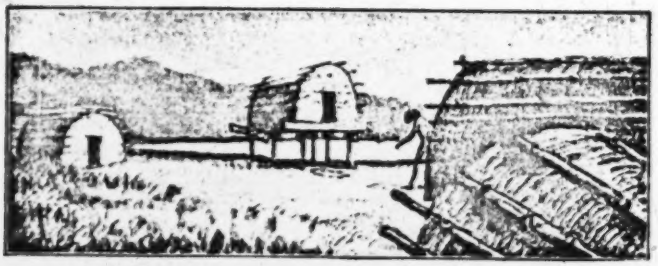
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



342
343

AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in Yezo. My coat and trousers were showing signs of rapid decay, and I thought with vain desire of needle and thread, buttons and hooks. My boots were falling to pieces owing to their continual immersion in salt water. The impossibility of cleaning or greasing them added to the original damage; and, worse luck of all, they could not be replaced. Altogether, what with frayed garments, leaky boots, a battered hat, and a general out-at-elbows air, I was scarcely presentable in any society a grade above that of the hairy Ainu.

A road has been cut between Kushiro and Shibetcha, a distance of thirty miles; but though quite new, it is already out of repair, and it will not be long before it is washed away entirely. The Japanese Government does its best to open roads near the largest settlements, but Japanese officials do not seem to understand that after a road has been made it has to be kept in repair.

The country all along is good, and the soil seems rich and fertile. Nearly half-way up, on the east side of the Kutcharo River, are three lakes,—the Takkobe, the Tori Lake, and the Shirin. The Tori is the largest. Its length is five miles, its width about one mile. On the southern shore of this lake is a picturesque Ainu village, with its old tumble-down huts, and close to it is a group of Japanese houses. The contrast between the dirty and neglected old hovels of the Ainu and the clean, spruce, and somewhat finikin houses of the Japanese is very striking. In this difference we read an epitome of the way in which civilisation has travelled from primitive barbarism. The road runs through dense forests; but in several places, especially on its highest level, we come to lovely views of mountain scenery, towering over the shimmering water of the underlying lakes.

In the evening I reached Shibetcha, a nice little place, constructed on each side of a large road which rises considerably as it goes through the village. The village lies in a small valley surrounded by moderately high mountains, and is on the western side of the Kutcharo River, which intersects the valley. A wooden bridge and a three-storied Japanese tea-house are the two main structures in the place. There are sixty-eight houses in the village, and nearly half of them are houses of ill-fame, the three-storied tea-house being the principal.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

At a distance of twenty-five miles from here is a sulphur mine, and the miners, after having amassed sufficient money, come and squander it at Shibetcha, thus supporting this nook of demoralization in the wilderness of these mountains. As the river becomes very shallow, the mineral from the sulphur mine of Yuzan was carried until quite recently on pack-saddles as far as here, whence it was brought down by boat to Kushiro for shipment; but a small railway, on which only a "truck train" is now running once a day from the mine to Shibetcha, has greatly simplified matters, and increased the export returns of the mine.

By the kind permission of the Mitsui Company I was allowed to travel on one of the trucks (no passenger carriages being provided), and the two and a half hours' journey was thus accomplished much more comfortably than if I had ridden the twenty-five miles on my pack-saddle. The railway took me to the foot of Mount Yuzan, and that same afternoon I made the ascent of the mountain. The most valuable sulphur deposits in Japan are found on this mountain, the quantity of the mineral being practically unlimited. The ascent was hard work, but it was interesting to see the *fumaroles*, whence the sulphur is extracted, and whence a dense smoke shoots out with great force. The whole mountain is covered with thick layers of sulphur of very good quality, and when more practical processes are employed for the extraction and carriage of the mineral there is no doubt that the sulphur trade will assume a very prominent place in the exports of Yezo. Dozens of men are employed now to carry the sulphur from the mountain to the railway, but there is work enough for hundreds and hundreds more. All the sulphur is at present carried on small wheelbarrows, which each man slings on to his shoulders when empty and he is going up the mountain. When the sulphur is reached the workman sits down, pulls out his pipe, which he fills from the folds of his tobacco-pouch, has a quiet smoke and a good rest, then he slowly fills his wheelbarrow with the primrose-yellow blocks, and comfortably wheels it down hill to the station, a considerable distance. Such a primitive fashion of carriage involves great loss of time, and a simple mechanical contrivance, by which a large quantity of mineral could be brought

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

down at one time, would save an enormous amount of labour, and therefore expense. A cable railway would answer the purpose to perfection, and the cost of running the steam motor would be insignificant, owing to the amount of wood and coal found within easy reach. I passed through a large gorge in the mountain, and finally reached the summit of Yuzan. Walking on sulphur beds is like walking on ice, and many a time in the climb, I landed on my knees. Near the summit is a huge pinnacle of volcanic rock, standing up perpendicularly, and of impossible access. From the foot of this pinnacle a lovely view of the Kutcharo Lake is obtained, and

KUTCHARO LAKE FROM MOUNT YUZAN.

it has as a background chain after chain of thickly-wooded mountains, beyond which are visible Oakan and Moyokan, two volcanic peaks, respectively four thousand and three thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. On Moyokan are some hot springs and accumulations of sulphur. Both these peaks can be seen from the coast on a clear day. A small lake lies between Moyokan and Oakan, which takes its name from the latter mountain, and finds an outlet in the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [343] 189 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital. 184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 The Lake Kutcharo is very large—too large to be seen to advantage from its borders, as one can see only parts, and not the whole of it at once. It has a pretty island in the centre, and on the west side is a peninsula projecting almost as far as the island. On this peninsula a small active geyser is found, which rises to a height of about twelve feet, and acts spasmodically. The high mountains which surround the lake would

SULPHUR MINE.

make the latter a pleasant summer resort were the place within the circle of civilisation. The scenery is very similar to that of Norway or the Scotch lakes. The Kutcharo River, as can be seen on the map, is an outlet of the Lake Kutcharo, into which the waters of the latter discharge themselves a few hundred yards west of the Ainu village.

600 An Ainu pointed out to me the track leading to Tetcha, or Tetchkanga, and I directed my steps in that direction, the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 was still, and only now and then some huge owl, awakened by the noise of my steps from its day's long sleep, would fly away, starting off on its night's peregrinations and depredations. I walked mile after mile, and finally struck the rails again. On a white post I saw a cipher in Chinese characters, which brought me back to the reality that I was still seventeen miles away from Shibetcha. I followed the line of rail as closely as I could, and late at night I reached Shibetcha. I roused the people at the *Marui yadoya*, and, having eaten some salmon and water soup, I retired to my *foutangs*, between which, it is useless to say, I slept well. I had walked forty-two odd miles that day, and it had been a pleasant change from the continuous riding on pack-saddles.

The next day I rode down to the coast to the bay of Akkeshi, about forty-two miles east of Kushiro. The road [137] is very good all the way, and has on each side woods of oak and pine trees. The traffic on it is at present very small, and the only living creatures I saw during the twenty-eight or thirty [136] miles were a beautiful long-tailed red fox and a number of Japanese convicts led by a policeman. These were dressed in red trousers and a short red coat made of coarse material. They were walking in a row, and they were chained two by two, and, moreover, a long rope joined the chain of each couple to that of the next, so that all couples were tied together. The end of this rope was held by the policeman. Some of them wore large hats entirely covering their face; others wore no hat at all, and had their head shaved in a peculiar manner. They were mostly bare-footed, but a few wore straw sandals. The Government wisely makes use of these convicts in opening roads and other public works, and after their term of punishment is expired, these men almost invariably become fishermen. A great part of the Japanese population of Yezo is composed of exiles and ex-convicts; in other words, Yezo is nothing more or less to Japan than what Australia was to England some years ago.

Nearing the coast I passed the "Tonden" of Hondemura, a colonial militia farming settlement. A long line of new houses, all exactly alike in shape and size, and built at intervals, stretches on each side of the wide road. Each of these houses is inhabited by a man who has served his time as a soldier,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and who has now his family about him, and does work as a farmer in this settlement assigned to him. These "Tondens" were established by the Government, and I believe that the farmer-soldiers give fairly good results in the zeal and industry with which they cultivate the land, and the honesty and morality of their lives. I saw most of them occupied in stubbing up the scrub, and tearing or cutting down the trees, burning the more worthless parts; but it will be some years yet before they have cleared an area of cultivable land sufficiently large for profit, as the country is very thickly wooded in that neighbourhood.

Soon after I had passed the settlement, going down a steep hill I came upon a small and dirty semi-Ainu village, and ultimately reached the seashore.

The distance from Shibetcha is thirty miles, and the riding was beginning to be unpleasant, owing to the gathering darkness, which made my pony shy at everything it passed. At the mouth of the Pehambe Ushi River I had great difficulty in getting my pony on the ferry-boat, which was to take me across the mouth of the lagoon to Akkeshi. Several drunken fishermen came on board, and were disagreeably noisy. One of these fellows had a pony, which he tied to mine when on board. The ferry was to take us across the entrance of the Akkeshi lagoon, and it was more than a quarter of an hour before we reached the opposite shore. When we were still nearly twenty feet from *terra firma*, my pony, frightened at the cries of the drunken crowd, jumped overboard, carrying with him his companion steed. The sudden shock and lurch of the boat knocked down everybody on board, and nearly capsized us. As it was we shipped a lot of water. The ponies found the water deeper than they expected, and they had to swim for it. Having landed before he came ashore, I recaptured mine, gave him a sound thrashing, and rode on to Akkeshi, a few hundred yards from the landing-place. Akkeshi lies at the north-east side of the large bay which goes by the same name, and which, by the way, is probably one of the best anchorages on the south coast of Yezo. The mouth of the bay is to the southward; it extends seven miles in a northerly direction, and is about six miles wide in its widest part. The bay is prolonged further inland by a large lagoon,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[139] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

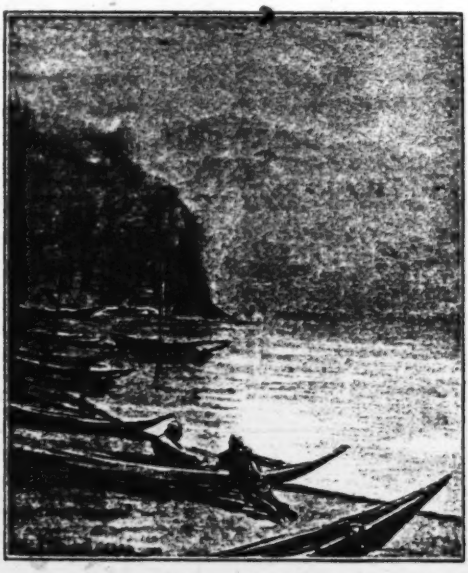
The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[139] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of
seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

seeing the surrounding scenery. Some fine headlands are 133
found near the town of Akkeshi, and also on each side of the opening of the bay into the ocean. On the eastern side, the two islands of Daikuku and Kodaikuku, joined to the mainland by the low reef, slightly under water-level, which goes round the bay, are of some importance for an artist. This is especially true of the larger island of Daikuku, which rises at a considerable height above the sea, forming majestic cliffs, 136
beautiful in shape and colour, on which myriads of seagulls, albatrosses, and penguins have chosen their abode, finding in these almost untrodden and picturesque cliffs a safe place in which to lay their eggs and rear their young. Here they live undisturbed, save for the dashing waves of the ocean, which make the earth tremble and the rock crumble to pieces, but only meet with a blithesome welcome from the screaming, light-hearted, fat, and lazy-winged inhabitants, to whom those waves bring good stores of daily food.

[133]



AKKESHI IN A FOG.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492

AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

[p. 106]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

have sat near a fire even for some hours, I have felt as if my 132
skin were soaking with wet—as if I had been too long in a bath—and neither rubbing with cotton towels nor the warmth of the fire seemed thoroughly to dry it; and perhaps such an extraordinary dampness, constantly saturating the pores of the skin, may have an injurious effect upon the hair, and cause it to decay and fall off. It was in a thick fog like this that I had to find my way to Riruran, the next horse station, about eight miles further east. The road soon became a mere track, running through an undulating country, chiefly pasture land. As luck would have it, I had hired a pony which belonged to the Riruran station, and the beast was as anxious to get there as I was. He knew the way and I did not, so I let him guide me. Now and then, when the wind blew with increased strength, the fog lifted for a few minutes, and disclosed some pretty bits of landscape. The country all around was grassy, 133
with the familiar densely-wooded hills in the background. It somewhat resembled the slopes and high lands of Cornwall, without, however, the herds of sheep and cattle, which in our country are connected with green fields; without the trim fences and stiles, the ploughed fields and meadows, the trim hedges and park-like trees, the bye-lanes and well-kept roads.

Hill after hill was ascended and descended, the sturdy little pony going well towards his former home; but as yet I had 000
come on no signs of any living creature. No labourers are here to work and plough the dark rich soil. Potato fields; cottages with their plots of vegetable grounds; cows and sheep scattered over the green pastures—all signs of vigorous and successful husbandry—are things that an intending traveller to Yezo will miss. Everywhere are solitude and monotony. Still, even solitude and monotony are not always to be abhorred, and if they have their drawbacks they also have their advantages. You can go undisturbed for mile after mile; you can think; you can dream; you can sing; you can keep to the track or go across country; you can go fast or slow, and there is no one to object, to obstruct, or to comment. You breathe air that no one has breathed before, and you quench your thirst in a limpid stream unpolluted by sewage, chemical refuse, or poisonous dye-stuffs. You lead a simple life, and, what is more, an independent life. Many a time,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when I woke up to the real state of my new condition, I could not help laughing at our civilised conceptions of what constitutes a free man in a free country, viz. that he can have a voice in choosing which of two men shall be sent as a member to Parliament.

Absorbed, now in my own thoughts on many subjects, and now in gazing at the monotonous scenes, which, as if reflected from a magic-lantern, suddenly appeared and as suddenly faded away, I had not seen how far my pony had hurried on, when, rapidly descending a steep hill, I discerned through the grey fog a solitary shed in the small valley below. The neighing of my steed, responded to by the neighing of his compatriots in the valley, told me that I had reached the horse station of Riruran, and a few minutes later my baggage and pack-saddle were removed from my steaming quadruped, and a fresh animal was burdened with my possessions. These horse stations generally consist of one shed, in which the owner and his family live; near it is a rough enclosure formed of branches and trunks of trees laid down horizontally, and strengthened at intervals by poles stuck in the ground. The ponies are kept in this enclosure during the day, but are let loose at sunset, when they go for their food wherever they can get it—generally on the near hills. Early in the morning one or two Ainu employed in the stations start off to recapture the ponies, and after a struggle bring back the herd to the paddock. My readers, who may not be well acquainted with the habits of semi-wild horses, will wonder that the ponies, once free in an unenclosed country, do not bolt away altogether inland, thus making it impossible to recapture them; and, moreover, these readers will think what a difficult task it must be for the Ainu horsemen to recover all the ponies, each one of which, they probably imagine, has bolted in an independent and different direction. This is not the case. When a herd of ponies is let loose they invariably all go together in one direction, generally following those of the older animals which have bells hanging to their necks. When they come to a proper feeding-ground they all graze within a few yards of one another; and the chances are that the herd will not go a step further than is necessary, as they are terribly afraid of bears, their most dreaded enemy, by which they well know the more

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

distant hills are infested. When their hunger is satisfied they 233
shoulder up together and form a circle, in the centre of which the young colts are placed, these being thus well protected from bears, who would find a sturdy resistance in the hind hoofs of the outstanding guard should they come to close quarters. The Ainu are good trackers, and have little difficulty in finding in which direction the herd has moved. When this preliminary is ascertained, the horseman, mounted on a swift pony, which he has taken good care to keep behind, starts from the station about an hour before sunrise, so as to allow himself ample time to reach the herd before the sun is up. He finds the ponies in this circular position of defence. With a long stick he breaks their ranks, and by shouting, and wildly galloping to and fro, drives them on in front till the station and the pen are reached. When they have all entered the latter, a heavy wooden bar is rested on two biforked poles, one on each side of the entrance, thus barring their way out; and there they are kept all day, waiting for such native travellers or traders as may require their services along the coast.

Most of the stations are owned by Japanese and by Ainu half-castes. Some have large numbers of ponies; some only a few, according to the wants of the neighbourhood.

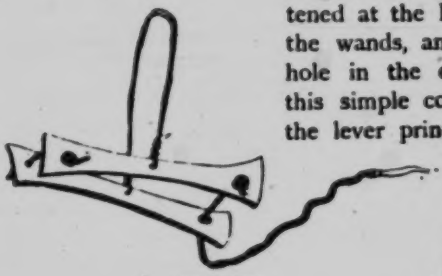
The average market value of a beast is between five and ten *yen*, or about fifteen to thirty shillings in English currency.

At stations where the ponies are but little worked, good 492
animals can sometimes be obtained for a small sum of money; but at stations near large settlements—where trade with other villages is carried on entirely by pack-ponies—they are mostly sorry beasts, with their backs one mass of sores, produced by the friction of the rough pack-saddles. Moreover, the cruel habit of letting colts follow mares for long distances—sometimes forty or fifty miles—is as painful a sight to witness as it is injurious to the breed. The Yezo ponies are characterised by their long hair and mane. They are short, sturdy, punchy brutes, not more than ten or twelve hands high, with a rather large and massive head, and thick, crooked legs. They are by no means fine-looking animals, nor are they well groomed—in fact, they are not groomed at all—but they serve capitally for the rough tracks and precipitous wastes of Hokkaido. They

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

have none of the good qualities we require in our horses, but they possess others which fit them for the country they are in. Their enormous power of endurance, and the wonderful way in which they can go over the steepest tracks—almost unclimbable on foot; their sure step when going along precipices; and the marvellous manner in which they pick their way over rocky coasts, which the waves would seem to make impassable, and where none of our good horses could go without breaking their legs, are all endowments which I feel bound to quote in honour of the Yezo ponies. They are not shod, and they can hardly be called trained. Indeed, if a traveller be a good rider, it is advisable to obtain a perfectly unbroken animal, as from my own personal experience I can say that, though the riding was a little more exciting, I could invariably make better time with a totally unbroken beast, than with one of the worn-out, sore-backed "quiet ponies," which needed any amount of thrashing to make him go.

A curious method is adopted for directing the animal. It is as simple as it is ingenious. The necessary "bit" by which we control our horses is dispensed with, and it is replaced by two wooden wands about twelve inches long and two inches wide, tied together at one end, allowing a distance of three inches between them. In the middle of these wands a rope is passed which goes over the pony's head behind its ears; while the wands themselves, thus supported by it, rest one on each side of the pony's nose. Another rope, five or six feet in length, and acting as a rein, is fastened at the lower end of one of the wands, and passes through a hole in the other, thus allowing this simple contrivance, based on the lever principle, to be worked exactly in the same way as a nut-cracker, the pony's nose being the nut. The disadvantage of the system is, that having only one rein, this has to be passed over the pony's head each time one wishes to turn to the right or to the



AINU BITS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

199 If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

194 The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrirrurran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu.

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market.

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 tion. On a pretty bit of green grass in the foreground, only a few feet above the sea-level, were a shed and a storehouse. A reef and shallow water closed the entrance of the bay to the foaming waves of the Pacific. In the sheltered water, which was as smooth as a mirror, the dark rich colour of the overhanging rocks, caressed by the last warm rays of the dying sun, was reflected with absolute fidelity and almost increased loveliness. A cold whitish sky, and the *white horses* breaking on the reef, completed the *ensemble* of that lovely scene; and it was with great regret, after having attempted a sketch, that I was told my horse was ready, and I had to leave this poetical and exquisite scene.

192 On the slight elevations near Otchishi, and in the valley, pits are still to be seen, showing that the pit-dwellers were once numerous in this district. They are found both along the coast as well as slightly inland by the side of small rivers, and on the shores of the Saruffu lagoon. A well-kept road 000 begins at Otchishi, and goes on to Nemuro. At first it runs over hilly ground and through an oak-wooded country, then [139] through thick forests of spruce trees, the trees standing very close together. About four miles from Nemuro a military settlement—"Hanasaki"—similar to the one on the Shibetcha-Akkeshi road, has been established by the Japanese Government. Here, again, I was struck by the difficulty and the amount of labour involved in clearing the trees off the ground. It will take many years before the industrious farmers will have any return for their hard labour. I do not know what the object of the Japanese Government may have been in starting these two militia settlements in spots so unfit for cultivation, but it seems a great pity to see the Tokachi region, which has all the requisites for successful agriculture, quite deserted, while hundreds of men are wasting their strength and time at other places, where it will take several years to open enough ground for even a kitchen-garden.

Past the long row of houses at Hanasaki the road descends gently, and I arrived at Nemuro, a thriving place of about fifteen hundred houses, on the south-west coast of the plateau-like peninsula ending at Cape Noshafu. The general elevation of the plateau is between sixty and one hundred and twenty feet

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level, and the high land is covered with under-growth and stunted trees, such as scrub bamboo, oak, birch, and alder, the east winds and fogs no doubt preventing the latter from attaining a larger growth. Some low islands and reefs lie north and south off Cape Noshafu, and make navigation very unsafe for the small coasting crafts which sometimes during the summer call at Nemuro for sea-weed, herring, salt, salmon, and herring guano; the first exported chiefly to China, the others to Tokio and Southern Japan. Herrings are caught in large numbers during the spring and summer, and the export of fish-manure would be considerably increased if the harbour at Nemuro could be safely entered by larger ships. As it is now, though well sheltered by the small island of Bentenjima, it can only harbour small ships, as, besides not being deep, its entrance is narrow and of difficult access during the thick fogs of the summer. In the winter and part of the spring the harbour and the coast as far as Noshafu Cape are blocked with drift ice, thus stopping navigation altogether. The trade from the adjoining coast and the Kurile Islands concentrates at this port, and as a farming region the small portion of available land north-west of the town has given fairly good results. Horse-breeding has proved a success for the local wants, but hardly so in producing a fine breed of horses. Cattle-breeding, on the other hand, has been a failure all through, owing to the severe weather in winter, which the imported animals could not stand. In spite of strong easterly winds, heavy fogs, ice, and snow, fair crops of *daikon*, potatoes, turnips, barley, beans, wheat, and hemp are successfully raised here, as the soil is of extremely good quality. As to the town itself, it is prettily laid out, the streets crossing each other at right angles, while some of the houses are built in semi-European style, to meet the severity of the climate. A Shinto temple is erected on the high level; and from this is obtained a fine bird's-eye view of the harbour and town, with the numerous storehouses overlooking the sea.

As I have given a short description of the town—uninteresting save from a commercial point of view—I feel that I owe a few lines to its go-ahead inhabitants. Belonging, nearly all, to a young and adventurous generation, they reminded me of the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same type of Englishmen who have abandoned their fatherland and settled in America and Australia, striving, and often succeeding, in making a fortune. Such men are invariably of a different "make" from that of the young fellows who are satisfied to drudge for life in a bank, a merchant's office, or a shop—vegetating rather than living; following their day's routine in a mechanical sort of way; grumbling continually, but never bold enough to attempt any improvement of their position. As one is born an artist, a musician, or a literary man, one has to be born a colonist to be a successful one.

The young Japanese whom I met at Nemuro impressed me as being thoroughly different from any I had come across in my one year's stay in Southern Japan; and I was agreeably surprised when I found that I was dealing with a lot of young, clever, and serious men, willing to improve their country and themselves, and anxious to accept any practical hint that would enable them to accomplish this in the shortest time possible. In other words, they had lost the slow, phlegmatic way of transacting business of the "stay-at-homes," and had accepted the quick perception of the true colonist, who is always ready to catch all the chances which will help him to get on in life.

I had been struck with this energy, this go-ahead faculty, several times along the south-west and south-east coasts, when conversing with the Japanese with whom I came in contact; but I was never so much impressed as at Nemuro, where, indeed, the men are of a superior class, well-educated, and belonging to good families, while most of the Japanese at fishing stations along the coast are taken from the scum of the towns. They are often escaped or ex-convicts, or else people who found it advisable to abandon the livelier shores of Nippon, leaving no trace of themselves rather than end their days in a prison cell.

Nemuro is a progressive place in every way, and had it been built five miles further west it would have been intersected by the Onnetto River—a short outlet of the Onnetto Lagoon, which would have formed a larger and safer harbour than the present Nemuro anchorage. As it is, prosperity showed itself in the usual way, by the number of eating-houses for all classes, a theatre, numerous *guechas*—singers and dancers—

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and a whole street of houses of light morals, in which, behind a wooden grating similar to a huge cage, dozens of girls are shown in their gaudy red and gold embroidered *kimonos*, with elaborate *obis* round their waist, and expensive long tortoise-shell hairpins artistically surrounding their heads like a halo. There in a line the pretty girls sit for several hours on their heels in front of a *hibachi*—brazier—smoking their diminutive pipes. They are fair game for now the compliments and now the jokes of the crowd promenading up and down the street in the evening. Every now and then, when an admirer approaches the cage, one of the girls gets up, refills her tiny pipe with tobacco, and offers it to him, not forgetting to wipe the mouthpiece with the palm of her hand before so doing. He (the admirer) puffs away, and returns the empty pipe with thanks, shifting on to another cage to have his next smoke. Japanese men cannot live without *guechas*, and it follows as a matter of course that Nemuro, being a prosperous place, there are many of them.

A *guecha* is a singer or dancer (posturing), or both, and one or more generally attend dinner-parties and festivities of any kind. Some sing with self-accompaniment of *shamesen*; others display their wonderful powers of mimicking and posturising, in which grace is never lacking. A long *kimono*, a carefully-arranged *obi*, and a pretty pair of white *tabi*—short socks with split toes—make up the graceful and simple attire in which they appear in the house. Their hair, plastered down with camelia oil, is a veritable work of art. It is carefully combed, oiled, and flattened behind the ears. A metal fastener at the lowest point of the curve keeps it in this flat position, and it is then raised again and fastened at the back of the head, first in a most elaborate twist, and then rolled up in graceful curves. A pretty, tasteful *kanzashi*—a long hairpin—is placed on the left side of the head, thus completing that part of a *guecha's* toilette.

The sallow complexion characteristic of the race is despised by the womankind of Japan, and all women are given to "painting" themselves. With us such a custom is not uncommon, but it is disregarded by most sensible women. In Japan it is part of the ordinary woman's daily toilette. A thick layer of white chalk is first smeared with a soft brush

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

over the face, neck, shoulders, arms, and hands; then the pretty *mouseme*, dipping her first finger in red paint, gently rubs this on her cheeks, her temples, and over the upper eyelids. The middle finger is the "black brush," and adds sentiment to the expression by blackening under the eyes; and sometimes when the eyebrows are not shaved it is also used to accentuate them. A piece of burnt cork is often used as a substitute for black paint. The fourth finger has no occupation, but the little finger is for finishing touches, brightening up the mouth with carmine, and adding a bit of gold on the lower lip. A *guecha* paints herself to a much greater extent than other women, and with brighter colours. As to her moral qualities, a *guecha* is usually not immoral enough to be called "fast," yet too fast to be qualified as "moral." Their music and posturing have a great charm for Japanese; and when money is made, a good quantity of it goes to keeping up these feminine musicians and their establishments.

• • • • • •

To show how enterprising and Americanised the Nemuro people are, I shall ask the reader's forgiveness for again relating a personal experience which at the time greatly amused me.

I was in the midst of my simple Japanese dinner in the Jamaruru tea-house, when four youths entered my room and offered to shake hands with me—a most unusual thing with Japanese. One of them handed me his card, on which I read, "K. Sato, *Nemuro Shimbun*" (Nemuro newspaper).

"Oh," I said in Japanese, "you have even a newspaper at Nemuro."

"Yes," answered in English one of his friends, a Mr. Yuasa, handing me his own card.

"You speak English, then, Mr. Yuasa?"

"Yes."

"Can I offer you and your friends anything to drink or to eat?"

"Yes."

"What will you have?"

"Yes."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Will you have some *sake?*"

"No, no; I come to speak to you."

"Thank you."

"No, no; I come to *take your life* in Nemuro newspaper. Please speak where come? How old? Where go?"

When I had sufficiently recovered from the shock of his announcement that he had come to take my life, and understood what he meant by it, I had a most pleasant conversation in English with him, and in Japanese with the others. Mr. Yuasa's English improved as his shyness wore off, showing that he had a very fair knowledge of the language. The interview lasted many hours, continually interrupted by the *nara honto* and the *sajo deska*—"really" and "indeed" of my visitors—while notes were taken by the editor and his staff. They finally departed, and early the next morning I received the following letter:—

"SIR,—I long that you will correspond to me any events wherever you have met them in your journey when you are not so awful busy, as I have to translate and write on the Nemuro *News*. I meet the first time here, and I hope to have your friendly favor hitherto, and thanks for your kindness I have received ever, believe me, your humble servant, F. YUASA."

The same afternoon the editor and his staff called again, accompanied by the two Mr. Nakamuras, the richest merchants in Nemuro, and they insisted on giving me a European dinner. After my experience at Otsu as regards European cooking by Japanese, I was rather loth to accept their kind invitation, but I had to yield. The feast began with biscuits and jam,[1] and the soup was brought immediately after; then vegetables were followed by roast chicken, and the latter by salad and fried fish. With the exception of the somewhat inverted order of the courses, this time it was actually a European dinner, and even well-cooked; but my hosts were seen at a great disadvantage when using a knife and fork. As for the anatomy of the chicken, that was decidedly their weakest point. Those of the party who were shy gave up the carving as a bad job; the bolder only fought bravely; and every now and then a knife

[1] The Japanese always begin their meals with sweets.

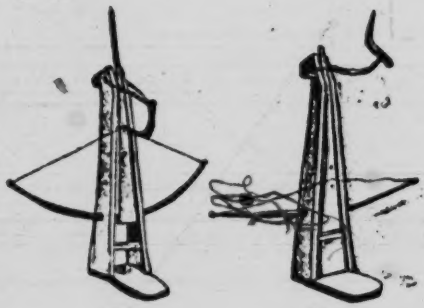
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

gave a terrible squeak on the plate, and half a leg, a wing, or a carcase was fired right across the table into one's plate, if not in one's face, or on one's lap.

"*Honto taihen muskashi*"—"Really it is very difficult"—said the wit of the party, helplessly putting down his knife and fork after trying to separate the two parts of a wing. "This bird's bones have lost all their joints in the cooking."

My hosts were extremely kind, and were, besides, so clever and bright that I enjoyed their good company immensely. At the same time I gained from them valuable information as regards the neighbouring country and the Kurile Islands.

224



SEMI-AINU RAT TRAP.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890), 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291

AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words.

[p. 121]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

131 The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

000 The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in
135 Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

326 Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions.
000 The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and
[823] only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir [1] and Urup [2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that of the "Thousand Islands" of the Chishima group only three are inhabited, I shall avoid giving a monotonous description of each bare-looking islet and rock, and I shall land my readers at Shikotan, on a visit to the Kurilsky Ainu, who are important to us in connection with the Ainu of Yezo.

133 It was early in the morning when I looked out of the porthole, and by a fine moonlight saw that we were close to the coast. Huge cliffs and peaks, ending in a sharp point, some converging towards one another, some standing upright against the whitish cold sky, were reflected in the smooth water under the lee of the island. The moon, surrounded by a yellowish halo, shone bright over the rugged scene, giving delicate bluish tints to all the shadows; while the water, disturbed and cut by the prow of our craft, rose in gentle waves, pursuing one another, as if running for a place of refuge in the mysterious dark shadows of the cliffs. So weird, so enchanted and wild was the scene, that I jumped out of my stuffy bunk and went on deck. There I stood, notwithstanding the cold, gazing at the gigantic overhanging black rocks, at the precipices, crevices, and natural openings through which now and then the radiant moon peeped, covering the dark green water with a long undulating streak of silver dashes. There I stood, listening to the voices of the waves, which rippled on the shingle, contemplating this strange and poetic work of nature. I am certain that if sirens there ever were in this world, their home must have been among the whimsical and *bizarre* rocks of Shikotan Island. The old "tub" on which I was "ploughing the waves" moved slowly through this heavenly spectacle of ever-increasing beauty. When the sun rose, enchantment was added to enchantment. The cold bluish colour of the rocks became gradually warmer; and, as the light grew stronger, the tops of the cliffs turned into a mass of brilliant colours. Nature was waking slowly from her torpid sleep, and, in the freshness of the morning, a light breeze, caressing the shore, brought with it the smell of land.

The captain, a Japanese, informed me that we should soon enter the harbour of Shikotan, and, pointing to some huge pillars, said that was the entrance. We drew nearer and nearer to it, and the nearer we drew the more I became

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever. 600

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. [361] Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

657 648 361 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [42] [30]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

291 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

all mountainous, with the exception of a small valley near Rubets. It is along the banks of the Bettobu River, in that small valley and on those terraces, that the numerous pits of the Koro-pok-kuru are found, and also at Rupets, further south on the same coast. This, however, I have already explained in connection with the pit-dwellers. The two small fishing-stations above mentioned are respectively under the lee of the headlands ending in Cape Ikahasonets and Notoro Cape. On the first headland the mountain of Tsiriju rises to a great altitude. The largest fishing-station is at Shana, on the western side of this headland, and further north, besides Bettobu, is the small station of Shibets. South-west of Shana one finds Rubets, Furubets, Oitoi, and Naibo, the latter in the bay of the same name. There are five lakes in Etorofu, two of which are between Shana and Bettobu, one near Rubets, the other close to Naibo; the fifth is a very small one, fifteen or sixteen miles north-east of Bettobu. The country has a rugged look, and in some places, as near Rubets, where the volcanic mountain masses leave space for low terraces the scrub-bamboo is very thick, as in Yezo, and small and stunted trees form the chief vegetation. Larch is more common on the north-west coast than on the south-east. Good timber is rather scarce in Etorofu, but a fair quantity of it is to be found inland, and also at the south-western portion of the island about Naipo.

Accumulations of sulphur are found at Ichibishinai, and there is an active volcano south-east of Bettobu, besides the beautiful volcanic cone of Atzosa, three or four thousand feet above sea-level. All this volcanic mountain mass, with its warmly-tinted peaks, bears the characteristics of the central portion of Yezo; and there seems to be little doubt that all this row of islands, with the frequent submerged craters and volcanic cones, is nothing but the continuation of the volcanic zone in Yezo. The main resource of Etorofu is the fishing. Four different kinds of salmon and salmon-trout are found, one similar to the salmon common in Yezo, the others somewhat differently marked. Salmon is extremely plentiful, and in July and August enormous catches are made, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where the fish are closely packed together.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Pico Strait, between Etorofu and Kunashiri, is about fourteen miles wide, and a strong current from the Okhotsk Sea passes through it, causing the sea to break in heavy tide-rips and overfalls similar to those observed in the La Perouse Strait, between Yezo and Sakhalin. Similar tide-rips are observed also in the channel between Etorofu and Urup, but, being much wider (about twenty-four miles), they seem there less formidable.

Kunashiri is the next largest island in the Kuriles after Etorofu. It is about sixty-five miles long, and very narrow; varying from three to eight miles in width. The north-east portion is somewhat wider, and extremely mountainous. The highest peak of this mountain range is the Tcha-Tcha-Nobori (the old-old-mountain), which is said to be about seven thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea. From this volcano starts a chain of hills—some pyramidal in form, others somewhat rounder at the top—which forms the backbone of the island. Two more active volcanoes besides the Tcha-Tcha are on the south-west portion of Kunashiri, but they do not rise to a very great altitude. On Horanaho or Rausu volcano sulphur accumulations are found, and at Pontoo (small lake) sulphur bubbles out from the lake bottom, and seems to be worked with profit. The Tcha-Tcha-Nobori is curiously shaped. It is like a large cone cut about half-way up in a section, to which a smaller cone has been attached, leaving a wide ring right round. It is extremely picturesque, and a worthy finish to the strange outline of Kunashiri Island.

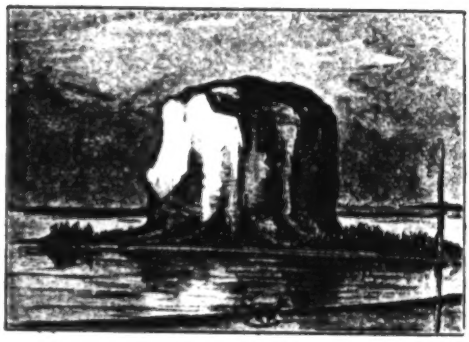
Vegetation and products are the same as in Etorofu. Salmon is plentiful, and a few fishing-stations are spread out here and there at long intervals on the coast. As in Etorofu, the population of Kunashiri migrates there from Yezo during the fishing season, and leaves the island almost deserted in winter. The strait separating it from Yezo is only ten or twelve miles wide. Bears and foxes are said to be very numerous in all the larger islands of the Kuriles, and seals are [36] captured in large quantities during the winter months, more especially in the islands nearer Kamschatka. Small game, as ducks, snipes, and sandpipers, is abundant. Besides the ruggedness and strange aspect of its numerous volcanic peaks, the bareness and the loneliness of the coast, there is nothing in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Kurile group to entice the sightseer and the pleasure-seeker to a cruise among the islands. The geologist and zoologist, however, would find in the Kuriles a very rough but very interesting field for their investigations, and a "good shot," who does not mind a self-sacrificing and lonely life, would find some good sport among the bears, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu.

WOMAN OF THE KURILE ISLANDS

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



ABASHIRI ISLAND.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the East and North-East Coast—From Nemuro to Shari-Mombets.

I DID not remain long at Nemuro after my return from the Kuriles; in fact, I remained only a few hours, and again my baggage was lashed to the pack-saddle, again I was perched on the top of this instrument of torture, and soon was rapidly moving north towards the inhospitable coast of the Okhotsk Sea.

The first few days of the lonely life of a peripatetic Robinson Crusoe are unmistakably disagreeable, but after that initiation there is no doubt that it is a fascinating life. I was more than glad when the gay Nemuro was out of sight, and the noise and rumble of semi-civilisation out of hearing. The editor and seven gentlemen of Nemuro accompanied me for a few miles —then I was left to myself and my own resources. Crossing the Onnetto River, the outlet of a large lagoon of the same name, I passed through Nishibets and then Bitskai, where in former days the Japanese had established a salmon-canning factory, which proved a failure, owing to the incapacity of its directors and workmen. Salmon is very abundant in the Nishibets River, and a well-managed canning factory would be a great success. About ten or eleven miles north of Bitskai a peculiar peninsula stretches out from north-east to south-west, which affords a shelter for small junks from northerly winds. It is called Noshike, and is not more than a few feet

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same extent as on the south-east coast. A peculiarity of the 133
river is that before entering the sea it turns sharply south and runs along a bank of sand and mud, which is growing larger every year, which shows that a current from the Okhotsk Sea must travel down in that direction through the strait between Kunashiri and Yezo. The same peculiarity is noticeable in nearly all the rivers of the north-east coast.

From Shibets to Wembets the track is fairly even, but from Wembets round Cape Shiretoko it is in many places impassable even on foot. The Peninsula, ending in Cape Shiretoko, is a mass of high volcanic mountains towards the interior, while scabrous cliffs and huge rocks fringe the line of coast. However, from Shibets there is a small mountain track inland which brings the traveller across to the north-east coast near Shari. The track was through beautiful forests of pine trees, [137]
oak, birch, and elm, and during the first few miles it is on almost level ground. After that, hill after hill is ascended and descended, and one goes ever onwards at a higher altitude, until Rubets, a small shed, is reached. From here the track follows a zig-zag direction till it reaches the summit of the mountain range, and one then begins to descend on the other side. From the summit there is a lovely view of beautiful blue mountains in the distant west, one of which is called Oakan, and the other Moyokan. The mountainous part of the track from Igiani, three miles from Shibets, as far as the north-east coast, reminded me much of the scenery in Switzerland, with its rapid and limpid fresh-water rivers, thickly-wooded country, and green grass, which last was replaced here by an undergrowth of scrub bamboo. When I 000
went across this mountain pass the rain was pouring in torrents, and the road, such as it was, being very slippery and heavy, I only reached the north-east coast at dark. The moon would not rise till late, there were heavy black clouds, and I was more than puzzled how to find my way.

To add to my bad luck, my pony this time was a sorry beast, with his back a mass of sores. I was simply drenched with the rain that never ceased. Now and then, by the blinding flash of lightning, I could see a long stretch of sand and a line of sand-hills; I could also see the reeds bending low under the squalls, and then everything was darkness again. I was

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the
361 coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses.
343 They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

133 The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some
149 years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

000 Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary.
[133] The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

133 Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river 133
which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite [136]
resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the 574
mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There 609
was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were [062]
enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows, which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few "bites" my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [491] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a 361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of 142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of 231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern 304 point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge 136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated ; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only ; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the four brave men, who had suffered agonies for days, and had almost miraculously escaped death in the treacherous currents of the Otkoshk Sea, were certainly not to be outwitted by a handful of hard-hearted Japanese or by a pack of hairy Ainu. They begged for food and could not obtain it, so they stole it, and ill-treated some of the natives who interfered. They then disappeared towards the south. When I put in an appearance, all alone and almost in rags, leading and dragging my tired pony, it is not astonishing that the first thing that struck them was that I must be another escaped Russian, "or bad man from Krafto,"[1] as the Ainu called me.

The reception I received was pretty stormy; but when I understood what the matter was which caused the rioting, I set their minds at rest, and, speaking in their own language, told them that the "bad men of Krafto" were my enemies as well as theirs, and that, should I find them, I would punish them. Not only that, but, to make them perfectly at ease, I gave them some little present of money, which turned them at once into friends. As to the Russian convicts, there was no possibility of my finding them, for they were travelling towards the south from this point, and I was moving towards the north, so I was perfectly safe in passing myself off as a kind of supreme judge.

Shari Mombets is a miserable place. In the house where I put up I was received by a young man, but the owner of the house did not show himself. The next morning, however, as I gave much more money than they expected, the landlord was brought to my room to thank me. The poor man suffered from elephantiasis—the wretched disease by which the head and all the limbs of the body assume gigantic proportions. His head was swollen to more than twice its normal size, and had lost its shape; his body was piteously deformed and inflated, his eyes nearly buried in flesh. The weight of his head was such that the cervical vertebræ were scarcely strong enough to support it erect; and when he bowed down in Japanese fashion to thank me and bid me

[1] *Krafto*, Ainu word for Sakhalin.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

600 good-bye, I had to run to his help, for he could not get up again. Poor man! And when we reflect that in more civilised countries many people think themselves very ill and suffering when they have a pimple on their nose, or a cold in their head!

133

SARUMA LAGOON.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on shore by the tide. Some distance off an outcast horse was attacked by thousands of famished crows. It is not an uncommon occurrence in Yezo. The black scavengers generally attack very young animals, and, flying on the pony's head, peck out its eyes. The pony, frightened, and driven mad by pain, bolts, and in his blind and reckless race either falls down a precipice and is killed outright, or else is driven to the coast by these daring wretches, which continue to peck at him with cruel and ceaseless avidity. There, with its way barred by the waves, tortured to death, and neighing desperately, the helpless beast succumbs, and affords the hungry birds a good meal, while hundreds gathered thick on the body, peck the poor brute to death. Thousands of others sit screaming in long rows round the scene of the fight, attentively watching for the final result, when they too can join in, and experience the joys of sated hunger. Nature can indeed be cruel.

I stopped at a hut. My host was decidedly peculiar. For convenience we shall call him Omangus, which only means a "gone man," or a lunatic. I had heard of him further south, and I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I had not been five minutes in his hut before I perceived that he really was a lunatic. His head was of an abnormally large size; his skull was well developed at the back, with those prominent bumps behind the ears which show great love of eating. His forehead was high, and very slanting; the upper part was wider than near the eyebrows, which were so thick and bushy as nearly to cover the eyes. His nose, with its large nostrils, was stumpy and covered with hair, while his enormous projecting eyes were restless and fierce. His luxuriant moustache and beard matched the thick crop of long black hair which covered his whole body. His legs were short, wiry, with stiff and swollen joints, probably owing to rheumatism. His arms were very long, and his toes were also abnormally long. Altogether he had the appearance of a large orang-outang more than that of a human being. All his movements resembled those of a wild beast, and now and then, when pleased or dissatisfied, he would groan in a way not dissimilar to the growling of a bear. In fact, he was labouring under the belief that he was a wild beast of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

some sort, and apparently he regarded himself as a "bruin." I never heard him speak or utter words, but whether he was actually dumb or not I was not able to ascertain, as every time I tried to examine his mouth he attempted to bite me. His biting, however, was of a different nature from that of the sweet girl on the Saruma shores, and when he did bite he bit well. One day in a struggle I came off nearly minus two joints of the third finger of my right hand.

I several times attempted to take measurements of his skull and bones, but with no success. Once, as I had got hold of him and was feeling the "bumps" on his skull, he managed to disentangle himself, and grabbed me by the hair, which led to a conflict, and caused me a "très mauvais quart d'heure." We fought desperately, and I was thoroughly "licked"; not, however, before having found out that he had no bump of sensitiveness and none of philoprogenitiveness. He was pleased with his victory, and the hostilities ended. He hopped away cautiously, and I saw him climb on his hands and feet over the cliff near his hut, where he disappeared.

Some hours later I saw the monomaniac stealthily creeping back among the rocks. I was some way from the hut, in a place where he could not see me. He came slowly forward, watching the hut suspiciously, as he evidently thought I was still inside. When he got near he stopped to pick up a large stone, and with it in his right hand he sneaked along towards the hut. He listened, and crept in. I followed immediately after. He was furious when I entered, and tried to escape, but I barred his way. He retreated into a corner, crouched down groaning, and showed signs of impatience. I could see that he was frightened, and I went to him and endeavoured to soothe him; not without success, for he became quieter, and I once more noticed the great power that a stronger will can exercise over a weaker one. As long as I was staring at him he never dared to move, and I could "will" him to do almost anything I wanted by thinking hard that he should do it; but when once I turned my eyes away I had no more control over him.

This is just what happened that day. Thinking that he would keep quiet for some minutes, I got out my palette and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

[40]
[29]
[802]
[136]

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

He was restless while I was painting him, and hundreds of half-starved crows, which seemed to be on good terms with my sitter, gathered round him, chatting in their incomprehensible and noisy language. Some of them even flew on to his back and shoulders, and he touched them without their flying away. 123 158 136

I was astounded at the familiarity which existed between the madman and the birds. They seemed to understand each other, and had I only been sufficiently imaginative I might have asserted that I even saw them kissing him. Unfortunately, when the first astonishment was over I understood the reason of the affection on the part of the scavengers, and the whole mystery was unveiled to me. Like all mysteries, the apparently extraordinary friendship between the madman and the black birds turned out to be a plain bit of literal prose, and, I must add, a very disgusting bit. The maniac was covered with vermin, and the affectionate kisses of the crows were not kisses of love or sympathy, but only mouthfuls of parasites, which they found among the thick hair of his body.

Two or three times the maniac crawled up to me, and seemed anxious to touch the colours on my palette, and also to put his fingers on the sketch. He saw that he gained nothing by being a foe, so he became a friend. He even became a great friend when I presented him with a shiny silver coin. 123 158

Though Omangus was undoubtedly insane, he was a very practical person. As will be seen by the illustration, his attire was simple, and no allowance was made for pockets. He looked at the coin, turned it over in his hands several times, and grinned ; then he placed it in his mouth for safe keeping. His mouth was apparently his purse. As I saw that he was fond of silver coins, I gave him one or two more, and all of them were religiously kept in the same natural pocket, except at night, when he hid them under a large stone. At sunrise they were collected again and placed back under his tongue or in one of his cheeks.

I cannot say that my host was by any means brilliant, but, like most lunatics, he was a good soul apart from his little peculiarities. It was unfortunate that he had lost the power of speech, or I might have learnt some strange things from him.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

158 Omangus was generally restless at night, and while asleep he seemed to suffer from awful nightmares. Most Ainu as a rule do not. One morning at dawn, as the first rays of light penetrated the hut, I watched him. He had been groaning frightfully all night, and I had not been able to sleep. He was lying flat on his back breathing heavily, and now and then he had a kind of spasm, during which he ground his teeth together with violence. It was during these spasms, or nervous contractions, that he groaned most fiercely. As he was so stretched I noticed how extraordinarily long his femur was compared to his tibia. I gently placed my hand over his heart, and found it was beating rapidly and irregularly. His forehead also was feverish and abnormally warm. He did not wake up, but as soon as the nervous strain was over he fell into a lethargic state. He appeared to have lost all strength, and it took me some time to awake him ; but he finally opened his eyes, and, drowsily getting up, yawned to his heart's content, and went to fetch the hidden coins.

The more I saw of Omangus, the more he puzzled me. His faculties were defective ; still, he seemed to possess a fairly good memory. If not, how could he remember the concealed treasure ? Although he was not able to form ideas of his own, he could retain those which he had grasped. His hearing was extremely acute, and his inability to speak must have undoubtedly been caused by paralysis of the tongue and vocal organs. Several times he made violent attempts to utter words, which he would not have done had he been born dumb.

158 123 After the second day of my pleasant stay in Omangus' ten feet square sea-side residence my host became more genial and even affectionate. Instead of constantly running away from me he sat opposite me, attentively watching all my movements ; and if I happened to be whistling, he slowly crept nearer, grinning with delight. Occasionally he crouched himself by my side, even resting against me. I did not approve of the latter proof of affection, not so much for his own sake as on account of the "large company" which he carried with him ; but I had to put up with it until I found a counter-action in loud singing, which frightened him away.

Omangus had a quantity of last year's salmon, which he had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

dried in the sun, and which was now hanging from the roof of the little hut. The first day or two of my stay there I had but little to eat, owing to his belligerent behaviour. He rebelled every time that I attempted to touch his provisions, and what I had to eat was generally appropriated while my host was out. Afterwards, however, he became generous, and gave me more than I wanted. He took good care to draw the three coins out of his mouth while he was eating, but once, during a nervous fit, to which he was often subject, he swallowed one of them.

One morning, weary of my lunatic friend's company, I packed all my traps and went to fetch my pony. Omangus seemed aghast, suspecting that I was about to leave. He was restless, and followed me, moaning, from the hut to the pony and back, and, with a forlorn look in his eyes, watched me bring the baggage outside and lash it to the pack-saddle. I gave him a couple more silver coins, which I thought would make him happy; but he dropped them in the sand. I bade good-bye to him and left; and there poor Omangus stood motionless, gazing at me until the winding shore took me round the cliff. He was out of sight for some minutes, but he soon reappeared on the summit of the cliff itself, on to which he rapidly climbed, and from this point of vantage he could see the coast for several miles. There standing, a black figure against the rising sun, the hairy Ainu became smaller and smaller as I moved away from him, until nothing but a black spot could be seen against the sky; then even that spot disappeared. It was the last I saw of my host the madman.

The rivers were troublesome all along this part of my journey, and as most of them had quicksands, the safest plan was to cross them in a boat, when this was obtainable. However, as I went further north the boats became scarce and more scarce, and the small villages, few and very far between. I seldom came across a human being with whom I could exchange a word, and the constant solitude induced in me the bad habit of talking to myself, to animals, or to inanimate objects. My unfortunate pony was often lectured on different subjects, and the millions of seagulls and penguins all along the coast were asked questions of all sorts, which, however, they invariably left unanswered. It was strange to see the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 myriads of birds stretched in two or three lines along the shore. Like the "beasts which roamed over the plains" in Alexander Selkirk's lament, they had seen so few human beings as to be indifferent to me and my pony, and I could walk among them without disturbing them or causing them to fly away. The penguins were my greatest source of amuse-
136 ment, with their fat bodies and their funny way of lifting up one leg as I was approaching, in order to get enough spring to raise themselves from the ground had I attempted to capture them. I was soliloquising, according to my then custom, while watching these droll birds, when not more than two hundred yards ahead I saw two large eagles. One of them was perched on a low cliff, the other was flying about, now and then returning near to its mate. I dismounted, with my revolver in my hand; I had a pocketful of cartridges. I crept stealthily from rock to rock, keeping well out of their sight until I came close to the pinnacled rock on which they stood. I was then about fifty yards from them, and it was useless my firing at such a distance with a revolver. I peeped over the rocks, and one of them saw me and flew away, while the other remained where it was, stretching its neck in my direction. Its piercing eyes were fixed full on me as I was approaching; it understood that danger was imminent, and it seemed ready to resist the attack. I drew nearer and nearer, and when about four yards away I fired two shots, both of which went through its breast, and the eagle, with its wide-spread wings, fell from its lofty pinnacle and came down heavily on its back.

In its last convulsions it made desperate efforts to clutch me with its long sharp claws; but a couple more shots finished it. The male bird, which meanwhile had been describing circles high up in the sky over my head, plunged down on me with incredible velocity. I emptied the last chamber of my revolver into him, just as the wind of his large wings made my e[illegible] twinkle; and to evade the grip of his outstretched claws I had to cover my face with my left arm. The report stunned him, and flapping his wings, he rose again, to resume his circling over my head, leaving a few of his feathers floating in the air. I reloaded quickly, and each time he attacked me he was received with a volley. Another bullet went through

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

his wing, and his flying became unsteady; he flew on to a distant cliff, and there he remained. I seized this opportunity of carrying the dead bird away and lash it on to my saddle; but while I was so engaged the male eagle flew back to the pinnacle where I had first seen the two together, and stretching his enormous wings to their full width, screamed as if in despair. On the pinnacle was their nest and young, and that was why the female had kept watch and ward over her eyrie, and also why she had not abandoned it even when I approached. 136

I mounted my pony and away I rode with my prey. The male bird followed me for miles and miles, and now and then I had to fire to keep him at a respectful distance. Ultimately he left me, and my delight was immense when, instead of seeing him over my head, ready to plunge on me at any moment, I saw him disappear behind the cliff, flying rapidly but unsteadily back to his eyrie.

As I now made sure that he had no intention of pursuing me any longer, I dismounted, and proceeded to skin the eagle I had shot. It was decidedly a magnificent specimen. It measured seven feet from tip to tip of wings, and its claws were nearly as large as a child's hand. The semicircular nails measured two inches, and were extremely pointed, which fact made me feel very thankful that I had just escaped the grip of its male companion. The beak was enormous, of a rich yellow colour, the upper mandible overlapping the lower. The feathers were black all over, with the exception of the tail, which was white. I believe that this kind of eagle is generally called the "black sea-eagle," and is found in Kamschatka, Yezo, and also along the Siberian coast of the Japan Sea and Gulf of Tartary. 000

I found a sheltered spot, and with my large Ainu knife proceeded to dissect the bird. Each minute seemed as long as hours, for I feared the male bird might reappear on the scene as I was thus occupied in stripping the skin from the carcass of his beloved helpmate. There is no knowing what effect anatomical researches might have on a Yezo eagle. My heart bounded with joy when the operation was successfully completed, and I went to wash my hands in the sea. I came back to the bird, or rather its skin, and I was indeed proud of my work, when a horrid idea struck me. How was I to get

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the skin dried? I should be moving day after day, and it would not be possible to pack it in that condition among my sketches; I had no arsenical soap, and unless I dried it in the sun it would certainly rot, and get spoiled.

I resorted to a trick. I fastened two sticks crossways, and having stuck one up the eagle's neck, I fastened the two opened wings to the two side branches of the cross. The skin was thus kept well opened, and with two additional strings, one at each wing, the frame was fastened on to my back, the feathered side against my coat, while the inside was exposed to the sun and the wind. In wading a river I saw my own image reflected in the water, and I must confess the appearance was strange. A few hours after a group of Ainu were able to certify to this. I was riding slowly along the shore, when I saw a few of them not very far ahead. Two men were the first to notice me, and they seemed terror-stricken. As I approached they stood still for a minute, shading their eyes with their hands so as to make out what kind of winged animal it was they saw riding on horseback. When they discovered that the black wings were on a human being, the two brave Ainu fled, crying out, "*Wooi, wooi!*" the hairy people's cry of distress.

As I got nearer the village, dozens of wild dogs came to meet me, and, barking furiously, followed my pony, while the few inhabitants, frightened out of their wits at such an unusual sight, hid themselves inside their huts. Two or three hurriedly launched their "dug-outs" and put out to sea. When I passed the first hut some large salmon were thrown at me from inside, probably with the idea that I might satisfy my appetite on them, and spare the lives of the trembling donors. Food was not over-plentiful along that coast, so I dismounted and picked up the provisions so munificently provided by the scared natives. I tied them on each side of my pack-saddle, not sorry to be thus saved from the danger of dying of starvation—at least for the next two or three days.

As I was so occupied, a little child about four years old, evading the vigilance of his parents, ran out of one of the huts. I took him in my arms; whereat he cried bitterly, and when the people inside heard it there were screams of indignation and despair.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Maternal love is occasionally strong even among Ainu 123
women, and while I tried hard to quiet the shrieking baby, his mother, as pale as the dirt on her face allowed her to be, came out trembling, and, offering me another large salmon, begged me to accept it in exchange for her child, who, she said, was not good to eat! It is needless to say that I was magnanimous enough to accept her offer, and thereupon handed the child over to his mother, who fled with him back into the hut. Then I took off my wings and went in after her, explaining to the frightened natives what I really was. It took them some minutes, however, to overcome their first impression, and then the men were pretty hard on the women for having given all the salmon away. The same scene was more or less vividly repeated when I came across any other natives during all the time that I wore the eagle-skin on my back. I have related this small anecdote, as, a few years hence, when some worthy missionary or imaginative traveller visits that barren coast of Yezo, it is not improbable that he may hear of some additional Ainu legend, which, the good missionaries will say, proves that the Ainu are fully aware of the existence of heaven and hell.

"A heathen child," the legend will very likely run, "whose 000
parents had not embraced our Christian faith, was one day plainly seen by his mother in the arms of a black-winged devil. The devil was seen by many, and he came from the lower regions on an unknown animal with huge side paunches, in which he kept the heathen children he had eaten. The mother, who, through her wickedness, saw herself deprived of her child, gave offerings to the gods, some through the eastern window for the sun-god, and some through the door for the other gods. The offerings were accepted, but none of the gods came to her help, and the child was nearly lost. Her guiding star appeared to her in that supreme moment, and inspired her to reach down from the roof the largest salmon in store. She walked out of the hut and offered it to another god, whom she knew not before. Instantly the child was restored to his mother. (That the god took the salmon would probably be omitted in the legend.) The black-winged demon vanished, and the hut was visited by a white being (freely translated, "the guardian angel"), with a halo (my

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

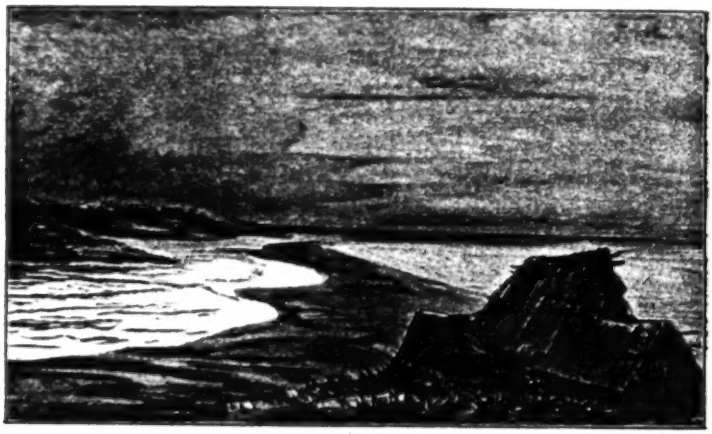
white terai hat) round his head. He rewarded them, and from that day the family has been happy in the faith which they learned in such a miraculous manner."

"Does not this legend speak for itself?" the good missionaries will tell us. "Does it not show that the savage Ainu are Christians without knowing it?"

I have given these two versions of the same story, as they show the reader how easy it is to garble accounts and misrepresent facts. It is a good illustration of what I say in my chapter on the Ainu beliefs and superstitions, and I must be forgiven if I have ventured to make fun of the missionaries. It is not because I dislike them, for I gladly admit that some of them out in the East have done good work; but, unfortunately, most of them will not take an open-minded view of facts. They are so wrapped up in their good work of converting people to Christianity that, outside of that, they occasionally have a tendency to tinge with their own preconceived ideas, facts which to a less biased mind appear simple enough.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342



SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 IT was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai[1] Saruru,
[361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of
491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about
291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her
[302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are born we train them to artificiality of all kinds, and this artificiality becomes in a sense second nature, overlaying, if not destroying, the original impress. And yet that impress is probably not wholly destroyed, for, so far as my own experience goes, I, who had from my birth led a civilised life, now that I had been for some months among barbarians had so little conventionality left in me as to be quite happy, or even happier than before, in leading a perfectly uncivilised existence. In the absence of chairs and sofas, instinct and the example of the natives taught me to squat as they did, and when I had once got into the way of it I found the position much more restful than any of our European so-called comfortable ways of sitting. It was the same thing when I had to sleep, either in the open air or in Ainu huts, where there was no more bedding than sofas or easy chairs. To protect myself from the cold I almost invariably slept sitting on the ground, with my head resting on my knees, just like the apes in the Zoological Gardens. I am sure that a good many of my readers, who have never gone through such an experience, will put me down as a "crank;" others will say that I am a worthy companion of my friend the hairy lunatic, and the most charitable will think that, bearing the name of "Savage Landor," I am only indulging in a new edition of "Imaginary Conversations," without the literary merits of the old. Such is not the case. I have mentioned these facts, not to amuse the reader, or merely for the sake of paradox, but to show how shallow is the veneer of civilisation which we are apt to think so thorough, and how a very short time spent unaccompanied by men of one's own stamp, and alone with "nature," rubs the whole thing away, and brings us back to instinct rather than education. I am willing to admit that not many people would care to follow in my footsteps, and live as I lived for months among the Ainu in order to prove whether I am right or wrong. Many who have only sat in comfortable chairs or slept in soft beds will hardly think my statements credible; but as the experiences, besides being of great amusement, were of great interest to me, I shall pass them on to my readers, no matter what opinion they may form of him who has written them.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Another quality, merely instinctive, which I developed in 000 my lonesome peregrinations was the power of accurate tracking. Most people are astonished at the wonderful tales told of the tracking abilities of the Australian black fellows, and of savages in general; but few ever think that if when young they had led the same life as these savages they would be as good trackers as the best. As there were absolutely no roads, and I travelled with no guide, servant, or companion, the power of discovering traces became invaluable to me. It was instinctive in me, developed rather than acquired, and therefore I mention it in connection with the other facts relating to animal and human instincts. Furthermore, I may assert that, until I was thus compelled to make use of that faculty, I was not aware that I possessed it.

We find that horses, bears, and most animals are good trackers. Dogs, the nearest in intelligence to men, are better than any other quadruped. Then come savages, who are the masters of tracking among human beings; but as we rise in the scale of civilisation we find that this faculty of following a slightly indicated track hardly exists. Does, then, intellectual education destroy our instincts instead of improving them?

Tracking on sandy or tufaceous ground is an easy matter, as of course the foot leaves a well-marked print; but where I found real difficulty was over rocky ground, until I got used to it, and knew all the signs and what I had to look for. However, with a little practice, even over rocks which the sea has washed, it is not impossible to know if such and such creatures, human or animal, have passed that way.

One of the first things in tracking is to look for marks where they are likely to be; and this is just where the instinct comes in. Next to this, a clear knowledge of the person's or animal's way of walking and general habits is necessary. For instance, when I tried to discern tracks of Ainu, I invariably looked for them along the sea-shore, and failing that, on the adjoining cliffs, as I well knew that if any Ainu had passed by there he would have kept either along the coast or not far from it. By examination it is easy to see if the ground has been in any way disturbed of late. Sometimes a small stone moved from the place where it had been for years shows a

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

difference in colour where it has been affected by the weather and where not, thus giving a distinct clue of some passer-by, man or brute ; and when once you have found what the characteristics of the tracks are, the most difficult part of the task is accomplished.

On weather-beaten rocks the trail is more difficult to strike, and more difficult still on rocks over which the sea washes. "For," say the simple people, "how can you see tracks on hard stone? The foot certainly does not leave a print on rocks as on sand; and even supposing that the feet were dirty, the sea would wash away the marks, and you could not see anything."

In my case I limited my search to bare-footed marks, as the Ainu generally go bare-footed. Everybody knows that dogs track by scent, and this is a sure proof that every footmark must have a certain special odour, however infinitesimal. When we remember that the act of walking makes the feet warm and perspire, it is easy to understand that this perspiration, which is a greasy substance, leaves a mark on the stone—though to be sure it is sometimes almost imperceptible, especially when quite fresh. But most of us, when children at school, have noticed that touching a slate with moist fingers leaves a greasy mark, which could not be rubbed off again. The same thing happens when we tread on stones with bare feet. If the sea washes over the stones after the greasy impression has been thus made on them, it does nothing but accentuate these marks, and show them more plainly, as the salt water acts in one way on the untouched parts of the stone, but in a different way where the grease has been absorbed. These marks are generally very faint, and it requires some training before they can be discerned; but when the knack is once acquired, they become evident enough. To an observant eye, and with a little practice, it is not difficult to perceive whether one or more persons have tramped on a given place, and in what direction they have travelled. The marks on stones which are washed over by the sea are usually of a lightish colour.

481 171 I could almost invariably distinguish the footmarks of an Ainu from those of a Japanese, as the Ainu take longer strides, and their toes are longer than those of the Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri but the greatest number are found on the Saruma lagoon. In winter it is not difficult to come within reach of them, but even in September I saw many of them. They were, however, very shy, and when they caught sight of me instantly disappeared under water.

133 A few miles from Poronai I came to a headland, and about one mile from it lay the small island of Chuskin.

The coast again, instead of being sandy, showed traces of its volcanic formation, forming beautiful cliffs and a rugged outline, rising in terraces at places, or cliffs of clay and gravel sediments, with reefs extending far out to sea, while below them stretched a beach of coarse sand or pebbles, strewn with enormous volcanic boulders. These terraces are wooded mostly with alder, Yezo fir, and beech.

Soon after crossing the Porobets River I came across the wreck of a sailing ship, which lay flat on the shore disabled and dismasted ; and at last I reached Esashi. There I again noticed a curious fact, which may be of some interest to anthropologists ; namely, that Yezo is mostly formed of Tertiaries and volcanic rocks, and that the Ainu are mostly to be found in regions of Cainozoic or Tertiary formation. In volcanic districts they are very scarce. This is curious, for it is a well-known fact that the typical life-form of Tertiaries is anthropoid apes, and it is a remarkable coincidence that we should find ape-like men populating the same strata.

From Esashi the coast is extremely rough and rocky for about eight miles. I had to take my famished pony up and down steep mountains rising directly from the sea in places where the beach was impassable. Owing to the lack of grass my wretched beast had but little to eat ; and what with the danger of riding, and the miserable condition my pony was in, I had to walk most of the way and lead him. Shanoi, about thirteen miles further, came in sight—a group of wretched fishermen's huts ; and from here the coast was somewhat better. The scenery all along is beautiful, especially looking back towards the Shanoi Mountains. I saw one or two abandoned huts blown down by the wind, but no people.

Near Shanoi the eruptive rocks and granitic cliffs suddenly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

come to an end, as well as the mountainous character of the country, and for fifteen miles, till one comes to Sarubuts, the country is pretty flat and swampy, with a thick vegetation inland of spruce trees. There is a small lagoon formed by the Tombets River, and which often has its mouth blocked by the quicksands, which cause it to overflow.

I left Sarubuts in pouring rain, following the trail along the beach. The river forms a long narrow lake similar to that of Tombets, and at the back of it are terraces and high lands, but no very high mountains. Another wreck of a large boat lay in fragments on the sand, and after fifteen miles of very uninteresting scenery I arrived at Chietomamai, a group of four or five fishermen's huts. Here again the coast was rough, but my pony did not sink in the sand as it did on leaving Sarubuts, but it stumbled among large pebbles and stones as pointed as needles. Further on were grey and brown steep cliffs, which were extremely picturesque. The Mezozoic nature of this coast shows more distinctly between Chietomamai and Soya Cape, and a large rock emerging from the sea is both peculiar and picturesque with its numerous square sections. It is from this point that one gets the first view of Soya Cape. Going round a bay one passes a few fishermen's houses, and on the cliffs above them has been erected the Siliusi lighthouse. I cleared the Cape and rounded the bay on the other side, where I saw another wreck of a sailing ship dashed upon the rocks, making the scene a sad one. I still went on, and went round two or three smaller headlands, when the melancholy sight of a fourth wreck stood before me. This last ship had her stern out of the water, and a Turkish name was painted on it. Her appearance also was Turkish, and I was more than once puzzled as to what a Turkish ship could have been doing in the La Perouse Strait. Many months afterwards, on my return to Yokohama, but too late to be of any help to them, the sad story of the survivors of that ship was revealed to me. The mission of the ship in those far-off seas was a mysterious one. No one ever knew exactly whence she came, or whither she was bound. No one ever learned whether she had been disabled in a typhoon in the Chinese Sea, and had been drifted so far north by the strong currents, or whether the careless Turkish master had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

mistaken his course and had met his fate in the dangerous currents of La Perouse Strait. Only four of the crew survived. There they were on that deserted coast, with no clothes, no food, no money; but the few natives treated them kindly. Two of them wore "*Tarbouches*" (red caps), the only things they had saved from the wreck. The natives on the north-west coast told me of these men who were tramping their way south, unable to make themselves understood, continually asking for "*Sekhara*," or "*Sakhara*," which, I believe, in the Turkish language means tobacco or cigarettes. After months of privations, half starved, and worn out with fatigue, they reached Hakodate, where, having no passport, and not being able to explain themselves, they were duly arrested and sent down to Yokohama. Unfortunately for them, at that time the "Entogroul," a Turkish man-of-war, had come to Japan, a voyage which took her two years, to bring some decorations which the Sultan had bestowed on the Mikado. Osman Pasha, the Admiral, had the poor devils brought before him, and they told him their sad story, what they had suffered, and how they had lost their ship. The story was too true to be believed, or too strange to sound true!

"Impostors!" said Osman Pasha, and declining to listen any more to their tale of woe, which he called "pure lies," had them "put in irons," in which condition they were to be taken back to Constantinople. None of the foreign residents in Japan believed the story of these wretches, and all were glad to see the miscreants punished. "Impossible," said everybody, "that a Turkish ship should have been up there!"

As it so happened, the "Entogroul," on her return trip to Constantinople, was herself caught in a typhoon, and, steaming full speed to resist the force of the wind and the waves, her boilers burst, and Osman Pasha and nearly all hands on board were blown to pieces or drowned. If I remember right, over three hundred and sixty lives were lost, and no doubt the four men, whose prison, I was told, was near the boilers, thus found a tragic end to their life of misery.

When I arrived at Yokohama all this had already happened,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and my evidence, which probably might have saved the life of these men, was therefore useless. 000

But let us return to Soya Cape, where we have left the wreck.

The rapid current which comes through the Strait gives a horrid look to the water, and I have never seen the sea look so vicious. The natives of the small Soya village told me that it is impossible to cross over to Sakhalin, the high mountains of which, covered with snow and glaciers, I could see distinctly. The distance from land to land is about twenty-eight miles, but no small boat can get across without being swamped. They told me also that often dead bodies of Russians are washed on shore, probably unfortunate convicts who found their death in attempting to obtain liberty. H.M.S. "Rattler" was wrecked in 1868 on one of the numerous reefs near this Cape, so the record of Soya could hardly be more mournful. 133

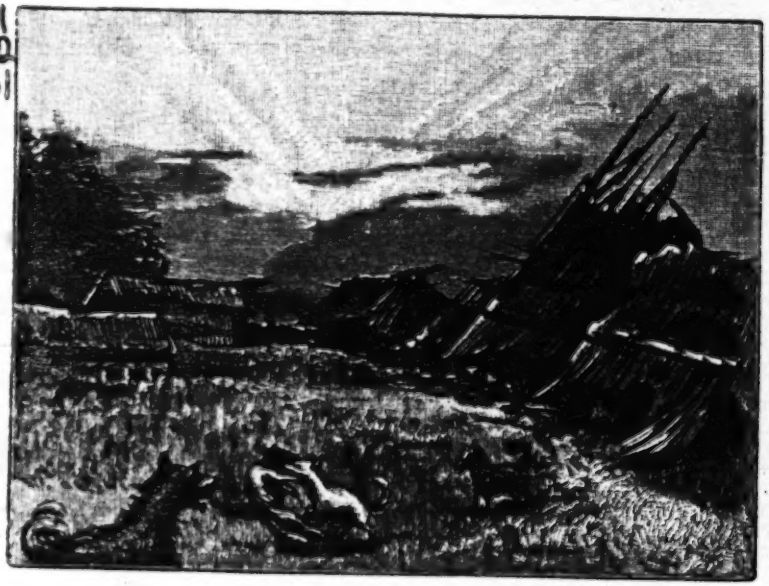
After the Cape has been well rounded one finds oneself in a bay opening due north. In the winter time this bay is completely blocked with ice, but the Strait itself is never entirely frozen, owing to the strong warm current from the Chinese Sea, which the Japanese call by the name of Kuroshiwo.

Soya village is a wretched place of thirty or forty sheds. A few planks, badly joined together, and with a kind of a roof over them, made my shelter for the night. Soya Cape is the most northern point of the north-east coast, and before we abandon it to move towards the south, along the west coast, it is important to mention the peculiar and conspicuous characteristic of the marked bending of watercourses in a south or south-easterly direction. They are forced that way by the drift-sand travelling along the coast from north-west to south-east with the Kuroshiwo current, which drift-sand is in such quantities as often to block altogether the mouths of some rivers, and form the large lagoons so common along this coast. The lack of harbours or sheltered anchorages, the inhospitable and unfertile shores, the quicksands, and the severe climate, besides the danger of being swamped and carried away by the overflow of a lagoon or lake, make this coast of little attraction for intending settlers or for pleasure-seekers.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

361
390
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

MASHIKE MOUNTAIN.

CHAPTER XVI.

From Cape Soya to the Ishikari River.

FROM Soya the coast forms a large bay, which opens due north, and which ends in Cape Soya on the eastern side and in Cape Nossyap on the western. Almost in the middle is the small village of Coittoe, and from this place, towering beyond the flat Nossyap peninsula, one can see Rishiri Island. Near the western part of the bay are some small hills, covered mainly with fir-trees. Wakkanai, a Japanese village, is on the west coast of the bay, and north of it is Cape Nossyap. From this cape is a lovely view of Rishiri and Repunshiri Islands. Rishiri is a volcanic cone 6,400 feet above the level of the sea. It has the identical shape of the famous Fujiama in Southern Japan, and rising as it does in graceful slopes directly from the sea, has the appearance of being higher than it really is. Repunshiri is hilly and partly of volcanic formation, but none of its peaks rise to a higher altitude than five hundred feet.

Rishiri is almost circular at sea-level, and it has no well-sheltered nor safe anchorages; but Repunshiri has one good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 anchorage on its north coast. Rishiri is about six and a half miles in diameter and twenty-five miles distant, directly west of Cape Nossyap; Repunshiri is eleven miles long, about four and a-half wide, and eleven miles distant to Ikaru, its nearest point east on the Yezo coast. As the Kuriles are a continuation east of the volcanic zone of Yezo, there is no doubt that Rishiri and Repunshiri are the terminus of the same volcanic zone at its north-west end.

000 From Wakkanai a new horse-track has been opened to Bakkai, on the north-west coast. The ride for the first eleven miles was uncomfortable, as my pony, a worn-out brute, sank up to its belly in the mud; but in due course I came to the hilly part, and after having gone up one steep pitch and down another for a considerable distance, I rapidly descended a precipitous bank, and followed the soft sandy beach till I reached Bakkai. Here there is a large and peculiar stone, which the Ainu say resembles an old woman carrying a child on her back. It stands perpendicularly out of the ground at a great height, and it is of a rich dark-brown colour. If the north-east coast was barren and deserted, the western shore of Yezo was even yet more desolate. For thirty or forty miles, as far as the Teshio River, the beach was strewn with wrecks and wreckage. Here you saw a boat smashed to pieces; there a mast cast on the shore; further on a wheel-house washed away by the waves; then the helm of a disabled ship. It was a sight sad enough to break one's heart, with all the tragic circumstances it suggested.

Between Bakkai and Wadamanai especially, I do not think that one can go more than a few yards at a time without being reminded by the wreckage which is strewn thick on the coast of some calamity. A white life-boat, with her stern smashed, lay on the sand helpless to save, and as a kind of satire on her name; and at Wadamanai, a large Russian cruiser, the "Crisorok," dismasted and broken in two, lay flat on the beach half covered with sand. Her bridge had been washed away and her deck had sunk in. Some of the bodies of her gallant officers and crew had been washed on shore by the sea. No one knows in what circumstances the ship was lost, but it is probable that during last winter, when she came to her ill-fated end, her rigging and sails got top-heavy with ice, and that she

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

capsized. Some of the wreckage one finds on that coast has been drifted there from the Chinese Sea by the Kuroshiwo current; and then, owing to the La Perouse Strait turning so sharply to the east, has been left on this last portion of the coast. Here and there a rough tent made with a torn sail, or a deserted shed knocked up out of pieces of wreckage, is a suggestive reminder that some unfortunate derelict seafarer had suffered and striven for life on these forlorn sands. An enormous quantity of drift-logs, and here and there some bones of whales, are strewn all along the beach.

At Wadamanai there is a mere rough shed under the shelter of the sand-hills. When I left this place, moving south, a strong gale blew, which made the travelling most unpleasant. It was getting fearfully cold, and now that I needed clothes so badly mine were falling altogether to pieces. My "unmentionables," which reached down to my feet when I left Hakodate at the beginning of my journey, had long since been trimmed and reduced to a kind of knickerbockers. Then the knees got worn out, and they became more like bathing-breeches; and finally I dispensed with them altogether, and made use of them to protect my sketch-book and diary, round which I wrapped what remained of the ex-garment. My boots, of course, were a dream of the past, and little by little I was getting accustomed to walking barefooted. Thus, dressed in a coat, a belt. . . . and nothing else, I moved along this inhospitable coast, half frozen, but not discomfited.

The mouths of some of the small rivulets were extremely nasty to cross, as my pony sank in the quicksands. I had to help him out, and that meant a cold bath each time. From Wadamanai I kept a little more inland, still steering for the south, and every now and then I again struck the beach. Still the old sad story of wreckages strewn all over the shore, sailing boats smashed to pieces, junks disabled and half buried in sand, met me at every turn, creating in my mind a very monotony of melancholy.

Late in the evening I reached the mouth of the Teshio River, a broad deep watercourse, one of the three largest rivers in Hokkaido, the other two being the Ishikari and the Tokachi. It has a long course in a general north-westerly direction, and then sharply turns southward, running parallel with the coast

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 for about four miles, and forming a kind of lagoon at its outlet, which seems now to be working towards the northward again. All the other rivers on the west coast tend northward owing to the drift-sand which the current brings north. It is strange that the Teshio should partly be an exception to this rule, though we have ample evidence, even in this watercourse, of the movement of the sand, for the bar at its mouth almost entirely blocks its entrance, and rapidly works in a northerly direction. Thus there is no doubt that the sand travels towards the north all along the west coast.

136 Sea-trout is abundant in the Teshio River, but salmon, with which this stream formerly abounded, are now less plentiful owing to the sand-bar which blocks the entrance.

501 A gale was blowing fiercely when I crossed the lagoon in a small Ainu "dug-out," and my pony was made to swim across. Two or three times we nearly capsized, and we shipped a lot of water. It was just like sitting in a bath with water up to my waist; but the Ainu, who had as much as he could do to paddle me across and tow the pony as well, comforted me by saying, "Now that his 'dug-out' was full, we could not ship any more water, and that his skiff, being made of wood, could not sink!"

000 After a long struggle we got safely to the other side, and the Ainu boatman guided me for a mile or so to the fishing village at the mouth of the river. It has but ten huts, all more or less miserable. The pony was so done up that he was hardly fit to carry my traps, much less could he have borne my weight. I could not get a fresh animal, so I had to push forward walking, and dragging the beast on as well as I could. This had the advantage of keeping me warm, which I needed badly, for what with the cold and my dilapidated costume I was more nearly frozen to death than was pleasant. The track was heavy in the soft sand, and the dangerous and numerous quicksand streams were enough to make a saint swear—if swearing would have done any good. How unspeakably desolate it all was! Not a soul to be met; not a hut to be seen! Here and there more wreckage and driftwood on the shore, telling of storms and death, and the absence of all human aid. At last I came in sight of an Ainu hut; but as I drew near I found that it was abandoned. My meals,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

never very plentiful, were now specially scanty—few and far between; and, taken altogether, this part of my travels in Ainuland was somewhat lacking in cheerfulness.

The cliffs near Wembets have the strange appearance of so many cones at equal intervals along the coast. On the Wembets River there were as many as two huts; and here again I had to cross in a boat, the stream being too deep to ford on foot or horseback; then again along the sand, dragging my pony, while I myself could hardly stand on my half-skinned feet, I went on and on, wearied of the monotony of my miserable experiences. The track grew narrow, and always worse. The high grey cliffs of clay-rock began, and the rough sea washed up to the foot of them, making progress more than ever unpleasant and dangerous. Each wave that came brought the water up to my knees, often up to my waist, and for about ten miles I was continually in and out of water. On a cold day my readers can imagine how pleasant it was! About sunset I came in sight of the two flat islands of Teuri and Yangeshiri, about fifteen miles off the coast. It then grew dark; but the moon came to my help, shining brightly on the greyish cliffs. The tide had risen, and in several places I had great difficulty in getting across on account of the furious waves dashing against the cliffs, and making a picturesque and living sheet of foam.

Late at night, as I had almost given up all hope of finding a shelter, I came upon a shed on the Furembets River, where I put up for the night.

My wretched pony was nearly dead with fatigue, and I let him loose so that he might get a feed of grass. The next morning, after the inmates of the hut had volunteered to go and bring him back to me, I heard them on the distant hills calling, "*Pop, pop, pop, pop!*" the Ainu way of approaching and calling horses. After a time they came back hopeless, saying that the brute had bolted, and there was no hope of getting him again. He could not be found anywhere! I was in the most awful dilemma, for had that been the case I would have been forced to abandon all my impedimenta, consisting of sketches and painting materials, and proceed as best I could on foot. Under other circumstances I could have carried the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

baggage on my back easily; but as I was half-starved, and had my feet badly cut, I was hardly able to carry my own weight; therefore this was not possible now.

As incredulity is one of the useful qualities I possess, I went to look after my pony myself. The shed was protected by a sand-mound at the back, and a small space was left between the mound and the wall of the shed. I do not know what made me go and look there, but sure enough there was my pony lying flat, and almost too weak to get up again. This was no horse-stealing ruse on the part of the Ainu; simply the wretched animal's own idea of good stabling and likely fodder. I dragged him out of his involuntary prison, and after having done what I could for his comfort and well-being, we set out once more on our melancholy travels. This may sound cruel to some who in the course of their life have never travelled in out-of-the-way places, and who are ready to condemn anyone who is the means of letting an animal suffer. It may sound cruel in our humane country, where animals are protected and prize-fights tolerated and enjoyed; so to avoid misunderstandings it might be as well for me to say, that as regards this tired pony it was simply the matter to push on with him as far as I could or lose all the valuable materials I had collected during months of sufferings and privations. No ponies were to be got for any money along that deserted coast, for there were none in existence. I did my best to alleviate the poor animal's sufferings by undergoing myself a considerable amount of pain, walking most of the way with my feet a mass of sores; and as winter was rapidly coming on, I was more than anxious to make my way south with all the speed I could, to prevent being blocked up with snow and ice and forced to spend the winter on this inhospitable coast. Consequently, I was, as a matter of fact, more cruel to myself than to my animals; to the others, those who will still cast the first stone at me, I can wish no better punishment than to be placed in the same position I was then. The trail became somewhat better, as it led over the cliffs for about three miles; then again it was on the beach. The high cliffs varied from a very rich burnt sienna colour to a nice warm grey, and in some places they are perfectly white, like the cliffs at Dover. Conical mounds frequently occur, and give a curious aspect to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

this deserted shore. Ten miles further on, at Chukbets, I found a couple of huts; then I walked and dragged the pony on the cliffs for about four miles; then again I resorted to the beach; and finally I entered Hamboro, a small village, or rather a picturesque group of sheds and huts, and a capital fishing-station. *Shake*, salmon, *mashe*, and herrings are caught in abundance at the mouth of this river. A short distance from here hundreds of carcasses of seals were scattered on the beach, whence emanated pestilential odours. On account of the slowness of my pony I had to-night a modified repetition of last night's experience, but neither was the sea so rough nor the trail so narrow at the bottom of the cliffs; and though my wretched animal was naturally in a worse condition than before, I was able to push on to Tomamai that same night, where I arrived at a small hour of the morning.

At Tomamai, the coast, which had described a long curve, the two ends of which are Ikuru north and this point south, turns sharply in a southerly direction, running straight for many miles from north to south.

From Tomamai southwards the coast is not quite as deserted as it was further north, for here and there are villages of fishermen's houses. The population, however, is a migratory one, and when I went through, the herring-fishing season was over, and consequently most of the houses were abandoned and the people had migrated south. The winter weather is very severe, and the houses have to be barricaded with thick piles of wood as a protection against the strong westerly gales. The boats had been drawn far on shore, where they were well fastened to posts, and rough sheds thatched with grass built over them.

Along the coast there was a string of these habitations, hut after hut, storehouse after storehouse, but hardly a soul to be seen. It was like going through the city of the dead. Many of the fishermen's huts were built on the side of the rugged cliffs, and they stood on piles about fifteen feet high, the back of the house resting on the cliff itself. Twelve and a half miles further another row of houses, similarly deserted for the winter, stood along the shore-line at Onishika. In this part of the coast salmon are very scarce, and the chief industry is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the herring fishery. There are no Ainu to be found either at Tomamai or Onishika.

I continued my lonesome ride in the pouring rain, and soon came to a peculiar long tunnel, natural and partly excavated, between this place and Rumoi, a village prettily situated on the slope of a hill fifteen miles further. This place possesses a small anchorage at the mouth of the river, which is now only fit for junks and small sailing-boats, but could be considerably [135] improved. Good coal has been discovered some way up the river. There is a track on the cliffs leading to Mashike. All along the coast are any number of fishermen's houses, but they were all closed and barricaded. Ultimately, descending from the cliffs in a zig-zag fashion, after another ten miles' ride I found myself at Mashike, the largest Japanese village in the Teshio district. Close to the tunnel there is a small 302 Ainu village, where the natives let their hair grow very long, and then tie it up in a kind of knot, similar to the Corean [304] fashion of head-dress, while the women have given up tattooing altogether. The fishermen at Mashike seem to suffer greatly from "*Kaki*," or rheumatism, and cancer, while consumption, malarial fever, and typhus are in a small proportion.

I had to stop over one day at Mashike, for the river was swollen by the heavy rains, and it was impossible to get across. On the other side of it stood Mashike-san, a huge volcanic mountain rising sheer from the sea, and forming Cape Kamuieto, under the shelter of which lies Mashike village; and further south Cape Uhui projects into the sea. It is the end of a mountain range which here runs north and then south again, in the latter part forming one side of the upper basin of the Teshio River. Mashike is the largest settlement either on the north-east or west coast of Yezo. Its population is partly migratory, but not so wholly as is the case with the villages I had previously passed. I was delayed still another day owing to the condition of the river; for the rain, instead of decreasing, poured down to such an extent that the stream could not be crossed, the current being too swift and the water too deep. The sea was also too rough to allow of my leaving Mashike in a canoe.

On the third day I rose early, and decided to attempt this much-desired crossing of the river. It had not rained during

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the night, and the waters seemed to have slightly diminished. As the stream runs down a very steep incline on the slopes of Mashike Mountain, the current rushes with tremendous force. It was about five in the morning when I took my baggage to the river bank. It was made up in two bundles, which I tied together firmly with a leather strap. Some of the natives who had collected round me entreated me to give up this foolish idea, for they said I should infallibly lose my life if I attempted to wade across the swollen river.

I saw at once that my pony would never be able to cross, so I left him, and, taking the baggage on my head, and passing my hands through the strap, I went into the water. The current was indeed so strong that, weak as I was, I could hardly stand against it. I had nearly reached the middle, with the water up to my mouth, when I fancied I heard the anxious crowd scream to me, "*Abunai! abunai! abunai!*"—"Look out! look out! look out!" Startled and alarmed at this piercing cry I turned my head, and saw within a few yards of me a huge trunk of a tree coming swiftly down with the current. There was a bump, and I saw nothing more. Half a minute later I was violently thrown on the opposite bank, and in trying to stand up on my feet in the shallow water my right foot unfortunately got jammed between two stones in the river bed; I was knocked down again, and broke my heel-bone just under the ankle. Several natives came to my rescue and I was lifted out of the water, half-stunned, half-drowned, but still holding fast to my load. I was nearly frozen, and trembling like a leaf from cold. When I tried to stand my right leg collapsed, and I had to lie down on the ground. What with the blow which I had received from the floating wood, what with the muddy water I had involuntarily swallowed, it took me some minutes before I could quite understand my situation, or what had befallen me. When I did I felt a terrible pain in my right leg. I looked, and there, on the sand, under my foot and leg, which were swollen up to an enormous size, was a pool of blood; the broken bone had penetrated the skin, and was exposed to the air. When I recovered my senses well enough I got a man to tear the wet lining of my drenched coat, and with it and a few improvised splints I proceeded to set my own broken bone. It was hard

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

work; but with the help of some natives I bandaged it up as well as I could, and with the extra help of a coarse flaxen rope I made a fairly good surgical job of the whole thing.

Stopping there till I grew better would have been foolish, for winter was setting in; everything would soon be frozen and snowed up, and, far from all my friends, as well as from anything like civilised life or elementary comforts as I was, I should probably have died. As long as I had a spark of life left in me I decided that I would struggle and push on, come what might. Two men undertook to carry me over the Mashike Mountain, which rises to an altitude of 3,600 feet above the sea-level. The mountain is thickly wooded, and the trail is steep, heavy, and in many places dangerous, and when we reached a sufficient altitude the trail was merely in the bed of a rivulet composed mainly of huge stones. Travelling in the state in which I was, was something like going to one's own funeral. The jerking and the cold were excruciating; the continuous stumbling and unsteady walk of my men over the rough and slippery slopes did not improve my condition; but finally we reached the summit. What a lovely view! One could see far along the Teshio coast on the one side and down towards the Ishikari on the other, and towards the east rose up a picturesque chain of thickly-wooded mountains. Rising from the sea stood the fine Cape Airup, near Moi; then far beyond, dimly seen in the mist, was the towering outline of Shakotan. We went down the other side, and my men, poor fellows, did their best to cheer me up. One of them told me a cheering story of a grizzly bear—which, by the way, he said were numberless on this mountain—that had killed and eaten two children, and also their father when the latter went to their rescue. The other told me of the many men who had perished in crossing the mountain; some had been overtaken by a snow-storm, others had lost their way and fallen over precipices, while others again had been killed by avalanches in winter.

Listening to this lively conversation, shaken and suffering, I arrived late at night at Moi, having been carried over a distance of twenty-five miles, to do which occupied about eighteen hours. There was no possible way of getting across the mountains between here and Atzta, as the high granitic perpendicular cliffs are unscalable, and I was bound to entrust

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

my life to a small Ainu canoe. Two other passengers, a Japanese woman and a man, asked if I would allow them to travel in the boat with me; and then we three, rowed by an Ainu man, put out to sea. The sea was rough outside, but as the large bay was well protected by the Aikap Cape, all went right at first; but in rounding the point we went too near the rocks, got caught in a breaker, and shipped so much water that the canoe began to slowly sink under the additional weight. The Ainu was pretty smart, and he put his skiff on the rocks. Between him and the two passengers I was helped out, and while the Ainu emptied the canoe, the two Japanese undressed entirely and spread out all their clothes and underclothes in the sun to dry.

We got on board again, and, coasting more carefully, passed several small fishing villages, of which Gokibira is the largest and most important. It is backed by high mountains ranging from twelve hundred to seventeen hundred and more feet above the sea. One of the mountains—the highest—is called Okashi-nae-yama.

Atzta is a long narrow village, of which almost all the houses are built against the cliff. From here I had to begin riding again along the bad and stony coast, among drift-wood, and up and down cliffs. Anyone who has ever had any broken bones will appreciate the tortures which I had to go through. Owing to pain, exhaustion, and fatigue I had no control over my pony, and could hardly stick on to the saddle. I took the precaution of tying the bridle to my wrist, for should the pony knock me off, he could not bolt away; but, unhappily, sometimes this was the means of his dragging me mercilessly on the ground for dozens of yards before he would stop. Then I had to wait for some charitable passer-by to help me into the saddle again, for I could no longer mount by myself. Day after day of this wretched life made me feel almost unconscious that I had a pain. I took things as they came, and I went on. Now that I sit here in a comfortable chair writing this by a cosy fire, I am myself astonished at my own perseverance. If I were called upon to go through the same experience now I could not. But in truth there are many things that one does not mind doing for motives of pleasure which one would never dream of attempting under the compulsion of an ex-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

ternal will. Kutambets is picturesquely situated in a large gully formed by a break in the red-tinted cliffs. From Kutambets to Moroi the track is slightly better, and from this to Ishikari it is quite easy. The latter river, a very large one, has to be crossed by a ferry, as the habitations are on the south banks of the stream.

291
142

ISHIKARI KRAFTU AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

(The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles. 361 167

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast. 000

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 142 184 [164] 304 291 177

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Kraflo*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of 531 tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds 893 of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. 301 Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

764 The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

it to take a sketch. The tombs were so many trunks of trees cut and carved, and with one branch left on one side (*see* Chapter XXI.). One tomb particularly was more ornamented, and it had a flat-shaped monument, roughly but well carved at its head. An object resembling the bottom of a "dug-out" covered the body, and this was also carved. At each of the four corners a wooden blade was stuck in the ground. From the stench I should think that the body was only a few inches underground. 764

Fate had punished me so severely of late for faults which I never committed that I thought myself now entitled to commit a fault for the sake of squaring accounts. One of the small wooden blades, nicely carved, would just go under my coat. I decided to steal it. To my mind it was hardly a big enough crime even to balance the last accident I had had. 000

I turned round to see that no one was looking. I put down my paint-box, crawled to the grave, took the blade, put it under my coat, and, ashamed of myself for committing the outrage—though with prepaid punishment—I scrambled up on my pony as well I could, and hurriedly left the place. I rode back to the ferry, a long way off, and went across to Ishikari, and catching a moment when no one was watching me, I quickly passed the carved blade from under my coat into my baggage.

"What a good thief I would make," I thought to myself, when to my horror I remembered that in the hurry of leaving the graveyard I had forgotten my paint-box in the very same spot from which I had taken the blade!

If any Ainu had gone to the graveyard and found it, I would get into a nice mess! During the night I felt more than uncomfortable about it, and at dawn the next morning I got the tea-house man to bring my horse and set me on it, for I said, "I wish to go and see the sunrise from the other side of the river."

The landlord thought it rather funny, and funnier still when he saw me coming back a couple of hours later with a paint-box lashed to my saddle, while he said he was sure I had started without one.

"Did you not see it this morning?" said I with assumed innocence.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 "No, your honourable," said he, drawing in his breath.

"You did not look for it in the right place," said I, and up to this day the landlord does not know where the right place was.

886 The Ishikari is one of the great salmon rivers of Yezo. About the end of September the salmon enter the river to spawn. They are in such abundance then that the stream is crowded thick with them, and it is quite sufficient to have a hook fastened to a stick to pull out a large fish each time it is dipped into the water. Millions of fine salmon are caught within a few days, and the banks of the river are packed with dead fish, while the whole population is occupied in splitting open each fish, taking out its inside, for preservation.

The same method of netting as is practised for sardine fishing is employed for salmon. Eighteen or twenty excited men vigorously row the boats out into mid-stream, and after describing a semicircle, return to the bank. The nets are hauled in, the fish flung out on the river banks, and the same process begins *de novo*. A man in a "dug-out" watches when the salmon are more or less plentiful, and signals for the boat to start, while he himself spears them with a harpoon. At the right time of the year as many as 1500 or 2,000 and more good fish are caught each time the net is hauled in. This grand take of course only lasts a few days.

Though good, the Yezo salmon has none of the fine qualities of the salmon of northern European rivers, and it is not quite so good as that of the Canadian rivers. It does not keep so well, and in colour is much lighter than our salmon.

133 The Ishikari River opens to the north, and runs parallel to the coast, leaving a flat tongue of sand between it and the sea. Following the course of the stream against the current, it goes winding south, then sharply turns to the south-east, following this direction for about fourteen miles. Then again it winds up to the north, and then to the east for a distance of over one hundred miles, where its source lies in the very heart of Yezo.

The Ishikari carries a large body of water, and it is nine hundred and twenty feet wide near its mouth. Its "drainage area" has been estimated to be over three thousand square miles, including mountain slopes, while the actual valley does

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not, in my opinion, exceed eight hundred square miles. The 133
river receives many affluents, of which the most important are the Rubeshibe, Chupets, Piegawa, the Sorachi River, and the Toyohira on its south side, and the Uriugawa on its north side. Near the coast the valley is wooded mainly with scrub oak, but further inland its banks are heavily timbered. The Sorachi River is the most important affluent on the south side. It is navigable for "dug-outs" and small sailing boats for some considerable distance. At Sorachi one strikes the new road which leads from the Poronai coal mines to Kamikawa, where the site has been chosen for the intended new capital of Hokkaido.

The road between Sorachi and the latter place not being metalled, was exceedingly bad owing to the heavy rains, and my pony continually sank in mud up to his belly. The road follows the course of the Ishikari River more or less; and in the woods is a military settlement like those we have seen near Nemuro and Akkeshi. At Otoyebukets the traveller must change horses. About eight miles further on one reaches the Kamuikotan rapids, a poetic spot: huge rocks in the water, violently rushing between and over them, form pretty waterfalls. The Ainu occasionally shoot down these rapids in their "dug-outs," and remains of these are to be seen here and there smashed on the rocks. From this point the road rises almost all the way, and the wayfarer must cross over the hill range, from the top of which the whole plain of Kamikawa can be seen, in the upper basin of the Ishikari, which, winding like a silver snake, intersects the flat valley.

Descending the hill on the other side, I reached the future capital of Hokkaido. It is indeed a town of the future, for at the present moment there are only five houses, if I may call them so. The site of this embryo metropolis is by the Chubets River; and on the hill called Nayosami I was told a palace for the Emperor is to be erected. However, they were not certain about it yet. It is a pretty hill, almost in the centre of the large plain, and from the top of it one gets a lovely view of a volcanic cone standing in front of you to the south. Near this hill the new road turns sharply almost at a right angle, and two miles further some *Toudens* have been

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

begun (*Ciuta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half-a-dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that pot-valiant condition you get them to paddle your canoe down the stream, while you sit in the bottom holding on to the sides. You start with the velocity of a turtle, increase it to that of a horse, then to that of a swallow, and when you are well in the rapids it is like travelling on an arrow. You go rubbing against rocks, and are shot in the air when going over a small waterfall, only to fall with a splash in the water some yards further, with an increase of velocity as you go on. It really requires but little skill to navigate rapids, for it is the current itself that does all the work. All that is needed is to keep the "dug-out" straight in the water. Of course if you should happen to collide with a rock when you are going at nearly double the rate of an express train you would have little chance of saving your life; but if you are neither smashed nor drowned, and you do not come to grief in any way, you can accomplish the journey, which takes you the whole day by land, in little over one hour when there is plenty of water in the stream.

On the road from Sorachi to Poronai, and halfway between the villages of Naye and Takigawa, a new coal mine has been discovered and opened, which is said to be very rich in mineral of good quality; in fact, superior to the coal of Poronai. It is ten miles from Otaussi Nai village, where the high road has to be abandoned if the mine is to be visited.

There are many Ainu both at Takikawa-Mura (Waterfall-River village), at Otaussi, and at Poronai-buts. Poronai has in its neighbourhood some rich coal mines. As others have reported more accurately and correctly than I can on the quality and extent of these coal seams, I shall abstain from repeating or copying what has been already said. I may, however, mention that the seams cut the valley of the Ikusum River eight miles from Poronai-buts, and a continuation of them is found near the springs of the Sorachi. The coal beds of Poronai are about three and a half feet deep, and many different beds have been found deeper than these, but of inferior quality. Poronai also goes by the name of Ishikishiri, and a large penitentiary has been erected here for the accommodation of the numerous convicts exported from the Main Island to improve the scheme for the colonisation of Yezo. I was called on by the chief *yakunin* (officer), and he expressed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a wish that I should inspect the prisons. A splendid horse was sent to convey me thither, and two policemen helped me on my progress through the buildings, owing to my inability to walk more than a few yards at a time. It was a large walled enclosure, with houses for the officials and cells for the *akambos*, a jocular term, meaning "babies," which is applied to convicts, because they wear red clothes like children. The buildings were beautifully clean, but what astonished me most was that no precaution whatever was adopted to prevent convicts from escaping. The outside gates were all wide open; there were neither soldiers nor policemen at the gates, and, moreover, the *concierge* was himself a convict!

"But," said I, "do not many of these fellows escape?"

"Oh, no, not many. Last month only sixteen ran away," was the *insouciant* answer of my guide.

From Poronai-buts to Sappro there is a small railway, by which the coal trains are run to the coast as far as Otaru.

WOMAN OF ISHIKARI RIVER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

322
415

AINU BARK WATER-JUGS

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nearing Civilisation.

SAPPRO, the present capital of Hokkaido, is a town of fairly large size, with wide streets intersecting each other at right angles. The Hokkaido-cho, a high red-brick building, the law courts, the *Kofikan*, the palace built for the Emperor, and used now as a kind of hotel, and the houses of officials, are the main buildings of the place. There are, besides, a sugar refinery, a hemp and silk factory, and a brewery, mainly supported by the Government. Neither of the first two were "flourishing industries," and one of the factories, if I remember aright, had long ceased working, and the other was soon to follow suit. The Government, I must say, have done their best to encourage and push on industries as well as agriculture in this district, but their efforts have produced but poor results. Machinery, which had been imported at great expense from England, America, Germany, and France, was left to rust and perish, and no private company seemed ready to continue the works. As a farming region the Sappro district has also proved more or less a failure from a financial point of view, though again the Government cannot but be highly praised for the money they have spent in trying to educate the people up to some kind of scientific, and therefore paying, method of agriculture. They have a large model farm of about 350 acres laid down in grain fields, as well as in meadows and pastures, stocked with cattle imported mainly from America. In the Toyoshira valley, south of the town, a

P.187 I

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cattle farm is in full operation, but it yields the Government a very poor return. However, the Government, I believe, only wish to teach the people foreign ways of agriculture, and expect no direct returns for the pains taken and the money sunk—so at least it would appear. Another colonial militia settlement is also found near Baratte, eight miles north of Sappro. Regarding these settlements, it may prove interesting to transcribe the Imperial Ordinance No. 181, dated August 28th, 1890, by which they were brought into existence and the Tondens were built :—

ARTICLE 1.—Colonial Militia shall be composed of colonial infantry, cavalry, and colonial artillery and colonial military engineers, and shall be set apart for the defence of Hokkaido, where they shall be stationed.

ARTICLE 2.—The Colonial Militia shall be organised as soldiers, in addition to their ordinary occupation of farmers; shall live in military houses which shall be provided for them, and shall take part in military drill, in cultivation, and in farming.

ARTICLE 3.—The Colonial Militia shall also be composed of volunteers from cities and prefectures, and shall change their registered residence (*Hosseki*) to Hokkaido, and live there with their families.

ARTICLE 4.—The term of service of Colonial Militia shall be twenty years: the service with the colours being three years, in the first reserve four years, and in the second reserve thirteen years. Should a colonial militiaman be released from service during his term, owing to the attainment of the full age of forty years, or through death, or some other cause, a suitable male of the family shall be ordered to fulfil the remaining term of service. Such service may be remitted if there be no suitable male.

ARTICLE 5.—The Colonial Militia shall fulfil supplementary military service during ten years after the end of service in the second reserve, and shall be mobilised in time of war or other emergency.

ARTICLE 6.—The term of each stage of military service under Articles 4 and 5 shall be counted from April 1st of the year in which the soldier enters the Militia.

ARTICLE 7.—The terms may be prolonged, even though the period for each stage has fully elapsed, should war or other emergency, or the requirements of military discipline, or the inspection of soldiers (*kwampei-shiki*) demand the same, or should the soldier be then in transit from or to, or be stationed in, a foreign country.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES :—

ARTICLE 8.—Colonial Militia enlisted before the carrying out of these regulations shall be treated according to the following distinctions :—

(*a*) Those enlisted between the eighth year of Meji and the sixteenth year of Meji shall serve in the first reserve during four years and in the second reserve during nine years.

(*b*) Those who were enlisted between the seventeenth year of Meji and the twentieth shall serve in the first reserve during four years from the twenty-fourth year of Meji, and in the second reserve after the lapse of the above period during twenty years, reckoned from the year in which they were enlisted.

(*c*) Those who were enlisted in the twenty-first year of Meji shall serve in the first reserve during four years from the twenty-fifth year of Meji, and in the second reserve after the lapse of the above period during twenty years, reckoned from the year in which they were enlisted.

(*d*) Those who were enlisted in and after the twenty-second year of Meji shall be treated in accordance with these regulations.

ARTICLE 9.—The mode of reckoning the terms of service of Colonial Militia levied before the twenty-first year of Meji shall be in accordance with Article 6 of these regulations. The term of service with the colours of those levied in the twenty-second and twenty-third years of Meji shall be counted from the day on which they were included in the Colonial Militia, and their term of service in the first and second reserves from the day next to the lapse of the full term of the former service.

ARTICLE 10.—These regulations shall come into force on and after the first day of the fourth month of the twenty-fourth year of Meji.

(Colonial Militia.) Imperial Ordinance No. 181.

We hereby give our sanction to the present amendment of the regulations relating to Colonial Militia, and order the same to be duly promulgated.

(His Imperial Majesty's sign-manual),
Great Seal.

Dated August 29th, 1890.

(Countersigned) COUNT OYAMA IWAO,
(Minister of State for War).

(*Japan Daily Mail*, September 14th, 1890.)

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 Sappro was a civilised place compared to others I had seen in Yezo; but it had neither the picturesqueness, nor the strangeness, nor yet the interest of more uncivilised spots.

There is no doubt that savagery—when you have got accustomed to it—is a great deal more fascinating than civilised life, and infinitely more so than a base imitation of civilisation.

It might have been thought that after the months of privation to which I had been subjected, after all the harassing experiences I had gone through, after the accident which had made the last thirty days of my journey so agonising, I should have been glad to rest in this "London" of the Ainu country, at least until I was well again. But in truth this indirectly reflected civilisation worried me. The bustle of the people, the lights in the streets, the sounds of the *Shamesen*—everything annoyed me.

His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Nagayama, kindly called on me, and when I put on some decent clothes which were lent me, he drove me to his house, where I had a lengthy conversation on the future of Yezo and the Kurile Islands. He seemed to approve of many of the points which I put before him, among which I suggested that the exports of sulphur from Kushiro, on the south-eastern coast, would be greatly increased if it were opened to foreign trade, and I was pleased to hear several months later that a motion to that effect was proposed in the Japanese Parliament. He also agreed with me that Yezo needed roads and railways badly, and that when more facile ways of communication should be established along the coast and across country, then without doubt Yezo would be rich and flourishing.

He expressed sorrow that emigration was not carried on on a larger scale from the Southern Island of Japan, and that private companies of capitalists in no way helped the Government.

His Excellency was also kind enough to drive me round the town and show me all the sights of Sappro, including the small museum containing zoological specimens from Hokkaido, and the implements of the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru. A huge grizzly bear which had killed two babies and a man is now stuffed, and occupies the first small room, while a bottle by the side preserves in spirit the head and foot of one baby

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and some parts of the man which were found in its stomach when captured and dissected.

I left Sappro for Otaru by the coal train. Otaru is situated on a semicircular well-sheltered bay, which makes it the best and only safe port on the western coast of Yezo.

The coast at the mouth of the Ishikari River curves gently round, and is exposed to the north as far as Cape Shakotan. Otaru is rapidly growing in importance, owing to the fact that it is the nearest shipping port to the Poronai coal mines. Unfortunately, three small hills, which were being levelled when I was there, had greatly interfered with the first laying out of the settlement, which accounts for the town being all crooked and irregularly planned. It has the appearance of a thriving place, and much resembles one of the small seaports of Southern Japan. In the main street a go-ahead tailor had written over his door the following inscription for the attraction of foreign clients: "Tailor. New Forms of every country shall be made here." The notice was tempting, and I went in to request his services in furnishing me with "new forms," as he called them, of English fashion; but to my great regret he had come to an end of his stock of goods, and I had to be contented with my "old forms," and go on as best I could with what I had till I should reach Hakodate, where I had left most of my baggage. At Otaru I left all my paraphernalia to be shipped to Hakodate by the first ship calling, and I proceeded by land on the north and then on the north-west coast. I felt that, suffering as I still was, I should keep alive as long as I kept moving, as long as I was distracted by new scenery and new excitements. I felt that if I were left to myself, not pitied or sympathised with, I should be able to drag on and conquer in the end. There is nothing, it seems to me, that makes people feel so ill or is so enervating as the sympathy of friends and the verdict of a doctor. Among civilised people nine out of ten do not know whether they are very ill or not until the doctor pronounces his opinion, which shows that many complaints would be scarcely felt at all if the patient did not know the name of his malady, or if he had sufficient determination as to prevent his physical pain from becoming a moral one as well. We have a proof of this in hypnotism, by which sicknesses of many kinds can be cured by impressing on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the subject the belief that his body is perfectly free from disease. Of course in this case it is a stronger will acting on a weaker one, which, so reinforced, is able to overpower the physical trouble. Again, I may be allowed to state that savages and barbarians, though affected with horrid diseases of all kinds, do not seem to suffer from them as much as we do. If an Ainu man breaks his leg he does not think for a moment of lying in bed for the regulation forty days; first of all, because he has no bed to lie on; and next, because the confinement and inaction would simply kill him. He may lie down on the hard ground for two or three days, after which time he crawls about as best he can until nature makes his broken bone right again. He does not worry himself much about it. Wild animals do the same. If, then, the Ainu, and with them savages of other countries, do that, why should not I, a human being like them, do the same?

Freed from the encumbrance of my baggage, I set off on a good horse down the north coast, and moving from east to west. My baggage now consisted of a crutch which I had made for myself, a stick, a couple of Japanese *kimonos*, and a few sketch-books.

The travelling was extremely slow, and I shall not dwell at length on this part of my journey, for it has no interest in connection with the Ainu, as I met with scarcely any. On a practicable and pleasant track leading all across the hills beyond Oshoro village, a lovely view of the cliffs between that place and Yoichi, lying to the west, is to be had. In some parts the scenery is really grand. Coming down on the other side of the hill, Momonai and Kawamura, two fishermen's villages of some importance, are passed, and further west, through a picturesque and narrow entrance of rugged volcanic rocks, is Yoichi, a large village, which was entirely burnt down last year, but has since been built up again. The road to Iwanai branches off at Kawamura, across the Shakotan peninsula. This peninsula is partly volcanic, partly composed of tertiaries, on which metal veins are found, especially along the course of the Yoichi River.

About three miles from Yoichi a small flax factory was being built as an experiment by a Mr. Tokumatz Kuroda, in the employ of the Mitzui Company. Twenty-five miles further

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

south-west of Yoichi is Iwanai. About ten miles from Kawamura, at Hando, a black tumbledown shed, like a haunted house, stands in the middle of the woods, and from here the track again goes over a mountain. On the other side is Iwanai. Five or six weeks previous to my arrival a large fire had destroyed nearly the whole of the village, and —just my luck again !—I had great difficulty in finding a place in which to obtain shelter for the night.

From Iwanai the coast-line roughly describes a semicircle, which is almost concentric with Volcano Bay on the south coast, the distance between the two seas being about twenty or twenty-five miles, so that it forms a kind of large peninsula stretching towards the south, and widening considerably at its most southern part on the Tsugaru Strait. The first two or three miles from Iwanai were a pretty flat and easy track, but then I struck the mountain trail, which was steep and heavy for my pony. It was raining in torrents, and the narrow track was literally turned into a running rivulet. By good luck the rain stopped, and when I reached the summit I had a glorious panorama of the brilliant rocks and cliffs of the Shakotan Cape to the north-east, with the Kamui and the Hurupira Mountains on one side, and the villages of Shiribets, Isoya, and Karibayama along the coast on the other. I descended into the valley and then went up again the next mountain, the Iwaonobori, a higher peak than the first. I went down its slopes on the other side in a zig-zag fashion, and then came to the snake-like river called Shiribets, on both sides of which a few fishermen's houses are found, forming the Shiribets village.

Three miles further is a larger settlement, Isoya, the half of which is called Notto Isoya, the other Shimakotan Isoya. It is a long row of fishermen's houses scattered along the coast until we get to Ushoro, eight miles further, a settlement of 120 houses.

Ushoro is connected by a road to Oshamambe, on Volcano Bay, but I went on to Shitzo, four miles north-west of Ushoro. The way was fairly good in some parts, and execrably bad in others. The heavy rain which had again come on was not exactly suited to my present state of health ; moreover, it swelled all the small brooks, which fell in a series

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

[142]
[301]
[302]
[291]

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

On the western side of Cape Benke is the village of Masatomari. There were formerly some Ainu villages on this part of the coast, but hardly any natives are to be found now. The few remaining have adopted to a certain extent Japanese customs and manners.

At Baraputa I heard that it was impossible to continue my journey south on horseback along the coast, for the track was almost impassable, even on foot. It was a steep and difficult trail over the mountains, among rocks and precipitous cliffs, and I was quite unable to accomplish it; so I retraced my steps to Shitzo, and from there struck across the peninsula on the road for Oshamambe, on Volcano Bay. The road is a good one, and when bridges are built where needed it will be practicable for *bashas*, the four-wheeled vehicles of Southern Yezo. The way is across mountains or among well-wooded hills. Kuromatsunai is the largest group of houses found along the road. It is about halfway between the two coasts.

Late at night, after having ridden twenty-five miles, I arrived at Oshamambe, a semi-Ainu village on Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KOMATAGE VOLCANO, VOLCANO BAY.

CHAPTER XIX.

Completing the Circuit of Yezo—The End of my Journey.

162 OSHAMAMBE is a group of seventy houses, just midway between Mororran and Mori. The Ainu of this bay are poor specimens of their race, as most of them have intermarried with Japanese. They are, however, those most talked about by Europeans, for they are of easy access to globe-trotters.

They are mostly half-castes, and even second and third crosses; wherefore it is no wonder that the incautious travellers who have written on the Ainu, studying only these easily-visited specimens, have discovered in them a remarkable likeness to the Japanese!

000 The fact that I was rapidly nearing the end of my trip half filled me with pleasure, yet pleasure mingled with regret. It was nearly six weeks now since I met with the accident to my foot, and I was decidedly better. The cold weather had greatly contributed to this improvement of my condition; and had it not been for my bone which kept sticking out of my skin, I should have considered myself in fine case. I could hop along with my self-made crutch and my stick, and when riding

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the pain was not nearly as acute as it had been the first fifteen or twenty days.

As the road was good, and there was nothing interesting to me on this portion of the journey, I tried to push on rapidly towards Mori. Unfortunately, at the last minute my patience was put to a trial. I hired a horse, and it was lame. No others were to be had that day for love or money. The animal had been lame for two years, they said, and though uncomfortable to ride he did not suffer any pain. This I ascertained afterwards was true, for that day the sturdy brute carried me 48½ miles without once requiring punishment. It is needless to say that what I suffered that day by the continuous jerking is beyond description. I rode fourteen hours in a fearful storm of rain and snow, and my feverish anxiety to reach Hakodate soon, so that I might receive letters, and have news of my parents and friends—from whom I had not heard for five months—helped me to pull through all the fatigue and worry of the way. The road between Oshamambe and Kunnui is fair, getting still better towards Yurap and Yamakushinai. But to shorten the journey and lessen the jerking I followed the sandy sea-beach, which, describing a smaller circle than the road, necessarily diminishes the distance. From Yamakushinai the road is very good and wide, and it has nicely-built bridges over the Otoshibe and Nigori Rivers. The small fishing villages, though not so imposing in appearance as some of those in other parts of Yezo, add to the picturesqueness of the bay, with its beautiful volcanic cone of Komagatage towering in the distance towards the south-east.

The fishing in Volcano Bay consists mostly of mackerel, sprats, halibut, and herrings.

I reached Mori late in the evening, and was received with a friendly greeting by the people of the tea-house in which I had stayed on my way up at the beginning of my journey.

The place was brilliantly lighted with numberless candles, and opposite the entrance was a kind of altar decked with flowers and cakes. A few *bonzes*, with their shaven heads and long, thin, depraved fingers, were saying their prayers and beating with a small wand on the round wooden bells. With the gods of Japan you must ring a bell or clap your hands before you begin to pray, or else the god will pay no attention

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 to your petitions. In the next room another Japanese, with less depraved fingers, but with a more wicked face, was dressed in European clothes, and was apparently giving a sermon, and sure enough he proved to be a native Christian minister!

"Hallo!" said I to the landlord; "what does all this mean?"

"Oh," said he, smiling—for Buddhism teaches you not to show pain—"my old mother is dead. You saw her when you were here before. She died yesterday, and as she was formerly a Buddhist and had become a Christian, I have now got some Buddhist *bonzes* and a Christian minister to pray for her, for I want her to be happy in the other world."

"But do you not think," I replied, "that so much praying of different kinds might interfere with her happiness?"

"Oh, no, your honourable," he said quickly, "I have paid the *bonzes* and the clergyman in advance, and the gods cannot get angry now!"

It was curious to notice the competition between the representatives of the two different creeds.

On the one side the Christian shouted his prayers and sang his hymns in a stentorian voice, to put the *bonzes* in the shade and get the start of them in the contest; and on the other side these rattled on the wooden bells with all their might, so that their prayers should be heard first. I was more than happy when this religious race was over, and I was allowed a few hours' rest.

Instead of going straight to Hakodate by *basha* by the road I had already once traversed, I followed the coast in a south-easterly direction towards the volcano of Esan.

133 Near Usushiri, some two miles inland, are the hot springs of Obune, where, in a picturesque gully surrounded by mountains, are two dirty shanties for the benefit of those who wish to take the waters. At Isoya, five miles north of this place, similar springs are found, and three and a half miles south-east of Usushiri still more can be seen at Kakumi. The latter place is a picturesque little spot, with its three old sheds and the steaming bath-room framed in the multi-coloured foliage of trees with their lovely autumn tints. A clean path a few hundred yards long leads from the coast to the springs, and a track across the mountains is found between that place

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and Hakodate; also another leading from Obune to the latter port. By both these tracks a most lovely view of Hakodate Bay can be obtained when the summit of the mountain range is reached. From Kakumi the coast-line is wretched for travelling, set thick as it is with stones as sharp as knives, while the waves continually wash over the narrow beach, drenching the wayfarer to the skin. 133

I reached Otatsube, a group of a few fishermen's huts; and as there is no traffic whatever along this coast, there were no regular tea-houses. Unfortunately for me, the British Squadron in the Pacific had spent the summer at Hakodate, and the ships had often gone for gun-practice somewhere near this place, scaring the natives to death, and furthermore angering them against foreigners in general, for they said the report of the guns frightened away all the fish. When I asked for food and offered money for it, they flatly refused me, saying contemptuously,—

"You foreigners come and scare all the fish away, and now you shall die of starvation before you shall get food from us. We do not want your money. We are rich."

And so I was held responsible for the doings of Her Majesty's fleet, which until then I did not even know had been in those waters!

At Furimbé, the next small village, only a few miles further on, my experience was even more unpleasant. Not only would they not give me food, but they would not shelter me for the night in any of the houses; and many of the fishermen, taking advantage of my wretched condition, were impudent to such a point that I thought we should have come to blows.

It was getting quite dark, and I was fearfully hungry and exhausted. The only course open to me was to push on, and see if I could come across some other hut where the owners were not so churlish. As it turned out, for the first time since I had been in Hokkaido I had some good luck that night!

A few hundred yards from this Japanese village, among the trees, was a little wooden shrine. Through the grating of the door I caught sight of offerings of cakes and rice which the religious fishermen had deposited on the kind of altar, probably to appease the angry gods, and induce them to fill the sea with

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish again. The door of the shrine, as is usual in country places in Japan, was not locked, but a small outside bolt was all there was to keep it closed. I had no difficulty in entering. The night was a terrible one. The rain was pouring in torrents, and having had nothing to eat all day, I felt I had not the strength to go another yard. "After all," I said to myself, "the home of the gods, Japanese or not, is good enough for me. So is this supper," I soliloquized, swallowing now a white cake, now a red one, then a green one, till nothing but the empty vessels were left. "Delicious" was my last word, when, smacking my lips over the last green cake, I proceeded to make myself comfortable for the night. It is needless to add that I left very early in the morning, when the first rays of light broke the dimness of the night, and I dare say that, for the sake of morality, I ought to add that I was sorry for committing the sacrilege; but I was not—indeed I was not!

The mountain track continued, rough and steep in many places, and the autumn tints on the foliage were lovely, though not as varied as those of Northern America. Past Todohotke another volcano, the Esan, stared me in the face. Its crater, or rather its craters, for there are several, are not on the summit of the mountain, which is well rounded, but nearly halfway down its western slopes. Accumulations of very pure sulphur are deposited in and around these craters, and a continuous rumbling can be heard inside the mountain. The craters eject sulphurous vapours, and molten lava bubbles up as if in gigantic caldrons, congealing at the mouths of the craters and cracking with the extreme heat.

The coast-line is precipitous and almost impassable round Cape Esan, therefore the track leads over the mountain. The altitude of Esan is 1740 feet above the sea-level, but owing to its rising directly from the sea it has the look of a much more lofty mountain. Komagatage, near Mori, is 4,011, or more than double the height of Esan, while Makkarinupuri volcano, or Shiribeshi Mountain, as others call it, about forty-five miles south-west of Sappro, and ten miles north of Toya Lake, reaches an altitude of 6,440 feet.

Iwaonobori, which I passed on the north coast in this latter part of my journey, is 3,374 feet. Usu, on Volcano Bay,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

1868 feet. Tarumai, directly south of Sappro, only reaches a height of 2,800 feet. 133

When this volcanic part of the coast round Esan Cape is passed the track becomes easier and flatter. One comes again to the sandy beaches, and the coast is lively with numbers of fishermen's huts, and a couple of villages like Shirikishinai and Toi. One day's journey on horseback from here takes you to Hakodate. The Hakodate Peak can be seen in the distance to the west; and only a few more hours, only a few more miles, and I should be in civilisation, I should see a few European faces, and I should hear English spoken again. 600

As I approached the sandy isthmus, and the peak grew bigger before me, I wondered what had been going on in the world, and what news I should receive of my dear ones. I imagined myself already devouring with my eyes the hundreds of letters which must have been amassed at Hakodate, waiting for me during the many months I had been away. I imagined myself half buried in newspapers months old, anxiously reading the news of the world. I hurried on my pony, I crossed the sand isthmus—and there I was in the lively streets of Hakodate, gazed at by the astonished Japanese, who, I believe, were more than a little amazed—perhaps scandalised—at my turn-out.

Such as I was, and before I went to the Japanese tea-house, I called at the Consulate for my correspondence. Her Britannic Majesty's representative, who knew me well enough, was more than thunderstruck when I appeared before him in such a strange attire. He was smoking a pipe, and he almost let it drop, such was his surprise.

"Who are you?" he feebly exclaimed, looking me all over from head to foot. "Surely you are not Landor?" he said when I told him my name.

"I believe I am," I answered, "and I have come to trouble you for my letters."

"Oh, none have come; we have none," he said drily.

And now that I was not quite so well dressed as when I had called on my arrival at Hakodate from Southern Japan, he seemed anxious to see me off the premises as soon as possible, I dare say for fear lest I should expire on his doorstep.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"But there *must* be some letters," I said, as I was sadly leaving.

"No, there are none. Good-bye," he repeated.

The first glimpse of civilisation and of a civilised being was certainly not a pleasing one. In a town where there are hardly half-a-dozen British subjects, all told, I expected a better reception than one which many would not bestow on a beggar to a compatriot in a foreign country. Kindness costs nothing, and I was asking no favour.

I left the place disheartened, but feeling that the pompous official had made a blunder, unluckily at my expense.

Mr. Henson, in whose house I had left all my luggage, greeted me with open arms. He was kindness itself, and very different from the gold-collared gentleman of the Consulate. I must say that I felt most uncomfortable when, after having opened my trunks, I put on fresh clothes and boots; in fact, such was the change from my late airy costume that I caught a cold! I had now almost finished my self-imposed task. I had made the whole circuit of Yezo, and been up all its largest rivers, with the exception of that part of the western coast which lies between Barabuta and Hakodate. It would mean only a few more days of agony, and for the sake of completing my journey I left Hakodate again the next morning at 2 A.M. in a *basha* for Esashi, on the west coast. The distance is fifty-seven miles, and we employed sixteen hours in covering it. It was snowing when we crossed the hills, and it was fearfully cold. Fortunately, the road is one of the best in Hokkaido. Just in front of me sat a poor man piteously ill with *kaki*. His body was dreadfully swollen and his limbs were stiff. What the poor man must have suffered in being shaken for so many hours is beyond description. His lamentations were heartrending. He had come to Hakodate in the hope of getting cured, and now he was returning—to use his words—"to die near his home." When we reached Esashi he was truly more dead than alive. He was senseless, and had to be lifted up bodily and carried into the house.

Esashi is a large place, and is one of the oldest towns in Yezo. In front lies a small oblong island, with which various wonderful tales of treasure are connected. Its harbour is too

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

unsafe, being exposed to all winds, and I was told that the sea is always rough except during the months of July and August. I believe that this is greatly due to the currents.

I went north to Kumaishi and Cape Ota, the most westerly point of Yezo. About ten miles west of this cape is the small island of Okushiri, peopled mostly by Japanese.

The track is tolerably fair for about twenty-four miles as far as Kumaishi. It runs either along the beach or around clay and conglomerate rocky points, occasionally over the cliffs and through ravines. North of Esashi, along the Assap River, is a good stretch of cultivable land; then the thickly-wooded mountainous region begins again towards the north.

Kumaishi is said to be the best district for herring fishing along that coast.

From Kumaishi to Kudo numerous reefs extend out at sea, and small headlands afford a safe anchorage to junks. The track is mostly on a rough coast backed by high and well-wooded hills. Striking across the mountains, which rise sheer from the sea, we come to Cape Ota, the most westerly point of Yezo. From here the coast turns towards the north-east as far as Barabuta; but as it was impossible for me to go on horseback to that place, though only a few miles distant, I turned back and returned to Esashi, then following the coast towards the south to Matsumai or Fukuyama, one of the first Japanese settlements established in Yezo, and formerly the capital of the island. The coast is rugged and picturesque from Esashi to the two villages of Kaminokumi and Shiofuki, after which a mountain path leads to Ishisaki.

I found the Japanese on this coast most polite and honest, and more like the "old Japanese" than the younger generations.

The cliffs on the south side of the Ishizaki River were resplendent in beauty under the brilliant red and yellow light of the setting sun. Oshima (or Large Island) could be seen on the horizon in the distant south. Five miles further, across a mountain track, I came to Cisango, and five more miles beyond that place landed me at Haraguchi, two small fishing villages, with houses resting on high posts and against the cliffs, somewhat similar to the villages I found previous to my reaching the Ishikari River.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

After that are eight or ten miles of a monotonous hilly road, where you do nothing but ascend and descend one small hill after another, up and down a snake-like or a zig-zag path; but when Eramachi is passed the track becomes much more interesting, with its peculiar groups of rocks of all shapes sticking out of the sea, and the long line of reef over which the breakers roll foaming and thundering. From here by the side of Oshima, another small island, "Koshima," is seen on the horizon. Going south the coast gradually gets more and more picturesque, with its pretty little fishing villages hidden among the rocks and sheltered under the high cliffs. At Neptka a good road leads over the cliffs to Fukuyama.

About a mile before the town is reached, from a high point of vantage on the road, is a pretty peep of Benten Island, just off the shore, with an old temple on it, and by its side a new lighthouse. On the shore, a few yards from the road opposite the island, a large rock is literally covered with hundreds of stone images of Amida and different gods, and two *Torii*, sacred emblems of Japan, are placed in front of it.

I descended the slope gently and reached Koromatsumai, otherwise called Matsumai, or Fukuyama. It is a "dear old spot," the most picturesque of all the towns in Hokkaido. It is ancient, for one thing, while other places are modern—some villages, indeed, only a year or two old, or even less. Thus weather has toned down the light yellow colour of the new wood, which is so offensive to the eye in a landscape, and is so common in all Japanese villages of Yezo. Besides, Fukuyama has pretty temples on the surrounding hills, and prettily-laid-out gardens with tiny stone bridges, bronze lanterns, and dwarfed trees. It is more like a town of old Japan. It has a three-storied castle with turned-up roofs, as one sees on the willow-pattern plates.

The castle, formerly the residence of the Daimio, a feudal prince, is now a restaurant. The irregular streets of the town, the narrow lanes, the houses blackened by smoke and age, give a certain *cachet* which is peculiar to the place itself. The inhabitants, too, are more conservative than the younger colonists, and are quite "in keeping" with the place. Unluckily, the town has seen better days! It possesses no good harbour, and all its trade, little by little, is being

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

carried away by its more fortunate rival, Hakodate. The population of Matsumai decreases considerably every year, as the inhabitants leave this poetical but dead-alive and decaying spot for the more exciting life to be found in newly-opened districts further east or north.

Between Fukuyama and Hakodate, a distance of over sixty miles, the road is extremely bad, and there is nothing whatever to see. Shirakami Cape is interesting as being the most southern point of Yezo, and from here the coast turns slightly towards the north-east.

Fukushima is an old village. The other headlands, and the Cape of Yagoshi, have no special features calling for attention. Near the latter cape the coast is volcanic, which renders it very rugged in shape and warmly tinted in colour. There are many villages along the coast, as Yoshioka, Shiriuchi, Kikonai, Idzumizawa, Mohechi, and Kamiiro, and the inhabitants seem well off and well-to-do people.

A great quantity of coal and firewood is carried on pony-back from these mountains to Hakodate. Rows of ten, twelve, or fifteen ponies one after the other, loaded with as much as they can carry, can be seen slowly travelling, under the care of one man, down to the principal port of Yezo, especially at the beginning of the winter season; and here and there stacks of split wood are piled ready for transportation.

Rounding the Hakodate Bay, I was again at the point whence I had first started, and happy that, notwithstanding all the ill-luck I had had, notwithstanding the strain on my physique, which is not by any means herculean, and notwithstanding all the obstacles which had come in my way, I had finally succeeded in doing what no European had ever done before, namely, in completing the whole circuit of Yezo at one time, exploring all its most important rivers and lakes, studying the habits, customs, and manners of that strange race of people, the Hairy Ainu, and visiting the Kuriles besides.

Many parts which I travelled over had never been trodden by European foot, and this made my journey all the more interesting to me. As the book stands I have related but the principal adventures which I had during my long peregrinations in Hokkaido, most of which are intended to illustrate Ainu customs and traits by my own personal experience rather

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 than to excite sympathy for my hardships. Really, though the journey nearly cost me my life, I have never, in my extensive wanderings, enjoyed a trip more than that to Ainuland.

I have touched but slightly, and not more than was absolutely necessary, on subjects relating to the Japanese; for this is intended as a work on the Ainu.

114 I was happy yet sorry to be at the end of my journey! This was the 146th day since I first left Hakodate, and the distance I had travelled was about 4,200 miles, out of which 3,800 were ridden on horseback, or an average of twenty-five miles a day. The remaining 400 miles were either by steamer or canoe travelling.

From the day I broke the bone in my foot I travelled fifty-eight days, mostly on horseback, and the first time it was attended to and properly bandaged up was sixty days after it occurred, or two days after my arrival in Hakodate, by Mr. Pooley, chief engineer on board the ss. *Satsuma Maru.*

Mr. Henson was again extremely kind, and pressed me to leave the tea-house and go and stay at his place, and after five months of "hard planks" I slept again in a comfortable bed. What a treat it was! What a curious sensation to sleep in a bed again, and actually have sheets and blankets! But this was not all, for surprise followed surprise.

The pompous Consul, who for the sake of saving himself the trouble of looking into his desk, had made my last portion of the journey wretched and sorrowful, found that after all he was mistaken, and on the breakfast-table in my place I found a packet of about 100 letters and newspapers, which the Consul sent to me with a message saying that when I called last time he had forgotten who I was, and therefore had forgotten to give me my correspondence!

Now that we have travelled round and through the country in every direction; now that we have seen where the different tribes of Ainu are, I shall attempt to give my readers some insight into the Ainu themselves, and their mode of living.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

327
415

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different. 341 184

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others. 342 184

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and 342

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one [184] room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own 342 architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive [476] the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

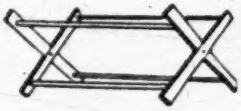
591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter [352] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds 391 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a 517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping 412 accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly 415 carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

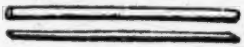
Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.



STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera.* Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [BDA] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

342

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days 354 are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

579 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

985 The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 264 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier. Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos-[136] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 136 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death [168] of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atsis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-
825 trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to
554 the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many
231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be
231 dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage,
[412] which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

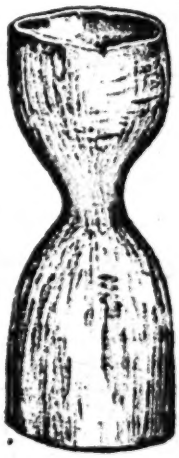
On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.



MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

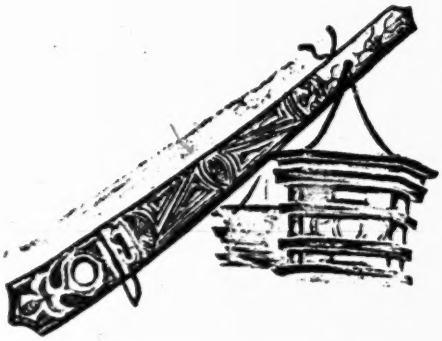
Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conseryative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.



AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212

Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation. 532

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak. 532 322

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design. 532

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character. 532 184 412

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A 532 412

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small
412 open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

SIDE VIEW.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

532
413
157

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking

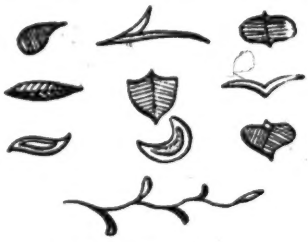
KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale;* Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind. 532 413 157

Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy. 532



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels. 531

ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

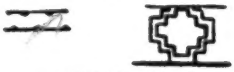
Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.



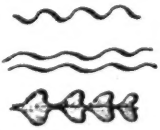
ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.

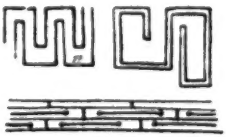


WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

REVERSED COIL.

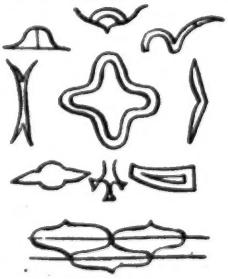
Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.



FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.

532 [322] I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.



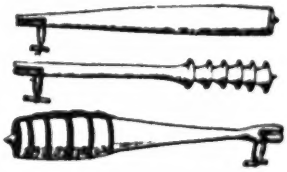
OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and 531
their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, 411
or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; 915
drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the 276
thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many 411
of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

411 and how when the arrow is drawn from the flesh the poisoned point remains inside the wound.

The arrows, when in war or hunting, are kept in a quiver, and a small *Inao* is hung to it to bring good luck to the owner.

Spears and harpoons of one barb are common, and some of the poisoned spears have heads similar to the arrows but of a larger size. Spears are out of date now, but harpoons are still employed in fishing.

Knives are the weapons on which a modern Ainu most relies. Some of these knives are of such length that they might pass for swords. The blade is single-edged, and is protected by a wooden sheath. Nearly every man possesses one, which he carries in his girdle when dressed ; when naked, he

[531]

AINU KNIVES.

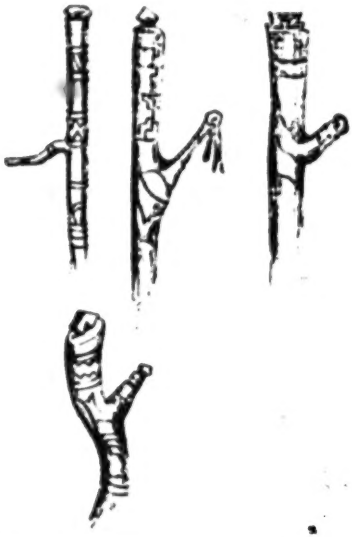
carries it in his hand. The illustration shows knives of different sizes, and with different patterns worked on them. From an artistic point of view the sheaths of knives are the most carefully wrought over, and ornamented to a greater extent than any other article of Ainu manufacture.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then come the graves. The Ainu are very jealous of these places of eternal rest, and good care is taken to hide them either in the midst of a forest, on a distant and almost inaccessible hill, or in some remote spot, difficult to find or reach. 764

Each village has its own semi-secret graveyard, in which all its dead are buried. Occasionally, when the site of a graveyard has become known to others than these local Ainu, the place is deserted, and a fresh place of sepulture is chosen. The manner of burial is as follows. The body, wrapped up in a *Kinna* (mat), is fastened to a long pole and carried to the grave by two men. All the villagers follow, each carrying some article which was owned by the deceased. A grave is dug, wide and long enough to hold the body laid flat. In it are placed the bow and arrows with their quiver, the knife—from which, for the sake of economy, the blade has been pre-

[531]



WOODEN MONUMENTS OVER MEN'S GRAVES.

MONUMENTS FOR WOMEN.

viously removed—and the drinking-vessel which belonged to the deceased, if he were a man. Women are usually buried with some beads, earrings, and furs. All these articles, carried

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

[562] Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a 766 village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

766 532

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

276
531

AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII.

Ainu Heads, and their Physiognomy.

THE faces of the Ainu are far from ugly, and their heads are singularly picturesque, though of course there are the finer types as there are the meaner; by which we come to gradation and comparison. The general idea that all Ainu are hideous has arisen from the accounts of the few who have travelled in the more civilised parts of Yezo, and have seen and studied only a limited number of half-breeds and actual Japanese, mistaking them for Ainu. In one of the last publications on the Ainu, photographs of Japanese and half-breeds are given as typical specimens of the Ainu race; and one or two real Ainu are given as phenomena and exceptions. That the Ainu are disgustingly filthy is undoubted; that in many ways they are monkey-like is certain; but also that on a close examination many are not devoid of good features is undeniable. As regards looks, it is a great mistake to compare savages with ourselves, and to judge of them from our own standpoint. This is no more fair than to compare a thoroughbred fox-terrier with a thoroughbred poodle-dog, to the disadvantage of the one or the other. Passing off half-breeds as pure types of course makes things ten times worse, and complicates matters for those who care for accuracy, and are interested in anthropological researches.

Ainu physiognomy is an interesting study. When seen full-face the forehead is narrow, and sharply sloped backward. The cheek-bones are prominent, and the nose is hooked, slightly flattened, and broad, with wide, strong nostrils. The mouth is generally large, with thick, firm lips, and the underlip well

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous earrings this part of their ears is generally much deformed. Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes
[304] large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not
145 yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyelids are no thicker than those of Caucasian races, though they droop, as is common among people exposed to the full glare of the sun. The broad ridges being very heavy and prominent, cover part of the upper eyelid over the outer angle of the opening. The eyelashes are extremely long, and the eyebrows are shaggy and bushy. The eyes are full of animal-like expression and emotional warmth, a thing very rare with their neighbours the Japanese or Chinese. The long eyelashes shading the large eyes and rendering them soft, together with their pathetic and slow way of talking, make men and women singularly interesting. Like most animals, the Ainu can "speak" with their eyes. 142

The hair in Ainu adults is for the most part black, wavy, and easily breaking into large curls. Among children, however, one sees brown shades, which darken with years, until the hair turns quite black. Along the north-east coast of Yezo I came across several Ainu adults who had reddish hair and beard; and in the Kurile Islands, at Shikotan, several of the children had light auburn hair hanging in large loose curls and rather flaxy in texture, while the hair of adults was even darker than that of the Yezo Ainu.

The hair, which is coarse and strong, is uniformly and thickly planted over the whole scalp, and reaches well down over the forehead, where, as my readers will remember, a space is cut out or shaved off. It grows long in men as in women, but when it exceeds ten or twelve inches it is generally trimmed in the shape of a half-circle at the back of the head, and is cut off level with the shoulders at the sides. The men have a luxuriant beard, whiskers, and moustache, which grow to a great length. The hair of the beard often begins directly under the eyes, and covers all the lower part of the face. Many of the natives also have a few short coarse hairs on the nose (especially noticeable in natives of the north-east coast of Yezo). The beard, whiskers, and moustache begin to grow in the Ainu when they are fairly young. A man at about twenty can grow a good beard, and at thirty his beard is very long. Ainu women, whom nature has not provided with such a luxuriant growth of hair on the lower part of the face, make up for it by having a long moustache tattooed on the upper and lower lip, which in their idea makes them look "very manly" (See TATTOOS). 142 302 142 [304]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 "very manly" (*see* Tattoos). Baldness is not common among thoroughbred Ainu, even at a very old age, when, however, they generally turn grey and then white, which gives a patriarchal appearance to the hairy people.

152 The Ainu face seldom undergoes the marked changes common to civilised nations, as they are not subject to large emotions; but different expressions are as easily discernible by anyone who really knows and has studied the natives, as the different expressions in the eyes of animals by one who is familiar with them. When the Ainu is pleased he seldom wrinkles his face and draws back his mouth at the corners, as we do, but he shows it by a peculiar sparkle in the eyes and by an almost imperceptible wrinkle in his eyelids, which contract and diminish the opening. The corners of the mouth turn slightly upwards. The smile is an accentuation of this expression, with the additional lowering of the eyebrows, especially in the middle near the nose, causing the forehead to wrinkle.

Laughter Ainu know not. During my long stay among them I never once saw a *real* Ainu laugh heartily, for the hero of the dab of blue paint laughed less than he roared with pleasure; and I do not remember even direct crosses doing so; hence travellers have reported the Ainu to be "dull," "sad," "expressionless."

Certainly, the first thing that strikes one on coming in contact with them is, how depressed they look, and how, even in their work, their games, their festivals, sadness is greater than joy. In fact, the Ainu, with their sentimental nature, enjoy sadness.

Astonishment and surprise are expressed by a perplexed look in the wide-opened eyes, by raising the eyebrows, and by the contraction of the mouth. The hands are not raised nor directed towards the object or person causing astonishment; but if the arms be hanging down, the fingers are widely separated. With the Ainu sorrowful emotions are more marked than the more pleasing, the more joyous. Thus, when in low spirits the head is bent forwards, the eyes are staring and drooping, and the mouth is drawn downwards. In greater grief howling is added to these signs. Ainu men occasionally indulge in quiet tears without sobbing, but

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

women weep copiously at the death of their children when these are young. 152

When an Ainu stands very erect, with one hand in the other in front, and, turning his head on either shoulder, throws it back and looks down at you with expressionless eyes, in the meanwhile raising his eyebrows, you may be sure that he means to show contempt. If, however, his eyes are restless and his lips quiver, if the eyebrows are rapidly brought down over the eyelids, while he opens his eyes wide showing the whole of the iris; if the nostrils are inflated and he breathes heavily; if the head is thrown forward and he is slowly arching, and, as the French say, "making a round back," you may be certain that he is in a very bad temper, and means to go for you, if he sees his way to it.

When obstinate, the pose of the arms and legs is similar to that by which he wishes to show contempt, but the expression of the face is absolutely stolid, the eyes are firm and frigid, meaning in that way to impress you with the certainty that, come what may, he will not move from his decision.

When actively angry, the Ainu sneer and snarl at one another, frowning ferociously, and showing all their front teeth, but specially uncovering their fangs or dog teeth; the arms are stretched out, but always with the fist open—if no knife or other weapon be held in the hand. Shame and disgust are two expressions which one does not often see on Ainu faces. The former I cannot describe, for I never saw an Ainu who was ashamed of anything he had done; the latter is manifested by an upward movement of the corners of the lips, and a curling of the nose, with a sudden expiration almost like a snort.

Shyness, which is the nearest approach to shame, is shown by women when meeting a stranger, and gives them a submissive look. They bend their heads and look down until the first emotion has passed, when they gaze at the new-comer with a certain restlessness and curiosity, again, as in so many of their gestures and ways, reminding one of monkeys. I never found any shyness whatever in Ainu men; neither could I detect in them any signs of fear for objects, animals, or powers with which they were familiar. Things which they do

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

152 not understand of course frighten them, like eclipses of the sun or moon, or as my revolver did when I was attacked by them at Horobets; and also when I appeared as a black-winged rider on the north-east coast. In the latter case, unfortunately, I was too far off to see their faces clearly, and in the former, after the attack they showed more sensible submission to the inevitable than true cowardice. What I chiefly saw then was here and there a face with wide-open, undecided eyes heavily frowning; while some of the others shrugged their shoulders and closed their eyes, waiting for the loud report of the revolver, which unpleasant noise, heard before from Japanese guns, always gives a shock to their nerves.

152 20 When an Ainu wishes to show that something cannot be done, or that he cannot prevent someone else from doing it, he neither shrugs his shoulders like a Frenchman, nor shakes his head laterally like an Englishman; nor does he throw out his hands like a Neapolitan, but, quietly standing erect, and with his head slightly bent forward, he gently lifts it up, and slowly winking his eyes, says that he cannot do it.

When children are sulky or displeased they frown and protrude their lips, making a nasal noise similar to this—"Ohim"—without any of the vowels clearly pronounced.

201 Our way of nodding the head vertically in sign of affirmation and shaking it laterally in negation is not known to the thoroughbred race. Those, either Ainu or half-castes, who [179] practise it have learned it from the Japanese. The right hand is generally used in negation, passing it from right to left and back in front of the chest; and both hands are gracefully brought up to the chest and prettily waved downwards—palms upwards—in sign of affirmation. In other words, their affirmation is a simpler form of their salute, just the same as with us the nodding of the head is similarly used both ways.

152 It is quite enough to look at an Ainu's eyes to see at once whether he consents or not, just as it is quite enough to look at a monkey's face to know if it will accept the apple you offer it. Slyness and jealousy are well marked in the Ainu face, and the former is seen in the glittering, restless eyes, the latter in the sulky glance and protruding mouth. Slyness is a very common characteristic among Ainu men; jealousy is recognised and frequent in women.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I could give a large number of other characteristic expressions, of less ethnological importance, but in the present work I shall limit myself to the principal ones which I have attempted to describe, leaving out altogether "expressions" of half-castes, so as to avoid confusion.

I must beg my reader's forgiveness for the "dryness" of the imperfect description I have given of the Ainu physiognomy, as many will agree with me that it is a great deal easier to notice unfamiliar expressions on faces than to describe them accurately in so many words.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481
142

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

469 147 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481]
running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

480 weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and
468 they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too
147 heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable
854 among them, but not among the men. Children are carried
480 on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs.
480 A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

261 When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches 261
their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water.

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics 483
were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-buts" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made.

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not 481
astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the 857
hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. 142
Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided.

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. 201
The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

201 make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

201 Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp
147 they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

147 The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one
516 eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly
826 funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is
[286] firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos*
[322] the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

283 When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two
826 middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 142 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight, but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ;* but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[482] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders. 516 142 481

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved. 142

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk. 481

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed 481 492 516 264

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.
264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more
[177] civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu
513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
177

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

291
[177]
[281]
[286]

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

[p. 245]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 177 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

291 177 53

BACK OF ATZIS.

291

294 531

562

294 531 291

[184]

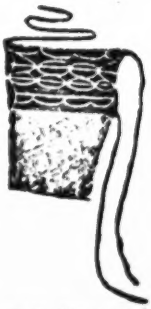
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

293

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING. DEER-SKIN SHOE.

[576] [177] [531]

THE TARSA OR HEAD-BAND.

291 184

301

[273]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6 2

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, 301
even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, [439]
and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know [304]
not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and [111]
imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once [508]
admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [600] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers 302
are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides.

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her 765
head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again 302
she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again.

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are 302
never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such 304
a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed.

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when 539
the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race 304
of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms
3M and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

304 A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as
562 the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line
[531] joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of 304
Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori.

[531]

TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

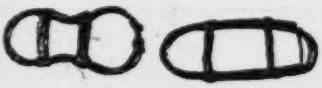
It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have 304
come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the [177]
fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the 184
two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2.

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have 304
already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 after they have become wives. The moustache is generally finished before a girl gets married, as she herself is anxious to be thus decorated; but there are no rules as to virginity or marriage, for the arms and hands are as often tattooed after marriage as before. Indeed, in the Ainu country, "tattooing" one's wife seems to be one of the pleasures of the honeymoon. The design of these tattoos is meant to be, but is seldom, symmetrical. The Ainu apparently execute these designs on a preconceived plan, but the results rarely come up to expectation, as no drawing of the design is prepared beforehand. The bluish-black colour of the tattoo is very permanent and strong, and many an Ainu woman is disfigured for life, who, according to our ideas, would otherwise be good-looking.

[481]



SNOW-SHOES.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the
152 power of words to compass.

After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune,
576 the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted
533 in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo;* and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they
[576] have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

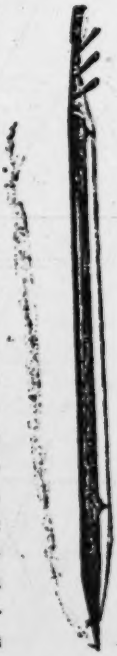
The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all 533
music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds 151
which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed 861
a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are 533
mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the 534
Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

534 ment; and as it is applied by them to all Japanese instruments of music, it shows that they do not distinguish very sharply one instrument from another. Though in my long journeying I found one of these *mukkos*, I was never able to discover any Ainu who could play on it, and the Ainu of Ishikari from whom I bought it told me that the man, the only one, who could play on it, was dead. This was unfortunate, as none of the others could tell me how he tuned it; and one old man, in attempting to solve the problem, broke three strings. Seeing that I was then quite unable to learn any of the tunes of the deceased Ainu Paganini I purchased the instrument, and found by cross-examining the natives that it was played by twanging the strings with the fingers, and not with a plectrum, as is the case with the Japanese *shamesen*. In the illustration I have faithfully drawn a front and a side view of this instrument, so as to give the reader an exact idea of its shape. The Ainu of Volcano Bay sometimes make bamboo jew's-harps for their children; but even those are very uncommon, so we might as well define Ainu music as entirely vocal. Ainu music is sentimental, and not displeasing, but it is monotonous, and continually repeats itself. It is difficult to establish a rule as to what order of intervals their music is founded on, as their progressions, modulations, and rhythmical effects are often so peculiar as to make it impossible to indicate them accurately by means of our musical notation; but the nearest approach to it is the diatonic minor scale. The Ainu are fond of chromatic intervals, and when their recital comes to an exciting point they make use of this method in a

A "MUKKO," OR MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

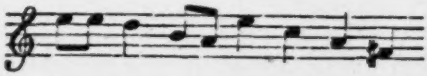


SIDE VIEW OF THE "MUKKO."

533

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the 533
end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—



The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain 533
form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the 538
folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu— [177]
are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, [212]
it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539
rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538
repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese [177] ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533
by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533
illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755
spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [753]
when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
490 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
550 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490 are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 114
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione.* For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive and well-composed till then, went into fits of laughter when Gounod's masterpiece was played, and all through it the noise of people laughing was so great as to drown entirely the orchestra and singers. Some of the women in the audience nearly went into hysterics at the long *legato* notes at the beginning of the piece. Louder melodies and of a livelier character did not affect them so. I wish to draw attention to this fact, that amongst all primitive peoples the native music is sad and slow—the livelier melodies coming later; and also, that with both wild and domestic animals the most noteworthy effects are produced by slow and simple music. We all know how dogs will remain quiet and calm when a soft and gentle air is played, but get furious to the point of savageness under the "plan-plan-rataplan" of a merry noisy tune. As for the last item connected with Ainu music, viz., dancing, it is rarely practised, even by the Ainu women, to whom alone it pertains. At the best it is of a very rude form. In the Piratori festival (Chapter IV.) we have seen that their dancing is accompanied by rhythmical sounds imitating the noises produced by implements in everyday use, as the squeaking of a paddle by the friction on the canoe, the cry which accompanies the pounding of millet, blowing alight the fire, and similar sounds. Time is kept by clapping the hands and by vociferations which tell the partners what position or action to assume, each action being accompanied by a different sound, but all performed while the hopping is kept up. I have not felt justified in classifying these rhythmical sounds, which accompany the dancing, as choruses, for there is not enough in them to constitute either a tune or a melody. They are suggested more by the action of the arms and upper part of the body than by the steps; in fact, if it were not for the continuous hopping it would be more accurate to describe Ainu dancing as "posturing." The dancers form a circle, with sometimes one or two children in the centre. As there are no professional musicians, there are no professional dancers; but though each man may be his own composer of music, the women never alter their dances, which are handed down unchanged from one generation to another. It is only at festivals that the dance is performed, and never inside the huts, but in the open air. It is not for the amusement of spectators, for besides one or two of the older women,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spectators there are none; but it is for the enjoyment of the dancers themselves. The men do not seem to take the slightest interest in the dancing, and apparently regard it as unmanly. They remain in the hut drinking while the girls enjoy themselves in this way outside, and should one of them by chance come out, he would stop and look on no more than men in civilised countries would stop and watch little children at play. On the other hand, on such occasions Ainu matrons squat in a semicircle not far from the dancers, and keep up a lament-like or sometimes quarrelsome conversation among themselves, and occasionally encourage the girls in their hopping, and suggesting *encores* of this figure or that, which, between one quarrel and another, has taken their fancy.

535

[276]

A WOODEN PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. 622 Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical 621 and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among [582] themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations 621 are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for 143 instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities 732 two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not [844] treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not 143 know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos 732 are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among
149 the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the
184 Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and
203 thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

580 Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent,
149 but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large per-
[illegible] centage die when very young: those who live are generally
[illegible] malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and
151 hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

14 The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-
53 breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic 179
breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either 563
race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous 144
and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half- 563
breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds 142
invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu
and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. 563
They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to [157]
mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu
themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds. [158]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 142 732 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 164 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect 153
blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas 805
of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme 802
difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, 153
and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their atten- 152
tion, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects 181
have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi 157
River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

150 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, 183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon [685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the same case as when a dog jumps on the dining-table when everybody is absent and carries off the leg of mutton which he knows he ought not to touch; but the temptation was too strong, and he could not resist it. The Ainu are fond of independence, though in many instances I found them gentle, and apparently submissive to a stronger will than their own. The field of their brain-power is of course very narrow, and the same rough, rude, primitive thoughts and ideas are constantly repeated in their conversation as well as in their designs.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

[147] hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

[515] The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. [151] Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The [041] weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad. 147 [291]

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

125 not worth recording. Most of my observations are based on experiments made while the men were unaware that they were observed at all. Often, when asleep, I have touched them on the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands without causing them to awake, while when touched on the lower lip or in the lumbar region they invariably woke up startled. One day I tried this experiment on an Ainu who
151 was sleeping on his back, with his mouth wide open. I
125 touched his tongue with a well-sharpened lead-pencil, and the effect was subitaneous; more so than on either the lips or the lumbar region. The skin directly over the spine was dull, but the ears showed a certain amount of sensibility. The
151 sense of "taste," which is a mere modification of the sense of touch, is also dull, although naturally, when stimulated by very acid or bitter substances, it produced distinct impressions. Even with ourselves, though more perfected than the sense of smell—which, however, often comes to its assistance—few can boast of having the sense of taste very acute. In our lower classes an extraordinary amount of salt, mustard, pepper, or sugar is needed before they can call their food "tasty," whereas a person of more refined education will detect the lack or excess of even the smallest portion. Over-stimulation of the lingual nerves and extremes of heat or cold deaden the sensibility of the tongue, palate, and fauces, and destroy the power of distinguishing flavours; bad digestion also frequently affects the organs of taste. From this we may argue, then, that the sense of taste, though born in one, has to be cultivated before it is brought to any degree of refinement. The Ainu not only do not possess this acquired refinement, but, through monotony of food, learn only one kind of flavour, and cannot distinguish differences. Thus, as many labourers in our country would not find any difference between a beef-steak slightly underdone and one over-cooked, so an Ainu finds no difference whatever between a piece of salmon properly dried and one perfectly rotten. In this respect the Ainu are far below beasts.

In tribes of natives like the Ainu, who have lived an adventurous life, mostly in the open air, it is but natural that the two senses of "sight" and "hearing" should be more developed than those of "touch," "smell" and "taste;"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. 151
The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is
very common among their children, owing to their filthy con- [164]
dition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few
Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affec-
tions such as are frequent among civilised and more studious
nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful 142
and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by
specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last
prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the
orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race,
and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even
longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. [171]
The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed
with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than
with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long
eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities
necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be 151
the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off,
but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of
an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in
transmitting to the brain the impression received.

As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

151 like can be clearly distinguished. The ticking of a Waterbury watch could be heard by Ainu at a distance of twenty and twenty-two feet, while I could only hear it nineteen feet away. I was often struck by the quickness with which they detected the tick-tack even when the watch was in my pocket, and they were six or eight feet away. The unusual sound fixed their attention and made them curious as to the cause, and they showed a childish kind of surprise and delight when the watch was produced and passed round among them, each one being allowed to enjoy his share of the ticking.

Resuming these few remarks on the characteristic points of Ainu senses, my readers will probably have noticed certain facts which strongly support Darwin's theory of evolution, and the hairy arboreal ancestor with pointed ears from which the races of men are descended.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 805 527

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 "the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient
192 village; a beautiful place." When *Kamui* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix; when to things, it is a prefix.

798 But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,[1] are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

[1] *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut; *kara*, make; also, have.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. 778
Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on 778
certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born 844
an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds 789
folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new 778
inao are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea 789
that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the 755
sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the [753]
individual whose body they think has been taken possession [777]
of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent 789
horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a 778
horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within 171
are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

789 798 791 visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

798 789 791 If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the 796 Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

791 791 We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact translation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

"They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

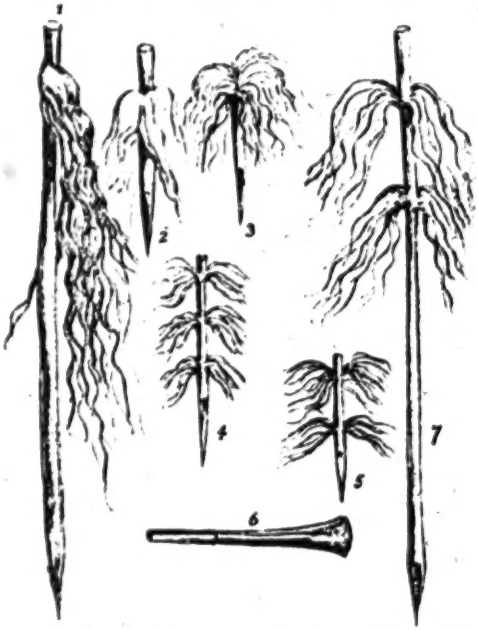
brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take 855 care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [169] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789



1, 7, INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISEI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very 58
stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes
a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his
affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and
there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of
closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate
the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids,
no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the
happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom 591
either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for
his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's
hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective
families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The 585
honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride [412]
carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom 392
accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together
as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the
happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and
perched on the forked poles, during which process "family [598]
rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when
the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns
within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds
to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her [304]
arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, 595
for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would
like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [152] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

582 out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one [602] another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

831 The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for 853 children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children 844 till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn 842 fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

165 There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe 847 exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The [165] greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for [373] alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from [199] the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old 162 men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

mainly to the great increase of mortality in children during the last two generations. The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of this degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct. I dare say that in fifty years from now—probably not so long—not one of the hairy savages, who were once the masters of Sakhalin, Yezo, the Kuriles, Kamschatka, and the whole of the southern Japanese Empire, will be left. Not one of these strange people—soft, good, and gentle, but savage, brave, and disreputable—will live to see their country civilised; and in the life which they have led of filth and vice they will die in front of that greater scourge, civilisation, leaving behind no traces of themselves, of their past, of their history, nor of their present—nothing but a faint recollection, a tradition, that in Yezo and the Kuriles died the last remains of those curious people, the Hairy Ainu.

[P. 298 is blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types. 141 121

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes." 55 192
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT. 141

MEN.			WOMEN.		
	inches.			inches.	
1.	61	Med. $62\frac{11}{16}$	1.	$58\frac{3}{4}$	Med. $58\frac{3}{4}$.
2.	65		2.	$59\frac{1}{2}$	
3.	$60\frac{1}{2}$		3.	$59\frac{1}{2}$	
4.	$64\frac{7}{8}$		4.	$54\frac{3}{4}$	
5.	61		5.	$59\frac{1}{2}$	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Length from Tip to Tip of Fingers with Arms Outstretched.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	64⅝	Med. 65⅜.	1.	59½	Med. 61 13/16.
2.	65		2.	62½	
3.	63½		3.	62½	
4.	69½		4.	60	
5.	64½		5.	62½	

It is interesting to notice the great difference between the height and this latter measurement, showing the great length of the arms in the Ainu race.

The Arm.

The Humerus.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	9	Med. 9 3/16.	1.	8½	Med. 9 13/16.
2.	9⅝		2.	8¾	
3.	8½		3.	10¾	
4.	9		4.	9¾	
5.	10		5.	10	

The Ulna.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	9½	Med. 9 31/16.	1.	9½	Med. 9¼.
2.	10¾		2.	9½	
3.	9½		3.	8½	
4.	11		4.	9⅜	
5.	9½		5.	9⅝	

The Hand.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	7⅜	Med. 7⅜.	1.	6½	Med. 6 9/16.
2.	7⅞		2.	7	
3.	7½		3.	6½	
4.	7⅞		4.	6¾	
5.	7		5.	7	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

THE SPINE (dorsal and lumbar vertebræ to the sacrum).

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 25½	Med. 27⅞.	1. 27	Med. 27⅝.
2. 28⅝		2. 26¾	
3. 27½		3. 28¼	
4. 29¾		4. 27	
5. 27¼		5. 29½	

THE LEG (Femur, Tibia and Foot.)

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 34¾	Med. 35 1/16.	1. 32⅞	Med. 33 13/16.
2. 36¼		2. 35½	
3. 32½		3. 34	
4. 37⅞		4. 30½	
5. 34¼		5. 35¾	

FEMUR.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 17½	Med. 18⅛.	1. 18⅜	Med. 17 33/40.
2. 18⅜		2. 19⅞	
3. 17½		3. 18½	
4. 20		4. 14	
5. 20½		5. 18¾	

TIBIA.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 14	Med. 13½.	1. 14¼	Med. 13¾.
2. 14⅞		2. 13	
3. 12⅝		3. 13½	
4. 14⅞		4. 14	
5. 11½		5. 14¼	

(The Tibia is very flattened with the Ainu.)

TARSUS (from ground to Ankle).

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 2¾	Med. 3.	1. 2	Med. 2¾.
2. 3		2. 2⅝	
3. 3		3. 2	
4. 3¼		4. 2½	
5. 3		5. 2¾	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Chest (from Arm-pit to Arm-pit).

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 13½	Med. 13 1/16.	1. 12⅝	Med. 13 7/16.
2. 13⅝		2. 14¼	
3. 13½		3. 14¼	
4. 13		4. 12¼	
5. 13¾		5. 13⅜	

Around Chest.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 36½	Med. 37 3/16.	1. 33⅜	Med. 34¼.
2. 35⅝		2. 34½	
3. 37½		3. 35½	
4. 37⅝		4. 32⅞	
5. 38¼		5. 34¾	

Around Waist.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 33	Med. 34 7/16.	1. 28⅝	Med. 31 7/16.
2. 37		2. 31½	
3. 34		3. 34⅞	
4. 36		4. 31	
5. 33½		5. (37⅝ but was conceived.)	

Maximum Breadth of Shoulders.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 19¼	Med. 17½.	1. 15½	Med. 14⅜
2. 16		2. 13⅝	
3. 18		3. 13⅞	
4. 18		4. 13⅞	
5. 16¼		5. 15¼	

The Foot.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 9¼	Med. 9 13/16.	1. 8⅝	Med. 8⅝.
2. 9⅝		2. 9¼	
3. 9½		3. 9¼	
4. 10¼		4. 8¼	
5. 9¼		5. 8⅞	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

THE HEAD (around the Head, just above the Ears).

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 23½	Med. 23⅜.	1. 23⅜	Med. 22 15/16.
2. 23½		2. 22⅞	
3. 24⅜		3. 23⅛	
4. 22¾		4. 22	
5. 23⅛		5. 23	

LENGTH OF FACE.
(From Hair to Chin.)

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 7½	Med. 7 31/32.	1. 7¼	Med. 6⅞.
2. 9		2. 6⅞	
3. 7½		3. 6¾	
4. 6⅞		4. 7	
5. 8		5. 6⅝	

WIDTH OF FACE FROM EAR TO EAR (over Forehead and Cheek Bones).

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 11⅞	Med. 11 15/16.	1. 11½	Med. 11 31/32.
2. 12½		2. 11	
3. 12		3. 11¾	
4. 12		4. 11⅞	
5. 12½		5. 11½	

HEIGHT OF FOREHEAD.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 2¼	Med. 2⅜.	1. 2¼	Med. 2.
2. 2⅞		2. 1¾	
3. 2⅜		3. 2⅛	
4. 2		4. 2	
5. 2¾		5. 1⅞	

WIDTH OF FOREHEAD.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 5	Med. 5½.	1. 6	Med. 5¾.
2. 5¼		2. 5½	
3. 5½		3. 5	
4. 5¾		4. 4⅞	
5. 6		5. 5½	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Length of Ears.

141

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	3	Med. $2\frac{23}{40}$	1.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	Med. $2\frac{23}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{1}{4}$		2.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	
3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$		3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$	
4.	$2\frac{1}{2}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	$2\frac{5}{8}$		5.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	

Length of Fingers.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	$3\frac{1}{8}$	Med. $3\frac{9}{40}$.	1.	3	Med. $2\frac{23}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{3}{8}$		2.	3	
3.	3		3.	3	
4.	$3\frac{5}{8}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	3		5.	3	

142 (*a*) Colour of skin (in parts not exposed to air)—light reddish slightly tending towards brown, but almost as light as with Europeans.

(*b*) Colour of hair—black, dark-brown, reddish-black, red.

(*c*) Colour of eyes—light-brown tending towards dark-grey.

(*d*) Character of hair—wavy.

(*e*) Amount of hair—abundant on face and all over the body in males more so than in females.

Measurements of Shikotan Ainu.

The skin and eyes are the same colour as with the Yezo Ainu. The hair is black, dark-red, or dark-brown. Black is the prevalent colour. Children often have fair hair, which grows darker as they grow older. The hair is abundant over body and face, and it is wavy.

141 The face possesses the identical characteristics of the Yezo Ainu.
Medium height: 61 inches to $62\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Round waist: $32\frac{7}{8}$ inches.
Chest: Empty, $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches; inflated, $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Humerus: $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches.
Ulna: $8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.
Hand: $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Foot: $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Spinal vertebræ : 24 inches.
Scapula (from shoulder to shoulder) : 17 inches.
Between shoulder-blades : 5⅞ inches.
Femur : short.
Tibia : very long.
(Natives objected to have their legs measured.)
The Tibia is much rounder than with the Yezo Ainu.
Length of face : 7½ inches.
Width of face from ear to ear : 11¼ inches.
Round head above ears : 21⅝ inches.
Ears : small.
Forehead : 2¾ inches high ; 5⅞ inches wide.

With arms outstretched and from tip to tip of fingers the Shikotan Ainu measure generally the length of one hand (about 6¾ inches) more than their own height. Consumption, *kaki*, and syphilis are common complaints among them. [164]

II.—GLOSSARY OF AINU WORDS, MANY OF WHICH ARE FOUND IN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN YEZO AND THE KURILE ISLANDS.[1] 104

A.

A = (a suffix).
Apa = an open space, a doorway.
Aikap = impossible, impassable.
Ambe = that is.
An = to be.
Aota = near.
Apta = rain.
Apun = gently.
At = a tree.
Atsu = barren, naked.

B.

Bets, or pets, pet = river.
Be, or pe = pestilential water.
But, or put = mouth of a river.

[1] The vowels to be pronounced as in Italian.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

C.

104 Cha = old.
Cha cha = very old.
Chip = fish.
Chippe = a canoe, a boat.
Chup = the sun.

E.

Erimu = a rat.
Etoko = formerly, in front of.
Etu = a cape.

F.

Fu = bare.
Fun = green.
Fure = red (also pronounced Hure).
Frishiko = old.

H.

Haru = grass.
Hattara = a deep pool in a watercourse.
Hure = a bad smell.
Hure = red.

I.

I = a suffix for "a place."
Ibe = to feed.
Ichan = a canal made by salmon in river-beds to lay their spawn.
Ikam = against.
Iwa = stone, a rock.
Itapk = word, story.
Iwashi (Japanese) = sardine.
Iwao = sulphur.

K.

Kama = cliffs, rocks, to go over.
Kamui = great, wonderful, ancient.
Kap = bark of a tree.
Kara = to take, to make.
Kashi = towards.
Kerimba = a berry.
Kene = an alder tree.
Kem = blood.
Kenashi = a meadow.
Keshup = head.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

Kesh = towards the west.
Ki = rushes.
Kim = mountain.
Kinna = mat.
Kinna = reeds.
Kinna = grass.
Kiri = to know.
Kitai = mountain.
Koi = the waves of the sea.
Kochi = level.
Kombo = sea-weed.
Koro = to possess, to have.
Kotan = a village, a place.
Kotcha = in front of.
Ku = a bow.
Kuano = straight.
Kume = black, very dark.
Kuru, or guru = a person.

M.

Ma = to swim, deep.
Mak = behind.
Makta = away.
Mata = winter.
Meak = female.
Mean = cold.
Mo = tranquil.
Mon = small, tranquil.
Mom = to flow like a river.
Moire = slow.
Moi = a bay, a sheltered bend in a river where the water is quiet.
Moshiri, or mushir = island, country, place, land.
Moshiri Kes = the east.
Moshitte-chu-pok = north.
Moshiri pok = west.
Moshitte-chu-pka = south.
Mun = grass.

N.

Na = again.
Na = bigger, or smaller (also sign of comparative).
Nai, or Nae = a rivulet, a small stream.
Nai yau = a tributary stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104 Nak = where.
Nam = cold, as water, as ice.
Naoak = yet more shallow.
Ne = together, where, and, also, which, &c.
Neatka = also, again.
Nen = who.
Neto = where.
Ni = wood, or tree
Nikam = leaves of a tree.
Nibeshi = name of a tree (probably *Tilia*).
Nikap = bark of a tree.
Nipek = a fire, a flame.
Nisei = valley.
Nisusu = scenery, panorama, view.
Nitat = swampy ground, a swamp, a lagoon.
Nitai = a forest.
Nitt = a thorn.
Nitek = branches of trees.
Nituman = trunk of a tree.
Nobori = mountain.
No = (meaningless ending of words).
Noshike = middle.
Noshihike = half.
Nupka = a forest.
Nup = a treeless plain.
Nup = a deep silent pool in a river.
Nuburi = mountain.
Nupuru = turbid (as water).
Nupuri = a mountain (volcano).
Nutap = the projecting part of a river bend.

O.

O = a meaningless prefix, sometimes used as an adjective.
Oara = one.
Oboso = to pass through (as water).
Oak = shallow—not deep.
Oha = empty.
Ohoho = deep.
Okai = at a place.
Okai = a male.
Okari = around.
Oakau = to hide.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

Oakan = a male.
Omanne = to go.
Oma = to be inside.
Onne = large, old, great.
Opattek = a volcanic eruption.
Opeka = straight.
Oro = to be in.
Oropak = as far as.
Oshima = to go in.
Oshimak = behind.
Ota = sand.
Otaru = sandy.
Opke = a spear.
Ot = in, inside, into.
Oya = another.
Oushike = a place.
Oyapk = away, abroad.
Oyapk moshiri = away, country (foreign country).

P.

Pa = smoke.
Pa = east-end of villages.
Pai = bushes.
Pakne = as far as.
Panke = lower.
Paru = the mouth.
Pase = heavy.
Patek = only.
Pe = pestilential water, bad water, not good to drink.
Pei = something.
Pene = inland.
Pet, pets, bets = river.
Pet bena = source of a river.
Pet samo = bank of a river.
Petsamata = by the side of a river.
Pet put = the mouth of a river.
Pet-urara = a stream.
Pet yao = an affluent.
Pet-ka-shu = to wade a river.
Penke = upper.
Pinni = ash-tree.
Pinne = male.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104 Piuta = sand (coarse).
Pipa = a spring of fresh water.
Pira = a bank, a cliff.
Piri = a wound.
Pirika = pretty, good, well, all-right.
Pishita = sea-beach.
Pita = to untie, to undo.
Pitara = a dry place in a river-bed.
Po = a small thing.
Pon = small.
Poi-shuma = pebbles, stones.
Poka = only.
Popke = hot, steaming (also Topke).
Poro = large.
Pui = a hole.
Puri = natural, very, usual.
Put, Putu (corrupted into Buto by the Japanese) = the mouth of a river.

R.

Rai = death.
Rakka = seal.
Rahuru = a fog.
Ram = low.
Ran = to descend (a mountain).
Rangu = a kind of tree.
Rarumani = a kind of tree (*Taxus cuspidata*).
Re = three.
Repun = to go, in the sea, surrounded by water.
Repun moshiri = an island.
Rera = wind.
Retara = white.
Ri = high.
Rikkin = to ascend.
Riri = a wave.
Riri-shiye-tuye = ebb tide.
Riri-ya = flow tide.
Roru = at the head.
Ru = a road, a track, a pathway
Rui = to burn.
Rukoppe = where roads cross.
Rui = great, big.
Rubeshipe = a ravine.
Rupne = large.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104

S.

Sapk = summer.
Sak = without.
Sama = by the side of.
San = to descend.
Sara, Saru = a grassy plain.
Sat = dry.
Sattek = shallow water.
Sesek = hot.
Seta = dog.
Shep = broad.
Shi = high.
Shibe = autumn salmon.
Shiki = a kind of tall grass.
Shiko = a view, a sight.
Shimon = on the right-hand side.
Shimoye = to shake, to move.
Shenai = a large river.
Shirari = a cliff, mass of loose texture.
Shirau = a horse-fly.
Shiretu = a cape.
Shiri = land.
Shiruturu = a small island in a river.
Sho = so.
Shoi = a hole.
Shum = foam.
Shuma = a stone.
So = a waterfall.
Shupun = a kind of fish.
Shusu = a willow tree.

T.

Ta = to, towards, to take, to cut.
Taanni = on this side.
Taksep = a rock.
Tapne = short.
Tanne = long.
Tap kop = an isolated hill.
Tat = Birch-tree (*Betula*).
To, or ko = a lake, a swamp.
Toambe = that.
Toi = earth.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

104 Tokap = day, light.
Tomari = a harbour, a sheltered place.
Top = scrub bamboo.
Tope = *Acer*—a kind of tree.
Tukara, also Tokari = sea-otter.
Tunni = *Quercus dentata.*
Tureshi = to ascend.
Turep = a plant, the roots of which are eaten by the Ainu.

U.

U = a suffix to indicate a place.
Uhui, also Ouye = a fire.
Uhui nobori = a volcano.
Un = a particle denoting that something is to be found at a place.
Upas = snow.
Ush = a bay.
Ush = a gulf.
Ush = a locative particle.
Uta = a master.
Utka = the rapids of a river.

W.

Wa = from.
Waska = water.
Wen = bad.

Y.

Ya = land.
Yai = danger.
Yaikap = awkward.
Yam = cold, a chestnut.
Yuk = a deer.
Yutta = greatest.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX.

A.

ABASHIRI, 81, 92, 137–139, 161, 184.
Abashiri Lagoon, 138, 139.
Abnormalities, 267.
Abortion, 296.
Abstinence from food and drink, 238, 239.
Abus, 48.
Adultery, 295.
Adzes (stone), 78, 79.
Affection, 272.
Affirmation, 234.
Age of the Ainu, 271.
Agriculture, 62.
Ahunkanitte, 210.
Aikap, Cape, 177.
Ainu bits, 110.
—— capacity for drink, 23.
—— conclusion, an, 27.
—— diet, 24.
—— dirt, 27.
—— gentleness, 17.
—— good-nature, 27.
—— implements, 86.
—— legends, 28, 29.
—— names on Nippon, 94.
—— names, 298.
—— Paganini, 258.
—— pronunciation, 112.
—— village, 74.
—— way of approaching huts, 171
Airup, Cape, 176.
Akangawa, 75.
Akkeshi, 80, 102–104, 106, 139.
Akkeshi bay, 104, 105.
—— lagoon, 103.
Albinism, 268.
Aleutian Islands, 94.
Aleuts, 91.
Alexandrovitch, 127.
Amida, 204.
Ancestral attachment, 216.
Anchors, 39.
Anchorages, 112, 129, 142, 167, 168, 174, 194, 203.
Angotsuro, 7.
Apa-otki (door-mat), 211.
Aputa, 5, 10.
Archæology, 77.
Architecture, 207.
Arms, 243.
Arrows, 216.
Arrow-heads (flint), 78, 79.
Art, 218–220, 227, 228.
Artist, 69.
Arundinaria, 5, 23.
Asiatic Society of Japan, 89, 290.
Assap River, 203.
Attacked by the Ainu, 13–15.
Attitudes, 241.
At-pets, River, 35.
Atzis-robe, 213, 246, 247, 252.
Atzosa Volcano, 130.
Atzta, 176, 177.
Australia, 102.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Australian blacks, 159, 228.
Authority of chiefs, 267.
Awomori, 93.

B.

BACKBONE of Yezo, 63, 122.
Bakkai, 168.
Baldness, 104, 232, 269.
Bamboo arrow-points, 79.
Barabuta, 202, 203
Baratte, 188.
Barter, 216, 249.
Basha, 3, 12, 195, 198, 202.
Batchelor, Rev. I., 59, 83, 87, 88.
Bathing, 76.
Battles, 81, 86, 93.
Beaches, 73.
Bears, 44, 51, 56, 61, 65, 66, 85, 101, 131, 142, 147, 159, 214.
Bear (descent from the), 281.
—— hunting, 272.
—— (ill-usage of), 282.
—— skins, 245.
—— skull trophy, 286.
Beliefs compared, 288.
Bending of watercourses, 165.
Benke, Cape, 194, 195.
Benry, 23, 26, 27, 30–34, 260, 283, 286.
Benten Island, 204.
Bentenjima (Nemuro), 80, 115.
Bento, 3, 4.
Beppo, 65.
Betoya, 129.
Bettobu, 82, 130.
—— Bay, 129, 130.
Birvase, 112.
Bitskai, 133.
Bone arrow-point, 81, 82.
—— carvings, 222.
—— setting, 176.
Bonzes, 197, 198, 283.
Bowls, 209, 225.
Bows and arrows, 223, 225.
Buddhists, 283.
Buddhist shrine, 283.
Burial, 225, 227, 284.

C.

CANCER, 174.
Cannibalism, 59.
Canoes, 37–39, 90, 177.
Carrying children, 238.
—— weights and burdens, 238.
Castes, 266.
Castle, 204.
Caucasian races, 236, 238.
Chanting, 113, 258.
Charcoal in pits, 81.
Charms, 288.
Chevrons, 221.
Child-bearing, 296.
Children of Kurile Islands, 129.
Chimney, 23.
Chiefs at a festival, 30, 31.
Chief's crown, 250.
—— tomb, 226.
Chieftainship, 266.
Chietomamai, 163.
China, 26.
Chinese, 276.
—— idea, 77.
—— sea, 163.
Chisei-kara-inao, 286.
Cholera, 184.
Choruses, 256, 264.
Christians, 12, 127, 128, 156, 289.
Christian minister, 198.
—— virtues, 269.
Chukbets, 173.
Chuppets, River, 183.
Chuskin Island, 162.
Cisango, 203.
Civilisation, 58, 59, 65, 216, 217, 288, 297.
Clothes, 2, 3, 60, 190, 245, 250.
—— and boots, 2, 3, 95, 96, 202, 246, 247.
Coal, 75, 174, 205.
—— field, 75.
—— mines, 183, 185.
—— trains, 186.
—— trucks, 76.
Coins, 151.
Colonial militia, 188, 189.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Colonisation scheme, 185.
Colonists, 74, 115, 116.
Comparisons, 229.
Compass, 53.
Concert, 263, 264.
Conservatism, 216.
Consul, 206.
Consumption, 128, 174, 179, 296, 304.
Convicts (Japanese), 102, 184–186.
Copper, 122.
Coptic Church, 127, 128.
Corea, 26, 174.
Creator, 281, 285.
Criminals, 269.
Crosses, 268, 269.
Crows, 35, 46.
—— attacking a pony, 146.
—— (familiarity of), 149.
—— (multitude of), 5.
Cruelty to children, 292.
Currents, 48, 139, 143, 161, 163, 165, 169.
Cutaneous diseases, 42.

D.

DAIKUKU Island, 11.
Daikuku and Kodaikuku Islands, 105.
Daimio, 204.
Dancing, 264, 265.
Darwin's theory of evolution, 280.
Deer-skin coat, 245.
Degeneration of the race, 297.
Deluge, the, 29.
Descriptive characters of Yezo Ainu (Appendix), 298, 303.
———— of Shikotan Ainu (Appendix), 303, 304.
Designs, 221, 227.
Dew, 53.
Dirt, 88, 128.
Divinities, 282.
Divorce, 295.
Dogs (wild), 154, 159.
Drainage area of Ishikari River, 181, 182.
Dress of Kurilsky Ainu, 126, 127.
Drift-ice, 161.
—— logs, 48, 169.
—— sand, 139, 142, 170.
Drinking vessels, 215, 223.
Drunkenness, 17, 32, 291.
Dug-outs, 5, 63, 64, 92, 170, 183.
Dwarfs, 251.
Dying out of the race, 296.

E.

EAGLES, 142, 152, 153, 214.
Ear-rings, 6, 249.
Ears, 230, 303, 304.
Eclipses, 234.
Education, 266.
Egyptian cross, 227.
Election of chief, 10, 266.
Elephantiasis, 143.
Embroideries, 180, 246, 247.
Emperor's palace, 183.
Enamelling, 222.
Endogamy, 295.
Entogroul, 164.
Eramachi, 204.
Erimo Cape, 19, 42–44, 73, 80.
Esan Volcano, 4, 198, 200, 201.
Esashi, 162, 202, 203.
Esquimaux, 84, 85, 91.
Ethnologists, 263.
Etiquette, 31, 211, 212.
Etorofu, 80, 82, 88, 91, 123, 129, 131, 132.
European comforts, 158.
—— dinner, 69, 119.
Eyelashes, 231, 279.

F.

FACE, 229, 230, 232, 302, 304.
—— (width of), 302, 304.
Factories, 187, 192.
Falsetto voice, 257.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Family rows, 293.
Farming region, 187.
Fasting, 53.
Ferry, 178, 181.
Ferry-boat, 103.
Finger-rings, 249.
Fingers, 303.
Fish diet, 42.
—— manure, 41.
Fishermen, 39, 103, 142, 163, 174, 192, 193, 199.
Fishermen's huts, 20.
Fishing, 53, 64, 130, 224.
—— nets, 60.
—— villages, 203.
Fire, 193, 209.
Fleas, etc., 26, 212.
Flies—black flies and horseflies, 45, 66, 212.
Flint implements, 78, 79.
—— knives, 78, 79.
Flirting (curious way of), 141.
Folk-lores, 259.
Footprints, 159, 160, 161.
—— of Ainu, 160, 161.
—— of Japanese, 160, 161.
—— of bears, 47.
Forest, 101, 135, 161.
Forts, 77, 81, 82, 141.
Foxes, 102, 126, 131, 142, 214.
Frishikobets village, 58, 61, 65, 252.
Fujiama, 161, 167.
Fukushima, 205.
Funa, 3.
Funerals, 227.
Furembets river, 171.
Furimbé, 199.
Furniture, 208.
Furubets, 130.
Future legend, 155, 156.
Fylfot, 227.

G.

GEOLOGY, 21.
Geometrical patterns, 221.
Geyser, 100.
Girdles, 250.
Girls (Ainu), 157.
—— (Japanese) shown in cages, 117.
Glossary of Ainu words, 304-311.
God, 281, 282.
Gokibira, 177.
Graphic signs, 218.
Grass, 21, 52, 62.
Graves, 221, 223, 225-227.
Graveyard, 128, 180, 225, 227.
Guechas, or singers, 116, 117.
Gun-practice, 199.

H.

HABITS and customs of pit-dwellers, 91.
Hakodate, 11, 78, 90, 93, 104, 112, 199, 201.
Hakodate Bay, 1, 2 205.
—— Bund, 1.
—— Head, 1
—— Isthmus, 2
—— Peak, 1, 2, 201.
Hair, 231, 250, 251.
Hairiness, 85, 88, 142, 145.
Half-breeds, 34, 39, 47, 268, 270.
—— castes, 7, 93, 109, 111, 196 229, 269, 275, 282.
—— (photographs of Japanese half-castes), 263.
—— frontal bone, 270.
—— skull, 270.
—— animal propensities, 270.
—— bumps, 270.
—— age, 270.
—— rheumatism, leprosy and kaki, 270.
Hamboro, 173.
Hammanaka, 112, 113.
Hanasaki, 114.
Hand-clapping, 264.
Hando, 193.
Haraguchi, 203.
Harbours (want of), 74.
—— and anchorages, 75, 104, 115, 116, 124, 125, 165, 202, 204.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Harpoons, 224.
Harutori Lagoon, 75-77, 82.
Hattaushi, 113.
Head, 229, 302, 304.
—— (muscular power), 241.
Heaven and hell, 290.
Henson (Mr.), 2, 202.
Hera, or netting-mesh, 223.
Herrings, 104, 115, 134, 166, 173, 203.
High-days, 289.
High-land, 73, 104, 111.
History, 218.
Hokkaido, 11, 122, 123.
Hokkaido-cho, 187.
Hondemura, 102.
Horanaho or Rausu Volcano, 131.
Horse-breeding, 115.
Horse-farm, 35.
Horsemen (Ainu), 108.
Horse-racing, 237.
Horobets, 12, 234, 272.
—— Ainu, 17.
Horohuts, 20.
Horoizumi, 41, 43, 44, 52.
Hoshi or leggings, 247.
Hospitality, 291.
Hostilities, 147.
Hunger, 45, 52, 199.
Hungry dogs, 7.
Hunting, 126.
Hurupira, Mount, 193.
Hut building, 207.
—— burning, 123, 212, 213.
Huts, 5, 8, 24, 35, 56, 58, 76, 81, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 96, 99, 104, 111, 125, 128, 157, 158, 170, 171, 180, 207, 210-212.
Hypnotism, 191.

I.

Ice, 85.
Ichibishinai (Etorofu), 122.
Idyll, 139, 140.
Idzumizawa, 205.
Igiani, 135.
Ikahasonets Cape, 130.
Ikuru, 173.
Ikusum River, 185.
Imi (garments), 25.
Imotsuto, 129.
Imprisonment, 292.
Improvisators, 259.
Inao, 31, 214, 224, 286-288.
—— in shape of a doll, 287.
—— making, 240.
—— netuba, 286.
Infanticides, 291.
Inflammation of the eyes, 279.
Inomata Yoshitaro, 68-72.
Insanity and idiocy, 266.
—— in half-castes, 270.
Instincts, 158, 159, 216, 282.
Intermarriage, 60, 196, 267.
—— with Japanese, 5.
Iris, 231, 279.
Iron, 122.
Irrigation, 63.
Ishikari, 84, 176.
—— river, 169, 178, 179, 181-183, 191, 275.
——— (course of), 182.
——— Ainu, 179, 183, 184, 219, 226, 250.
—— village, 180.
Ishikishiri penitentiary, 185.
Ishisaki, 203.
Isoya, 193, 198.
—— (Motto Isoya, 'Shimakotan, Isoya), 193.
Italy, 287.
Iwanai, 193.
Iwaonobori, 193, 200.
Iwa Rocks, 47, 49.
Iyomanrei, 30.

J.

Jacko (chief of Shikotan Ainu), 127.
Japan, 26.
—— Daily Mail, 189.
Japanese customs, 5.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Japanese adoption of Ainu language and ways, 112, 113.
—— clothes, 245, 246.
—— Empire, 122, 123.
—— government, 96, 103, 114, 123, 179, 187, 188.
—— hero, 283, 284.
—— parliament, 190.
—— politeness, 36, 69.
—— settlers, 2.
—— songs, 257.
—— villages, 50.
—— woman's toilette, 117, 118.
Jealousy, 234, 235, 294.
Jew's harp, 258.
Jockeys, 33.
Jungle, 51–53, 66.

K.

KAKI, 174, 202, 241, 304
Kakumi, 198, 199.
Kamida Maru (wreck of), 179.
Kamikawa, 183, 184.
—— (population of), 184.
Kamiiro, 205.
Kaminokumi, 203.
Kammakappe, 209.
Kamschatka, 91, 122, 123, 153, 297.
Kamui or Kamoi, 285, 286, 290.
Kamuieto Cape, 174.
Kamuikotan, 286.
—— rapids, 183.
Kamui Mount, 193.
Kando and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, 290.
Karibayama, 193.
Kawamura, 192, 193.
Kawata Tera, 253.
Kenashpa, 65.
Kikonai, 205.
Kimonos, 2.
Kinna (mats), 209, 225.
Kinney, 61.
Kiritap, 106, 112.
Kitchen-middens, 92.
Knife-blades, 216.
Knives, 13, 219, 220, 223–225, 272.
Kofikan, 187.
Komagatake Volcano, 3, 4, 197, 200.
Komuki lagoon, 142.
Ko-numa, 3.
Koshima, 204.
Kotan-kara-kamui, 285.
Kudo, 203.
Kumaishi, 203.
Kunashiri, 80, 88, 91, 123, 131, 132.
Kunnui, 197.
Kurile Islands, 78, 80, 87–89, 92, 121, 122, 131, 132, 190, 201, 231, 282, 297.
Kurile Islands (trade of), 115.
Kurilsky Ainu, 87–90, 94, 123–128, 180, 213, 251, 268.
Kuromatsunai, 195.
Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current, 48, 165, 169.
Kushiro, 74–77, 81, 82, 91, 95–97, 104, 190.
Kutambets, 178.
Kutcharo lake, 84, 85, 98–101, 137, 207, 286.
—— river, 74, 75, 80, 82, 95, 96, 101, 207.

L.

LAGOONS, 139, 142, 163, 170.
Language, 59, 283, 291.
La Perouse Strait, 131, 161, 164, 169.
Laws, 273, 291.
Laws of marriage, 293.
Legends, 28, 29, 260.
Legend : Abe-ten-rui, 261.
—— : Inu-sapk, 261.
—— : Kimta-na, 261.
—— : Tushi-une-pan, 260.
Leprosy, 42, 54.
Letters, 201, 202.
Libations, 289.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Life-boat, 168.
Lighting, 135.
Lines, 227.
Lopatka Cape, 123.
Lunatics, 61, 146–149.

M.

MACHINERY, 187, 216.
Madwoman, 54, 55.
Makkarinupuri (Volcano), 200.
Malaise, 46.
Malarial fever, 174.
Manners, 242.
Map-drawing, 218.
Marks (owner's), 218.
Masatomari, 195.
Mashe (fish), 173.
Mashike, 174.
——, Mount, 174–176.
Maternal love, 155.
Mat-making, 211.
Matrons, 265.
Matsumai, 203–205.
Meals, 170, 171.
Measurements of Yezo Ainu body (Appendix), 298–302.
Measurements of Shikotan Ainu (Appendix), 303, 304.
Measurements of Ainu with arms outstretched, 299, 304.
Memuro-puto, 61.
Menoko (girls), 32.
Metallurgy, 216.
Metempsychosis, 284.
Mice and rats, 213.
Migratory people, 91.
—— population, 173, 174.
Milne (Prof.), 89.
Missionaries, 28, 29, 59, 155, 156, 285, 290.
Mitsuashi River, 39.
Mocassins, 60, 127.
—— and boots, 247.
Model farm, 187, 188.
Mohechi, 205.
Moi, 176.
Mombets, 5, 11.
Momonai, 192.
Mongolian, 129, 230.
—— type, 179.
Monuments, 226.
Morality, 269, 290, 295.
Mori, 4, 196, 197, 200.
Moroi, 178.
Mororran, 5, 19, 196.
—— (Shin-, and Kiu-), 11.
Mortality, 123, 128, 296, 297.
Mourning, 227.
Moustache lifter, 23, 208, 220, 221, 289.
Moustache tattooed, 252, 254.
Movements and attitudes, 239.
Moyoro or Biru, 47.
Moyorotake or Bear Bay, 129.
Mukawa, 20, 21.
Musemes, 1.
Music, 255.
—— of Ainu, 255.
—— of Westerns, 255.
—— as a cure of illness, 261.
—— Chromatic intervals, 258, 259.
——, diabolical, 262.
—— Diatonic minor scale, 258.
——, education in, 257.
—— to facilitate manual labour, 262.
——, feeling in, 255.
——, fondness for, 257.
——, imitation of noises in, 257.
—— key note, 259.
——, loud, 263.
—— melody, 259.
—— metre, 261.
—— modulations, 255.
—— modulations in tunes, 258, 259.
——, passion in, 255.
——, personality in, 260.
——, rhythmical effects in, 255, 258.
—— rhythmical method, 259.
——, sad, 264.
——, suggestions of animal sounds in, 261.
——, teaching of, 260.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Music, temperamental characteristics in, 263.
—— transformation of a theme, 260.
——, vocal, 256.
Musical instruments, 257, 258.
—— memory, 257.
—— notation, 255.
—— strings, 257.
Myopy, 279.

N.

NAGAYAMA, Governor of the Hokkaido, 192.
Naibo, 130.
Naye, 185.
Nayosami Hill, 183.
Necklaces and earrings, 60, 249.
Nemuro, 114–116, 118, 119, 121, 133, 161.
Neptka, 204.
Nigori River, 197.
Nii-pak-pets, River, 35.
Nippon, 92, 93, 104.
Nishibets, 133.
Nitumap, 61.
Nobori-bets village, 18.
—— Volcano, 18, 19.
Noshafo Cape, 73, 114, 115, 161.
Nossyap Cape, 167, 168.
—— Peninsula, 167, 168.
Notoro Cape, 130.
—— Lake, 139.
Notski Peninsula, 133.
Nusa, 214, 286.

O.

OAK, 21.
Oakan and Moyokan, 98, 135.
Oakan River, 99.
Obishiro, 58.
Obune, 198, 199.
Odour, 276.
Odour of Europeans, 276.
—— of women, 276, 277.
Oitoi, 130.
Okashi-nae Mountain, 177.
Okos, 43.
Okushiri Island, 203.
Omangus, 146–150.
Onekotan, 123.
Onembets, 129.
Onishika, 173, 174.
Onnetto Lagoon, 116.
—— River, 116, 133.
Ono-numa, 3.
Opoto Lake, 137.
Oputateishike Mountain-mass, 63.
Oputs, 48.
Orang-outang, 146.
Ornamentations, 218–220.
Osaru River, 11.
Oshamambe, 193, 196, 197.
Oshima Island, 203, 204.
—— province, 4.
Oshoro, 192.
Osman Pasha, 164.
Ota Cape, 203.
Otaru, 20, 191.
Otaussi-nai Village, 185.
Otatsube, 199.
Otchishi, 113, 114.
Otkoshk sea, 123, 131, 133, 135, 143.
Otopke Mount, 63, 64.
Otoshibe River, 197.
Otoyebukets, 183.
Otsu, 48, 50, 51, 68, 73.
Otsugawa River, 50.
Ottoinnai, 61.
Owls, 102.
Oyama Iwao (Count), Minister of State for War, 189.
Oysters, 104, 113, 139.

P.

PACK-SADDLES, 17, 18, 237.
Paddle (Hera), 208.
Para-puta, 195.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Paro-mushir, 123, 126.
Pasture-land, 107.
Pehambe-ushi River, 103.
Pekoatnit, 210.
Pensatsunai, 58.
Perohune, 48.
Pestilence, 61.
Physiognomy, 230.
Physiological observations, 274.
Pico Strait, 131.
Piegawa River, 183.
Pipes, etc., 223.
Piratori, 22, 30, 248, 253, 260, 261, 264, 275, 283, 284.
—— Valley, 33.
Pit-dwellers (Koro-pok-kuru), 77–80, 83–87, 90, 92, 104, 114, 125, 130, 251.
Pit-dwellers' implements, 190.
Pits, 77–84, 88–94, 114, 130, 141.
Plateau, 63.
—— like peninsula, 114.
Poisoned arrows, 223, 224.
Polygamy, 294.
Polytheists, 281, 285, 290.
Pombets, 65.
Ponies, 3, 21, 65, 66, 138.
Pon-machi (small wife), 28, 294.
Pontoo, 122, 131.
Pooley, Mr., 206.
Population, 294.
Porobets River, 162.
Poronai, 157, 161, 183–186.
—— coal-mines, 191.
Poro-machi (great wife), 28, 294.
Poro-nam-bets River, 41.
Poro-usa, 209.
Posturing, 264.
Pottery, 80, 86, 215.
Poverty of the Ainu, 5.
—— of blood, 296.
Prayers, 289.
Prehistoric man, 242.
Progeny of mixed marriages, 268.
Provisions, 3, 211.
Publications on the Ainu, 229.
Pulse-beat, 275.
Pumice, 5, 21, 73.
Punishments, 291.
Purokenashpa, 65.

Q.

QUARRELS, 292.
Quicksands, 139, 169, 170.
Quicksand River, 157.
Quiver, 224, 225.

R.

RAGS, 247.
Rahush Mount (Kunashiri), 122.
Rain, 3, 135, 193, 197, 200.
Raishats, 179, 226.
Rattler (H.M.S.), 165.
Recitative, 256.
Reeds and rushes, 51, 57, 62, 66, 67, 90.
Reefs, 123, 194.
Relations, 296.
Religion, 283.
Religious ideas, 281.
—— race, 198.
Repun, 10.
Repunshiri, 167, 168.
Resurrection of the body, 284, 290.
Reversed coil, 222.
Rheumatism, 128, 174, 241.
Rhyme, 261.
Riding, 17, 237.
—— bareback, 243.
Riruran, 107, 108, 111.
Rishiri Island, 167, 168.
Rivers, peculiarity in, 135.
——, troublesome, 151.
Roasting hook, 211.
Robinson Crusoe, 133.
Rocks, 41, 111, 163.
Roofs, 207.
Rubeshibe River, 183.
Rubets, 83, 130, 135.
Rumoi, 174.
Russia, 88, 122.
——, exchange with, 179.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian Bible, 127.
—— convicts, 142, 143, 165.
—— cruiser, Crisorok, 168.
—— régime, 127.

S.

SACRILEGE, 200.
Sadness, 232, 297.
Saint Andrew's Cross, 227.
Sake, 17, 23, 24, 31.
Sakhalin or Krafto, 88, 92, 93, 122, 142, 161, 165, 297.
Sakhalin Ainu, 179.
Salaams, 7, 23.
Salutation, Ainu, 6, 128, 256.
Salmon, 130, 131, 133, 134, 173.
Salmon, dried, 211.
Salmon-fishing, 63, 64, 182.
Salmon-trout, 130.
Sandals, 248.
Sappro, 20, 91, 186, 187–191.
Sardine fishing, 19, 20, 41, 47, 48.
Saru-buto, 20.
Saru district, climate of, 84.
Sarubuts, 163.
Saruffo-Ko Lagoon, 111, 114.
Saruma Lagoon, 81, 139, 142, 162.
Saru-Mombets, 20, 21, 34, 35.
Saru River, 22, 58, 207, 286.
—— Ainu, 260.
Saruru, 44, 46, 47, 157.
Satsuma, 92.
Satsumai and Ghifzan, 63.
Satsuma Maru, 1, 206.
Savage dance, 32.
Savage Landor, 158.
Savages, 159.
Sawaki, 161.
Scenery, 41, 46, 100, 111, 114, 129, 135, 162, 176, 192, 193.
Seitzo, 193–195.
Sea-birds, 48, 105, 138, 151, 152.
Se-Cherippe Lagoon, 104.
Seal-fishery, 104.
Seals, 126, 131, 139, 161.
Sea-trout, 170.
Sea-weed, 41, 47, 104, 113, 115.
Sensation, 14.
Sense of hearing, 278–280.
—— of sight, 278, 279.
—— of smell, 276.
—— of taste, 278.
—— of touch, 277.
Sensitiveness, 277.
—— of lips, tongue, hands, fingers, lumbar region, etc., 278.
Sexual love, 296.
Shakotan, 176.
—— Cape, 191.
—— Peninsula, 192, 193.
Shama-ne, 39–41.
Shame and disgust, 233.
Shamesen, 258.
Shana, 131.
Shanoi, 162.
Shari, 80, 92, 135–137, 240.
Shari-Mombets, 142, 143.
Shaubets, 70, 73, 74.
Shell-heaps, 81, 92, 104.
Shibe-gari-pets, 35, 37.
Shibetcha, 96, 97, 99, 101–104.
Shibets, 134, 135.
Shibumotzunai Lagoon, 142.
Shikarubets Otchirsh, 61–64.
Shikotan, 123–129, 207, 231.
—— Ainu, 87, 88.
—— Island, 88, 89.
Shimokebo, 35–37.
Shimushir, 88–90, 123, 126.
Shina, 60.
Shiofuki, 203.
Shirakami Cape, 205.
Shiranuka, 74, 75.
Shiraoi, 19.
Shiretoko Cape, 122, 135.
—— Peninsula, 135, 138.
Shiribeshi Province, 4.
Shiribets, 193.
Shirikishinai, 201.
Shirin Lake, 96.
Shiriuchi, 205.
Shoals and reefs, 104.
Shooting rapids, 183–185.
Shorui-washi, 64.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Shoulders, 301, 304.
Shoya, 44–47.
Shrine, 199, 200.
Siberian coast, 153.
Siliusi lighthouse, 163.
Skin, 276.
—— colour of, 230.
—— eruptions, 6, 296.
Skull trophy, 214.
Sleep, 275.
Sleeping, 244.
Slyness, 234, 235.
Smoke, 211.
—— black, 252.
Snow, 84, 85, 115, 197.
—— and glaciers, 165.
—— sandals, 60.
Singing, 256.
Sitting, 243.
Soldiers, 102, 103.
Songs, 255, 256.
Sorachi river, 183, 185.
Soshi, 75.
Soul, 284.
Soya Cape, 42, 80, 81, 92, 163, 165, 167.
Spain, 287.
Spears, 224.
Speculation, 90, 91.
Spezia, Gulf of, 41.
Spiders, 45.
Spoons, 215.
Spruces, 104.
Stackhouse, 215.
Statistics, 212.
Stealing, 53, 57, 181, 272.
Steeplechase, 66.
Stone (peculiar), 168.
—— images, 204.
Storehouses, 23, 26, 137, 138, 161, 173, 180, 213, 247.
Storeys, 208.
Storm, 135, 136, 197.
Strength, 238.
Struggle, 40.
Submerged crater, 125.
Submission, 16, 273.
Suicides, 291.
Sulkiness, 234.
Sulphur, 97, 104, 122, 130, 131, 138, 190, 200.
Sulphur beds, 97, 98.
—— mine, 97.
Supernaturalism, 284.
Superstition, 17, 289.
Swamps, 65.
Swearing, 289.
Swift rivers, 41.
Sword-hilts (Japanese), 250.
Sydney Smith's position, 111.
Symbols, 219.
Sympathy, 52, 191.

T.

TAIKKI (fleas), 56.
Tailor's sign-post, 191.
Takae village, 35.
Takigawa, 185.
Takkobe Lake, 96.
Tapkara (a savage dance), 32.
Tarbouches, 164.
Tartary, Gulf of, 153.
Tarsus, 300.
Tarumai Volcano, 201.
Tattoos, 6, 137, 142, 179, 227, 232, 251–253, 293.
—— (colour of), 254.
—— (legend on), 251, 252.
Tattooing (process of), 252.
Tattooed women, 99.
Tcharo-bets, 75.
Tcha-tcha-nobori Volcano, 131.
Tchiota, 56.
Tears, 233.
Teeth of half-castes, 269.
Temper, 65, 233, 294.
Tendo Achillis, 241.
Tent, 3.
Terra del Fuegians, 228.
Terror, 154.
Teshio coast, 176.
—— River, 168–170, 174.
Tetcha or Tetchkanga, 100, 101.
Teuri, 171.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Thatching, 208.
Theft, 291.
Thiaske Tarra, 238.
Thousand Islands, or Chishima, 123.
Thread-winding, 240.
Tibia, 88, 300, 304.
Tide-rips, 131.
Tobuts, 80, 139, 141, 253
Tobuts Lake, 48, 137.
Todohotke, 200.
Toi, 201.
Tokachi, 84.
—— Ainu, 99, 248–250, 253.
—— district, 274.
—— region, 114.
—— River, 50, 58. 59. 61–66, 73, 169, 207, 214, 271.
Tokio, 115.
Tokri-moi, 11.
Tokumatz Kuroda, 192.
Tomamai, 173, 174.
Tomakomai, 19, 20, 269.
Tombets River, 163.
Tombs, 181.
Tonden, or military settlement 102, 103, 114, 183, 188.
Tones, 222.
Toreador, in Carmen, 263.
Torii (emblems), 204.
Tori Lake, 96.
Totemism, 281, 282.
To'tori, 75.
Toshibets River, 65.
Tova Lake, 10, 11, 200.
Toyohira River, 183.
Toyoshira Valley, 187.
Trackers (Ainu), 109.
Tracking, 159–161.
Tradition, 218.
Transmission of diseases, 266.
—— of images to the brain, 279.
Travellers (foreign), 263.
Tree-dwellers of India, 228.
Trees, 129, 130, 135, 137, 161, 162, 166, 198.
Triangles, 221.
Tribes, 88, 267.
Trovatore, 257.
Tukoro, 139.
Tunnel, 39, 41, 174.
Tunnui-puto, 65.
Turkish ship (wreck of), 163.
Tsiriju Mount, 130.
Tsugaru Strait, 93, 193.
Types, 229.
Typhoon, 164, 174.

U.

UBAHU, 37, 39.
Uhui Cape, 174.
Ukorra, 10.
Ulmus Campestris, 26, 245, 246.
—— Campestris bark, 210.
—— Campestris fibre, 267.
Ulna, 299, 303.
Uparpenai, 61.
Urahoro River, 73.
Urakawa, 39, 40.
Urapets River, 39.
Uriugawa River, 183.
Urup, 88, 123, 126, 131.
Usa, 209.
Ushoro, 193.
Uso, 5.
Uso Volcano, 11, 200.
Utarop Rocks, 43.
Usushiri, 198.

V.

VEGETATION, 131.
Villages, Ainu, 5, 22.
Vines, 60.
Virginity, 250.
Virility, 253.
Volcanic nature, 5.
—— formation, 37, 122, 129, 162, 167, 168, 192, 205.
—— mass, 4.
—— zone, 130.
Volcano, 130.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Volcano Bay, 5, 58, 193, 195, 197, 286.
—— ——, Ainu, 6, 248, 274.
Volcanoes, 131.

W.

WADAMANAI, 168, 169.
Wakkanai, 167, 168.
War-clubs, 10, 223.
Washibets, 14.
Washing, 28.
Watanabe Masaru, 58, 64, 65.
Waterfalls, 11, 41, 74, 194.
Water-soup, 4.
Weaving, 210.
Wembets, 135.
Wembets River, 171.
Westerns, 255.
Whales' bones, 145, 161, 169.
Wife, 294 295.
—— (great wife), 34.
—— (second), 294.
Winter, 161.
—— garments, 60, 145.
Witches, 287, 288.
Wolves, 101.
Women, 136, 137, 142, 232, 236, 249, 252, 253, 294.
Women standing, 242.
—— and children at a festival, 31,
—— (burial of), 225.
—— feeding bears, 59.
—— suckling bear cubs, 214.
Women's graves, 226.
Wood-carving, 219.
Wooden blade, carved, 226.
—— bowls, 8.
—— panels, 2.
Wrecks, 42, 43, 162, 163, 165, 168–170, 179.
Written language, 259.
Worship, 281, 283, 284.

Y

YAGOSHI CAPE, 205.
Yamakubiro, 56, 63, 271.
Yamakushinai, 197.
Yammakka, 56, 57, 61, 65, 66.
Yangeshiri, 171.
Yassuchi, 142.
—— Lagoon, 142.
Yezo, 297.
Yoichi, 192, 193.
Yoshioka village, 205.
Yoshitsune or Okikurumi, 260, 261, 283, 284. (Also see Hero, Japanese.)
Yubaridake, 122.
Yubets, 142.
—— River, 141.
Yuhuts, 20.
Yurap, 197.
Yurapdake Mount, 4.
Yuto Lake, 48.
Yuzan Volcano, 97, 98, 101, 104.

Z.

ZENZAI lakes, 3.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WM. CLOWES AND SONS, LTD., STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

Sitternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

000

BOAS ANNIVERSARY VOLUME

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

WRITTEN IN HONOR OF

FRANZ BOAS

PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PRESENTED TO HIM ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF HIS DOCTORATE

NINTH OF AUGUST
Nineteen Hundred and Six

[Title Page]

NEW YORK
G. E. STECHERT & CO.
1906

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

St. Petersburg.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, [171] their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for [173] example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

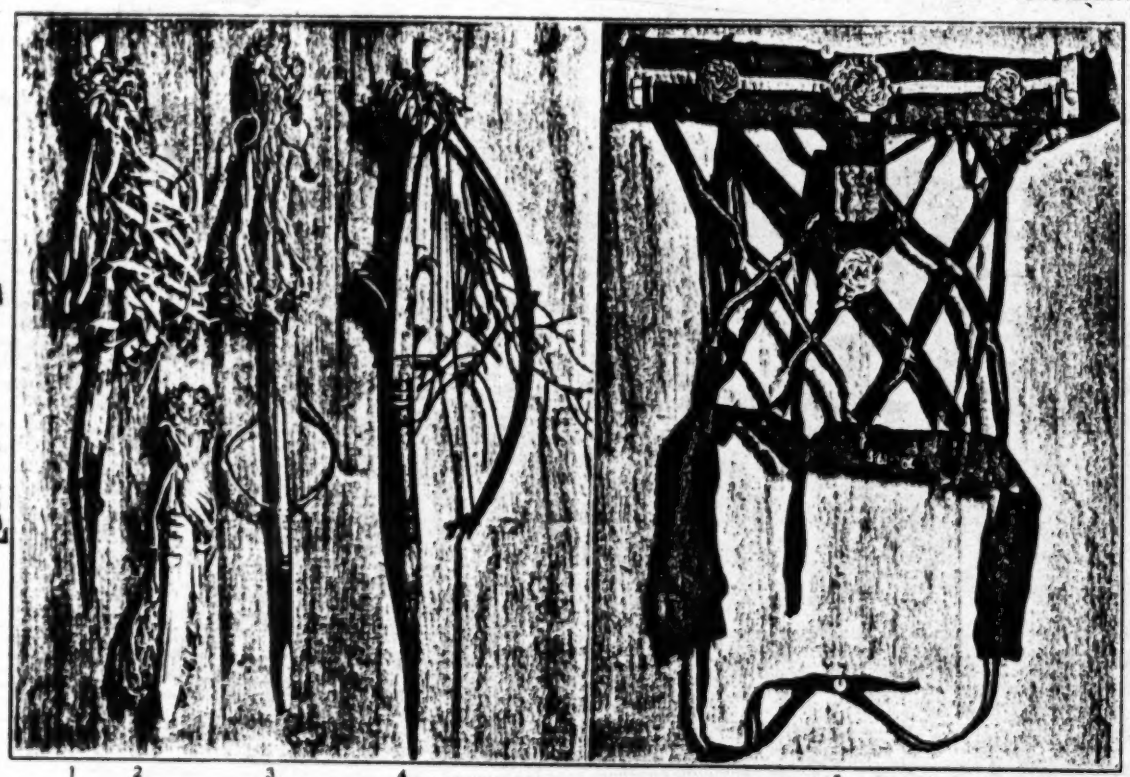
The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

[Facing P. 427]



1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with plaited shavings appliquéed in the shape of magic coils and strings.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

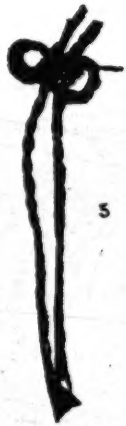
776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798
796
755



1 2 3 4 5 6

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing P. 428]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cut. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
771 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1. [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities. 778 114

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2] [782] [532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*. 778 532 114

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1]
174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu
[192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
[286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 174 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The [115]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
779 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi,* denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [174] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 194 [193]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") 96 and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's 174 tongue." [193]

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents 778 nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost 171 identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[537] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

ETHNOLOGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

July, 1962 Volume I Number 3

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE SARU AINU 287
Kenichi Sugiura and
Harumi Befu

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS 299
Samuel Noah Kramer

THE ASCETIC BUDDHIST MONKS OF CEYLON 315
Nur Yalman

CULTURAL USES OF RELIGIOUS VISIONS: A CASE STUDY 329
Olive M. Stone

JAPANESE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: THE HISTORY OF A NOMENCLATURE 349
Robert J. Smith

ETHNOGRAPHY FOR ARCHEOLOGY: A CASE FROM THE SERI INDIANS 360
Robert Ascher

NAVAHO ANATOMICAL REFERENCE 370
Herbert Landar and
Joseph B. Casagrande

CULTURE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION: A STUDY OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN CHILDREN 374
Mary Ellen Goodman

ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLAS 387
The Editors

[Title Page]

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

114 The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture [182] of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the 698 Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, 117 and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

114 Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little 121 had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which [611] came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

594 Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, [592] in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. [595] In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established
601 a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A
591 widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow
268 lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed,
602 defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushus* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.
Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar*, *shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601 104

8 *yupi:* elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki:* younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo:* elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *matakí:* younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka ir-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ir irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ir-irwak*, and *mat sammani ir-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku:* nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku:* niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo:* grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo:* great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *itomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkrmat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ackspo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
602 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 796 798 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

614 porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure"
[608] (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an
621 entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's
[428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property
[613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear
621 what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu
[622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789
424 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Note-
[715] worthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*huchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *huchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Davenport, W. 1959. Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 61: 557-572.

Kubodera, I. 1952. Saru Ainu no sorei saishi (The Worship of the Souls of Ancestors Among the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 230-245.

Montandon, G. 1937. La civilisation Ainou. Paris.

Natori, T. 1940. Kezuribashi soin sokei oyobi shusoki yori mita Saru kawasuji Ainu (The Genealogy of Ainu Along the Saru River. Jinruigaku Zasshi (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon) 55: 203-229.

——— 1945. Funkawan Ainu no hogei (Whaling of the Volcanic Bay Ainu). Sapporo.

Segawa, K. 1952. Saru Ainu fujin no *upshor* ni tsuite (On the *Upshor* of the Ainu Women in the Saru Valley). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 246-254.

Sugiura, K. 1952. Saru Ainu no shinzoku soshiki (Kinship Systems of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 16: 187-212.

Takakura, S. 1944. Shakai keitai (Social Structure); Hoteki chitsujo (Law and Order). Toa minzoku yoshi shiryo (Ethnographic Materials of East Asiatic Peoples), Vol. 2: Ainu, ed. Teikoku Gakushiin (Imperial Academy of Science), pp. 54-68. Tokyo.

——— 1960. The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 50: Pt. 4.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU
CREED AND CULT

by

Neil Gordon Munro

Edited with a preface
and an additional chapter by
B. Z. SELIGMAN

Introduction by
H. WATANABE

NEW YORK: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL
1963

[p. iii]
[pp. i–ii contain no textual material]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Aimu AB6

Printed in Great Britain

100

Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number: 63-7510

My b 370
M 926

[P. IV]

© *Neil Gordon Munro 1962*

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

CONTENTS

PREFACE by B. Z. Seligman *page* xi

INTRODUCTION by H. Watanabe 1

I. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS 7

Ramat, spirit or soul. The *Kamui*, gods or spirits. The *inau*, ritual artefacts which are offered to the *kamui* and themselves retain *ramat*. Classification of the *kamui*.

II. THE KAMUI 16

The trusted *kamui* of the Ainu pantheon. Familiar and subsidiary *kamui*. Theriomorphic *kamui*. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*. *Kamui* of pestilence.

III. THE INAU 28

Their power and function. Description of various types of *inau*. Signs (*itokpa*) cut on *inau* and *ikubashui*, prayer sticks or libation wands. The correct positions of *inau* outside east window of the house.

IV. EFFIGIES 44

Types of *inau* which may be regarded as effigies of *kamui* and are highly revered. The *shutu-inau kamui*.

V. HEARTH AND HOME 55

The house as place of worship. The roof. The hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi; nothing allowed to contaminate its purity. Positions allocated to persons and things. Treasured objects used in ritual. The storehouse and the privy.

VI. HOUSE-BUILDING RITES 66

Purification (*epiru*) of site for a new house. Brewing the sacred beer necessary for the House-Warming Ceremony. Making the new fire. Ritual salutations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

CONTENTS

VII. THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY (*CHISEI NOMI*) 74

Shooting arrows into the roof to drive away evil spirits. Invitations to the *pase kamui* and to guests. Ceremonial behaviour of the householder and of the guests. Salutations. Libations and prayers to the *kamui* in the house and outside the sacred window. Importance of the sacred beer. Etiquette of drinking.

VIII. THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS (*SHINURAPA*) 87

Preparation for the feast. Procession of householder and women to the chaff-thrown *nusa* outside the sacred window. Salutation to the spirits of the doorway. The women's part in the invocation to ancestral spirits. Festivities. Ceremonial seating. Dances by elders. Dances by women.

IX. EXORCISM (*UEPOTARA*) 99

Public manifestation of sympathy, *niwen-horipa*. Ceremonies to drive away evil spirits causing illness or other misfortune. Description of rites performed to overcome Pauchi Kamui. Preliminary offerings given to various *kamui* to invoke their aid. Elaborate preparations made by river bank for purification of the patient: by fire, by water, by beating with switches and by rubbing with water-worn stones. Return to patient's house, further purification, with offerings to the *kamui* of the privy and of the courtyard. Diseases caused by spirits of the dead and by snake spirits. Treatment by water purification. Treatment of hysterical cases. Possession by snake spirit (*imu*); women who may become mediums (*tusu*). Treatment of consumption. Possession by hornet spirit. Magic to protect women in childbirth.

X. VARIOUS RITES 112

Protection for hunters. Ritual for death of a hunted bear. Sorcerers. Protection against danger when catching swordfish. Prayer and magic whilst at sea. Boat-building ritual. The bull-roarer. Tattooing. Drugs and medicine.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

CONTENTS

XI. DEATH AND BURIAL 121 100

The underworld; its division for good and evil persons. Departure of *ramat* from the body. Funeral food. Salutation of corpse, weeping and farewells. Preparation of the body. Chief mourners in order of kinship. Condolence. Behaviour at funeral feast; instances of reversal of customary usage. Preparations for the burial. Grave-goods. Burial rites. Rite for the corpse of a pregnant woman. Ritual of the grave-post. Purification of mourners by water and by brushing with switches.

XII. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, by B. Z. Seligman 141

Existence of secret girdles (*kut*) worn by women and inherited in female line. Their importance in regulation of marriage, and their magical properties. The matrilineal kin group limited to four generations. Marriage regulations. Patrilineal descent of males. *Itokpa*. Inheritance. Village chieftainship. Territorial patrilineages and ancestor cult. Summary.

APPENDIX I: Invocations to the *Kamui* for Help in Cases of Severe Illness 159

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony 169

BIBLIOGRAPHY 172

GLOSSARY 175

INDEX 177

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

ILLUSTRATIONS

000

PLATES

between pages 30 *and* 31

I. The author with an elder
II. Inau
III. Inau
IV. Curled Shavings
V. Itokpa
VI. Prayer Sticks or Libation Wands (*iku-bashui*)
VII. Effigies
VIII. Dangerous *kamui*
IX. *Itokpa* on stems of *Inau*
X. *Inau*, and model of roof structure
XI. Domestic objects
XII. Household treasures
XIII. Inau arranged for Bear Ceremony
XIV. Inside the house
XV. Ritual salutation
XVI. Ceremonies in the house

between pages 78 *and* 79

XVII—XXII. Exorcism rites
XXIII. Exorcism rites: treatment for Phthisis
XXIV. Funerary objects

[P. viii is blank]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

000

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES (*continued*)

XXV. Women doing *umusa* (mutual condolence)
XXVI. Women dancing
XXVII. Ainu women
XXVIII. Secret girdles (*upshoro kut*)
XXIX. Tattooing on hands and arms of a female medium (*tusu*)
XXX. House, store house and ceremonial tripod
XXXI. Some of the author's informants
XXXII. More informants

FIGURES

1. Arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations *page* 41
2. Plan of Ainu house 59
3. *Chisei Nomi* 77
4. *Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* 83
5. Festivity after the *Shinurapa* 95
6. Tree-cutting rite 116
7. Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead 127
8. Fishing and Hunting Rights 156

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 114

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.
825
776 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course. 114

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference. 114 128

Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I. 114

My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation 128

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

128 of Ainu and Japanese words; and especially to Lord Raglan, who, in a revision and rearrangement of this work, did much to render it more concise. He has also prepared the index.

I must thank Mr W. H. Gilbert of the Library of Congress, Washington, for an up-to-date bibliography on the Ainu. Miss Kirkpatrick, Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has kindly helped me check this list, and we have decided only to include those works directly bearing on the subject matter of this book. Unfortunately, we have been unable to include works in Japanese and Russian which have neither titles nor summaries in English.

B. Z. S.

London, 1962

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head-
177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. 648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1] 241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu 241 177 182 [171]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
192 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

[192] [1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

II

THE KAMUI

776
774
824

IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114]

[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
[372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
[794] association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [774] [787]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [778] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] ange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1933
AB6 Ainu AB6

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

T76
825

spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided
[796] them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other
[182] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave
[787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 825 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] [774] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 789 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable
825 horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have
[186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr
776 Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it
824 gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *imu*, Chapter IX, p. 168.

THE KAMUI

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is 539
for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine 776
that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do 824
no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuka-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Opke-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*kiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
177
302
142

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
[789]

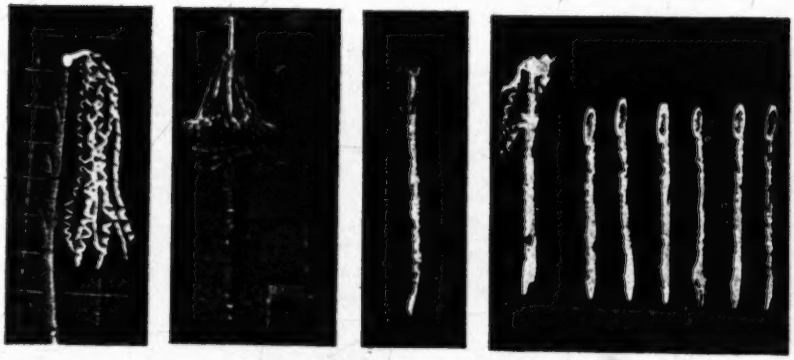


Fig. 1. *Shuta inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikara inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *nen inau* with their leader.

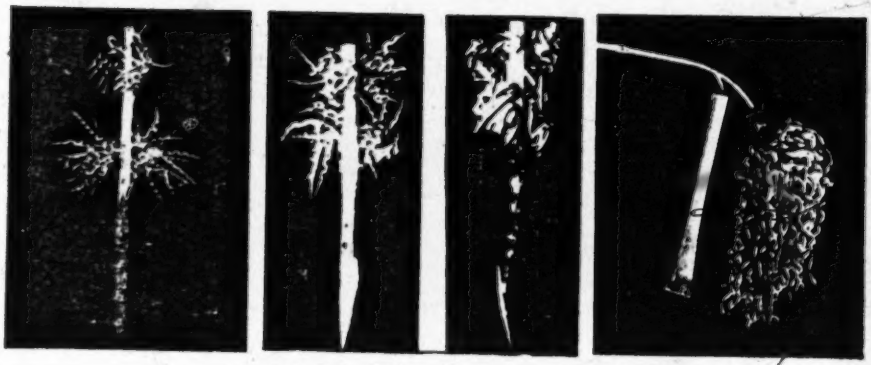


Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

[p. 30-(B)]

778
782

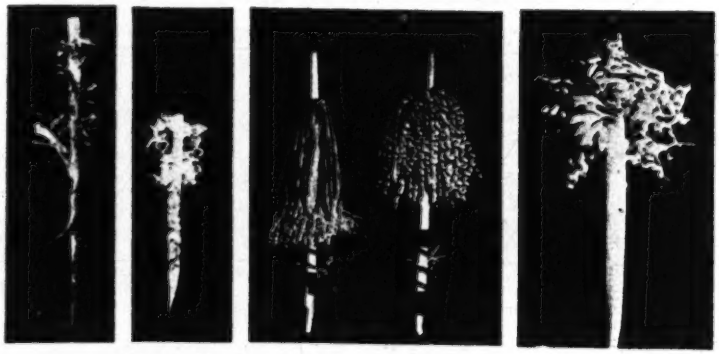


Fig. 1. *Shian shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shutu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.

[844]

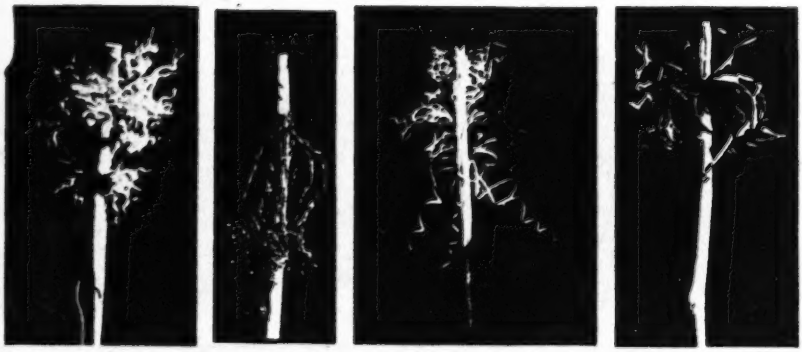


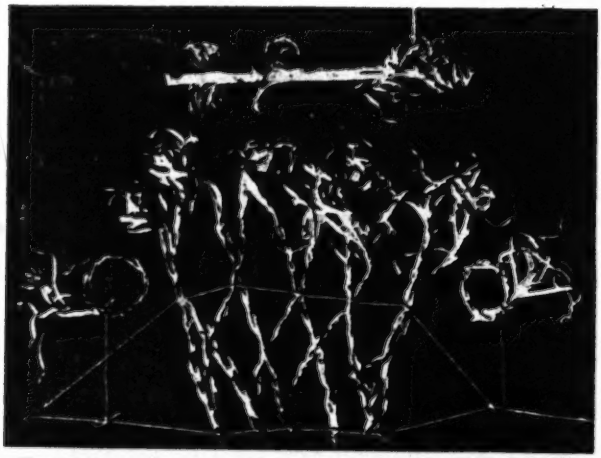
Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth. seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau.*
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau.*

PLATE III. *INAU.*

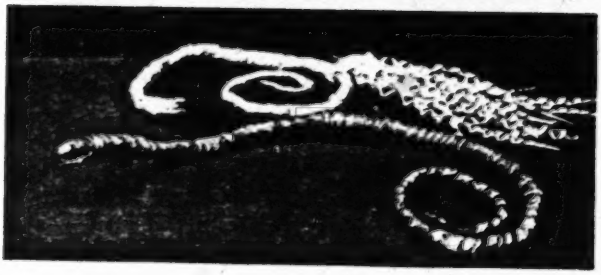
[p. 30, (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



778
789
825

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

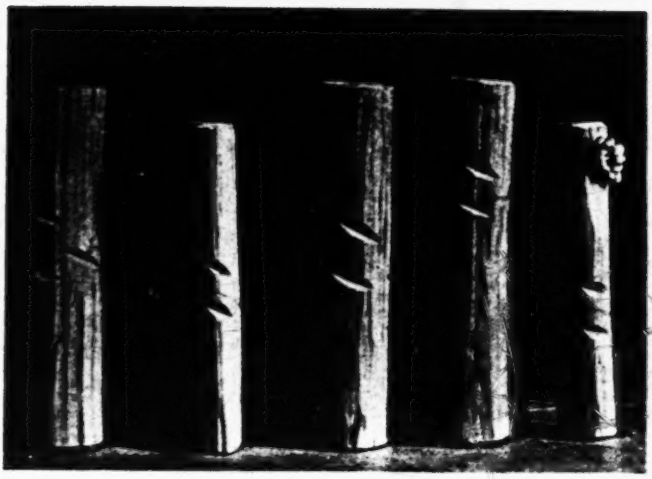
PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
776
532

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamui. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
778
531
413

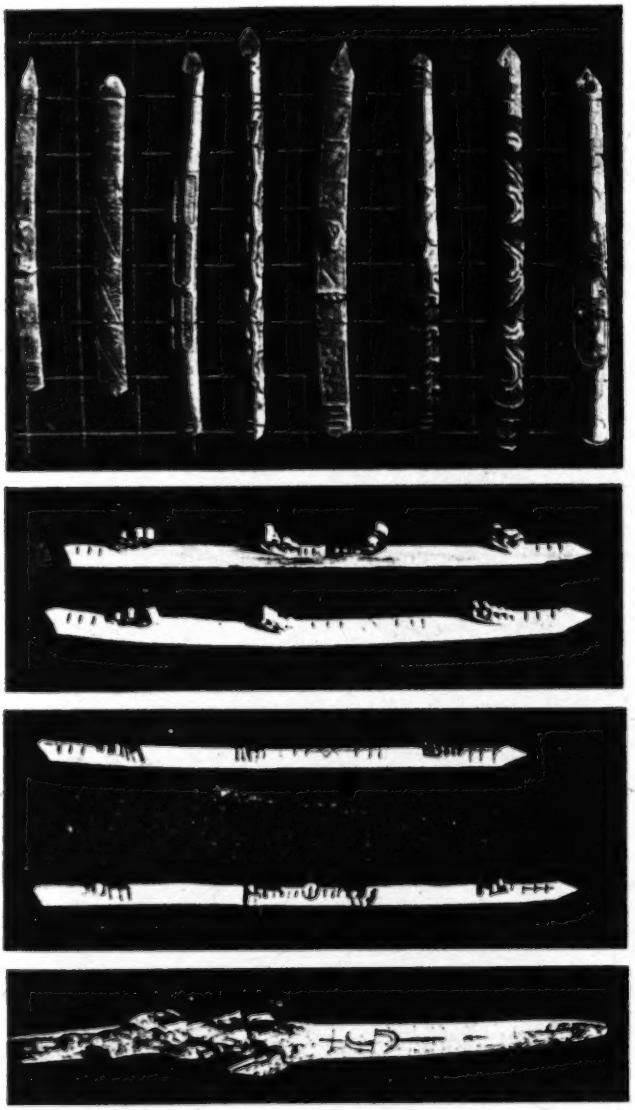
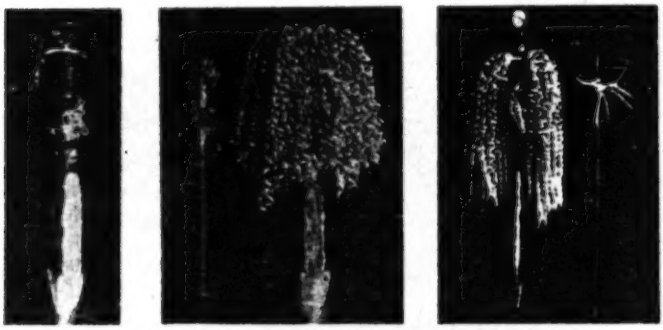


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-uń Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

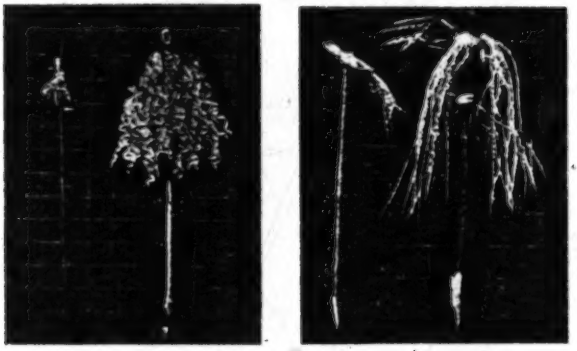
[p. 30,(F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



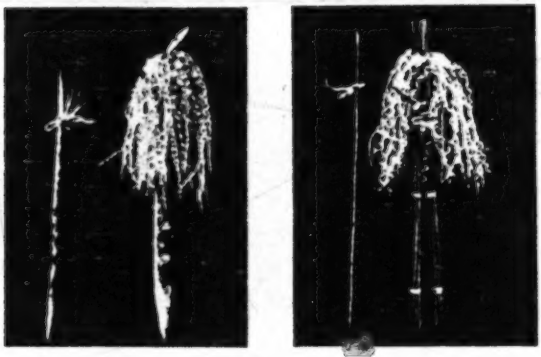
1. 2. 3.

776
778
532



4. 5.

[825]
[796]
[844]



6. 7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
796
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

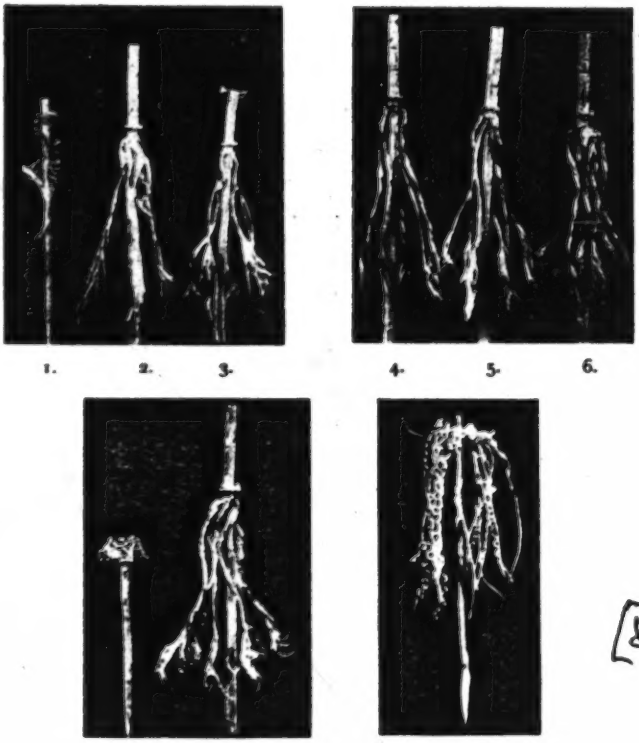
Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
776



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782

Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

342

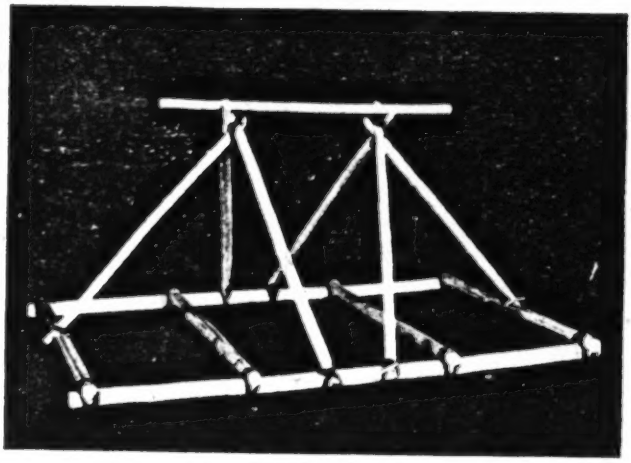


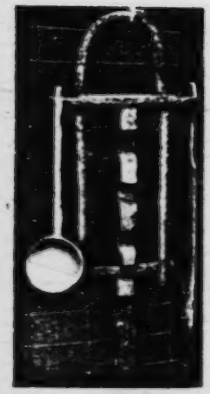
Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *INAU* AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30 (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

47
352
415
301

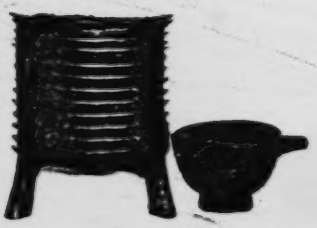


1.

2.

3.

415
[782]
[413]



4.

5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shinkko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

523
415
353

PLATE XII. Household treasures.

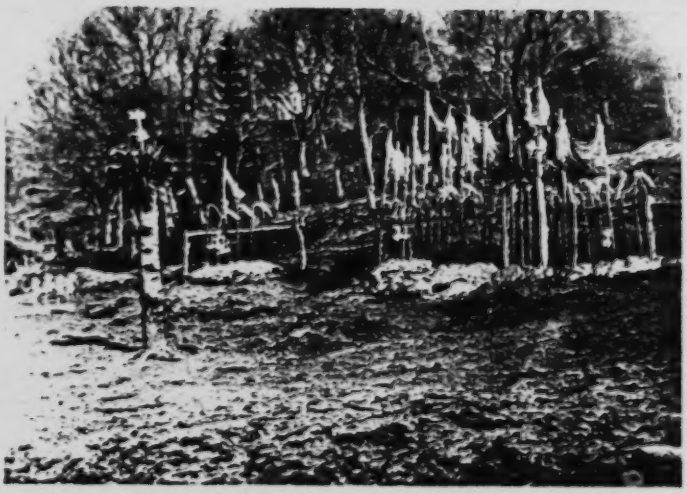
[p. 30 (4)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
796

1.

2.



3.

Fig. 1. Chupusu *inau* fixed to the top of the post (*tusak ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *musa* of many *inau* set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and *inau* fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. *INAU* ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
302
291

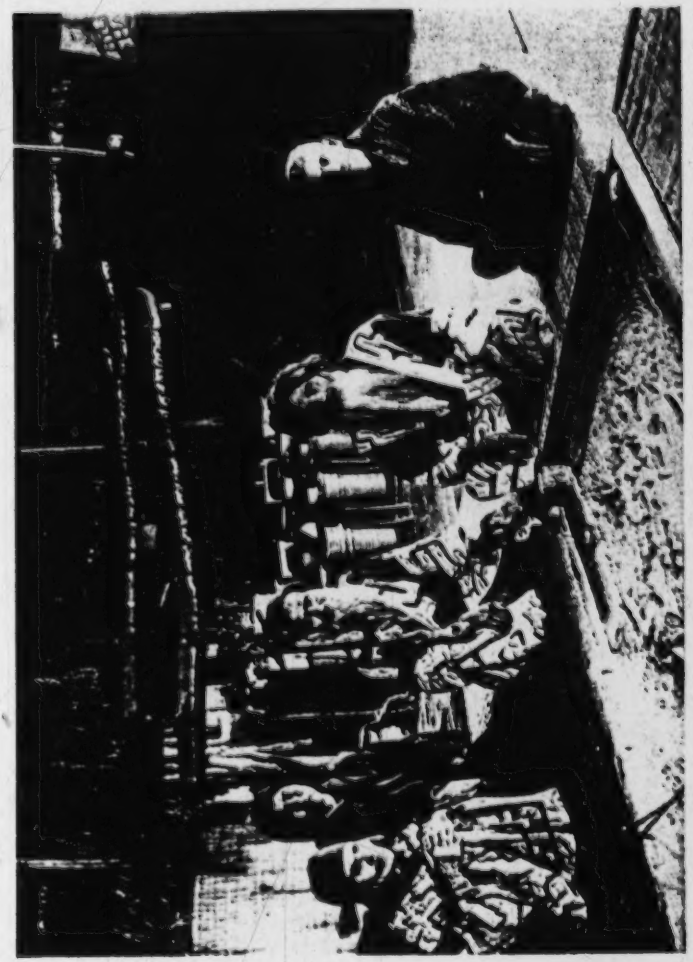


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

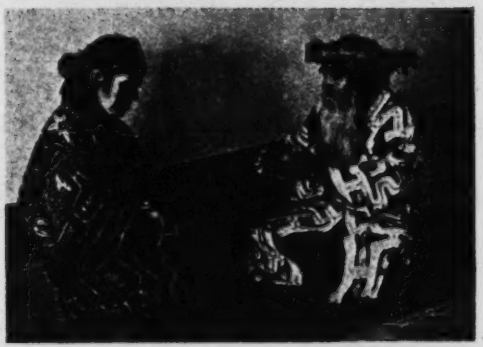
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

3.



4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (0)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

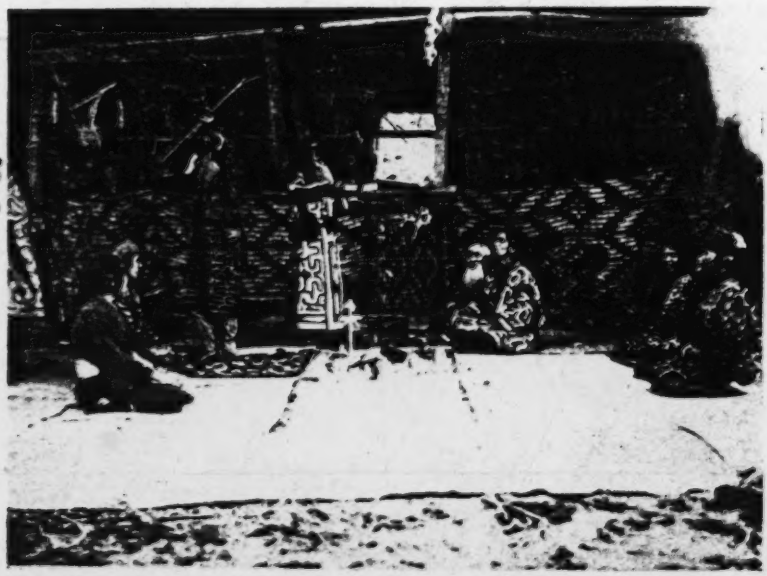


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Nomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names. 184 182

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river. 778 776 184 354 [562] [858]

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut 778 782 184 [114] [755] [243]

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*, and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury. Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ihe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
532
212

ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ushbashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of trans-
[201] mitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

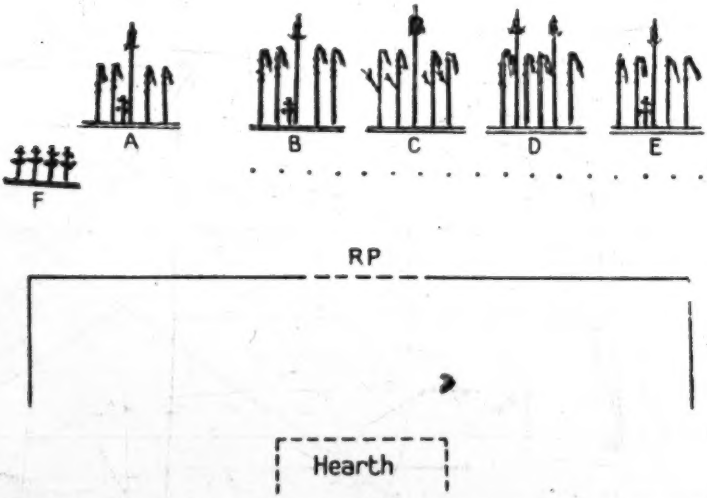
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

778
782
[184]
[114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui.
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive
[771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] [182] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisci-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
778 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
776 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-
184

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
776
778
[184]
[576]
[782]

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

778
776
[774]

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

778
776
796
782

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

776 EFFIGIES

778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight,
[757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not
[789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-kero Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

EFFIGIES

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of
[755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[796] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 823 [769] anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over
[231] which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *hetun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro hetunchi chisei* (large *hetunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789 776 231 782 778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

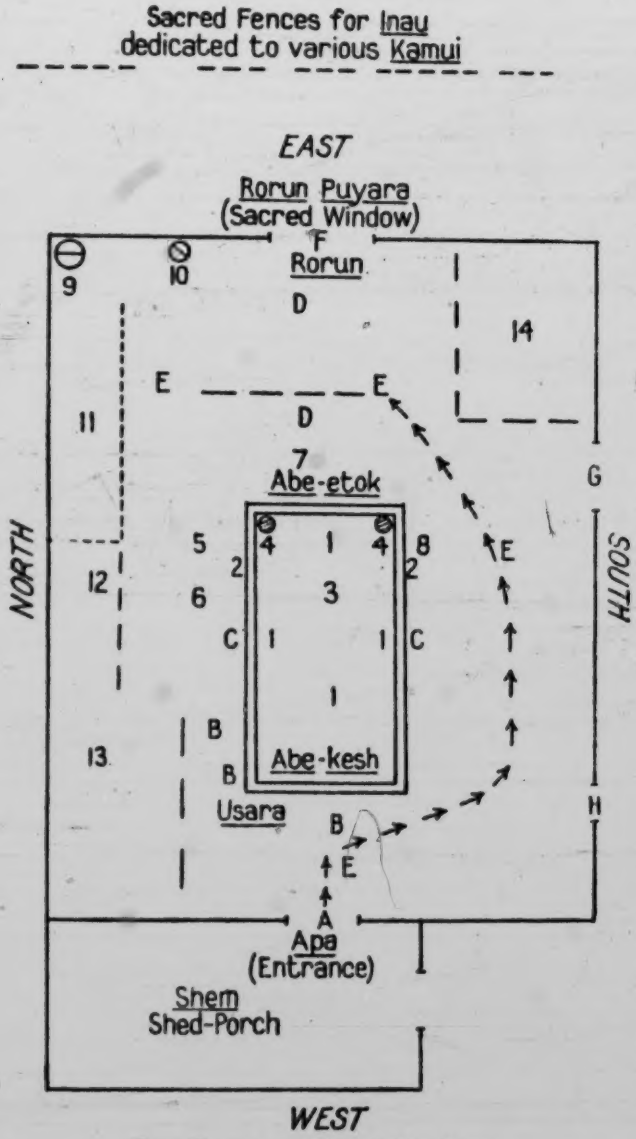
Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

342
778
353
354

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained
[439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-hem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*hembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau.[1] After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat.

776
778

[1] Munro states that the *chisei-koro inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with Chisei-koro Kamui (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88). —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

342 HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a [778] backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-kōrn Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
[171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands. 576

the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukekashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata and Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water calthrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely. 262

Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petasites Japonicus* (*Koroko-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Ukuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342
527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
342 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

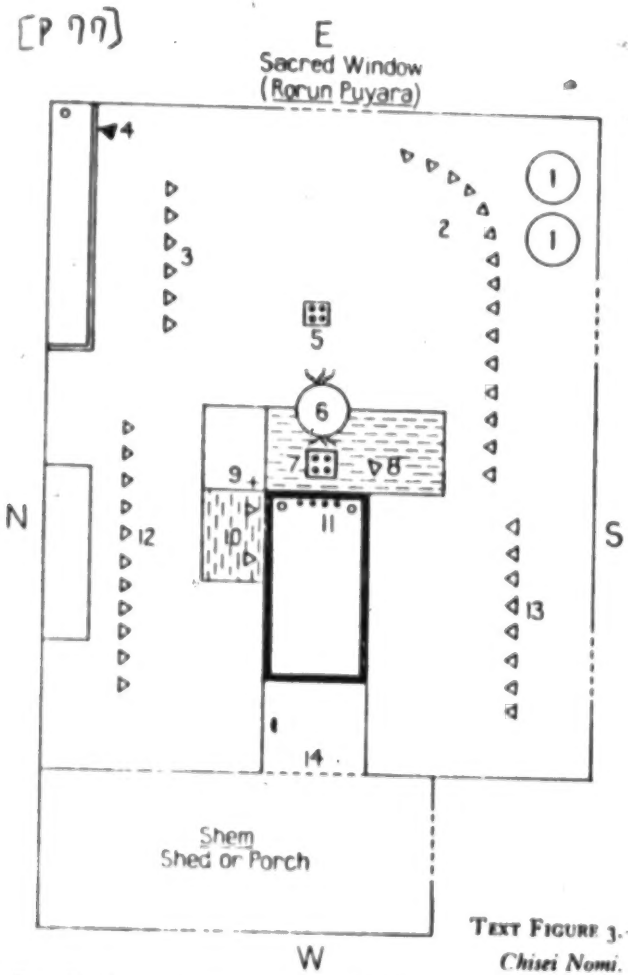
342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P 77]

342
527
353
554



TEXT FIGURE 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *shubashui* each.
6. *Sin shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *omgami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

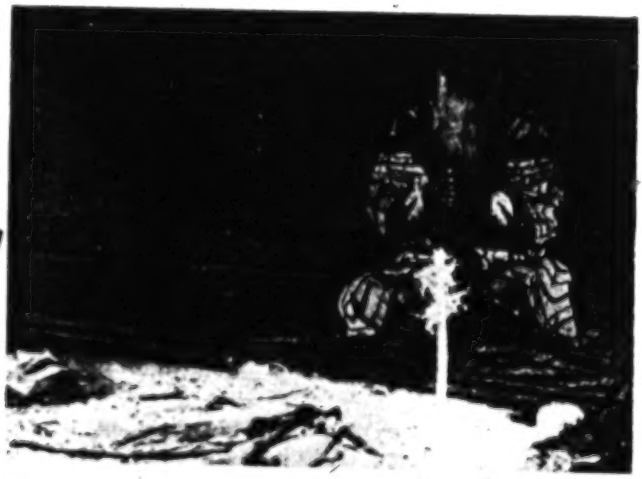
With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

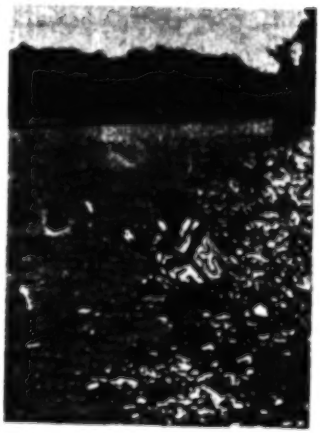


Fig. 1. The *okashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *okashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *okashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
[531]

Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (c)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4,5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 F
291
778

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (01)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
ABS Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

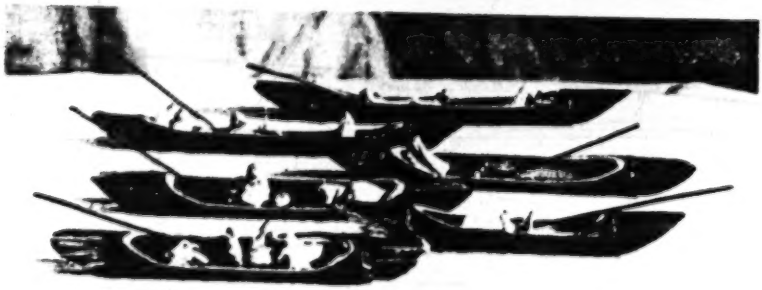
Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

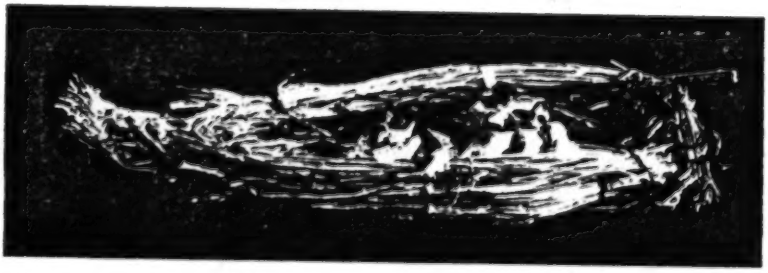


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

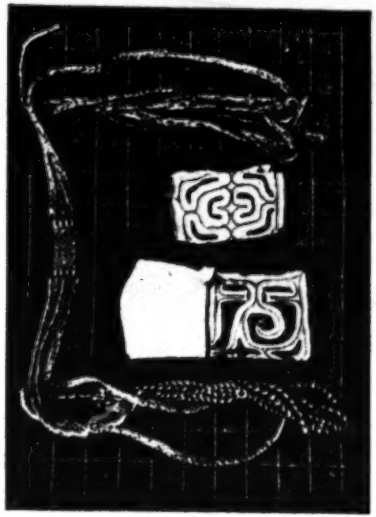
[p. 78 (G)]

764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

1.

2.



3.

4.

[p. 78, (H)]

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSI* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
535
291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
304
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p. 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
789

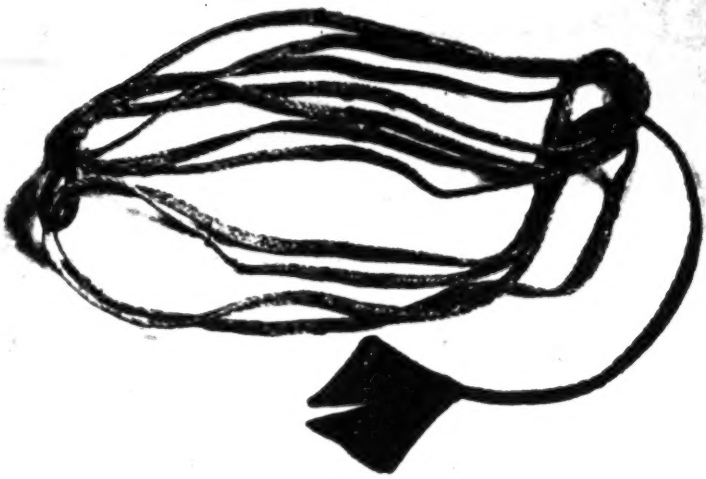


Fig. 1. *U'pshoro Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

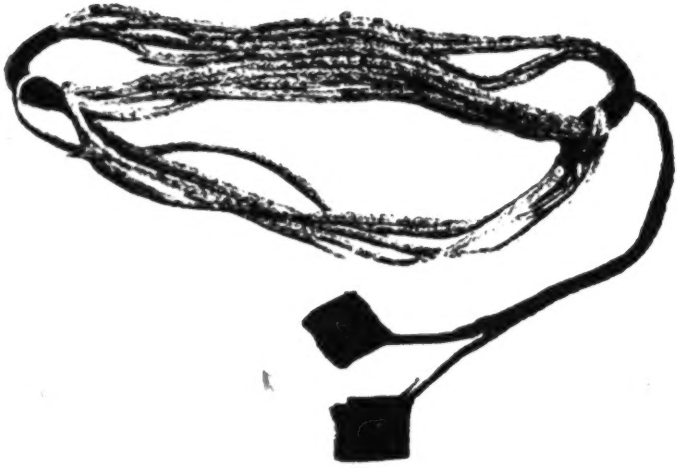


Fig. 2. *U'pshoro Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

791
304

PLATE XXIX. TATTOOING ON HANDS AND ARMS OF A FEMALE MEDIUM (*TUSU*).

[p. 78, (M)]

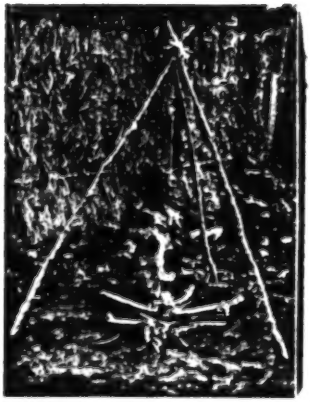
342

1.

343 ←

342
796
354
→

2.



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
115

1.

2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Mōshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
527
secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity 782
of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true [292]
Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, [789]
and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*). [582]

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in
its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four back- 342
ward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No
drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near 527
the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the 782
sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the 177
embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up.
There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It
seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is
made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually 342
omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window 527
merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, 782
and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* 273
fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on
the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are [769]
apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a sub- [796]
stitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by
Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been [115]
confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and
there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter 342
its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the
formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebra- 527
tions, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be 782
arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, 554
mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each
sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence— [516]
guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being
nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the
hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The [177]
Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 554 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

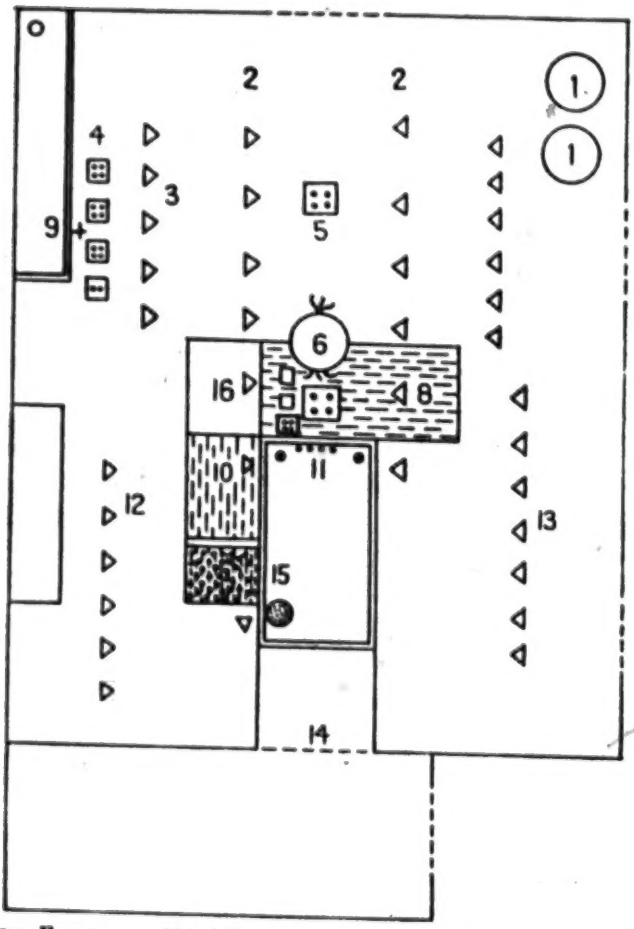
342 527 778 782 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 782 184 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

[P. 83]

342
527
782
554
353



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

3. Arrangement of *U-eshophi*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-kuro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
778 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
782 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
574 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu ABC

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any

[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman w th an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

769 574 782 887

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

[576] [554] 574 769 273 [782]

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

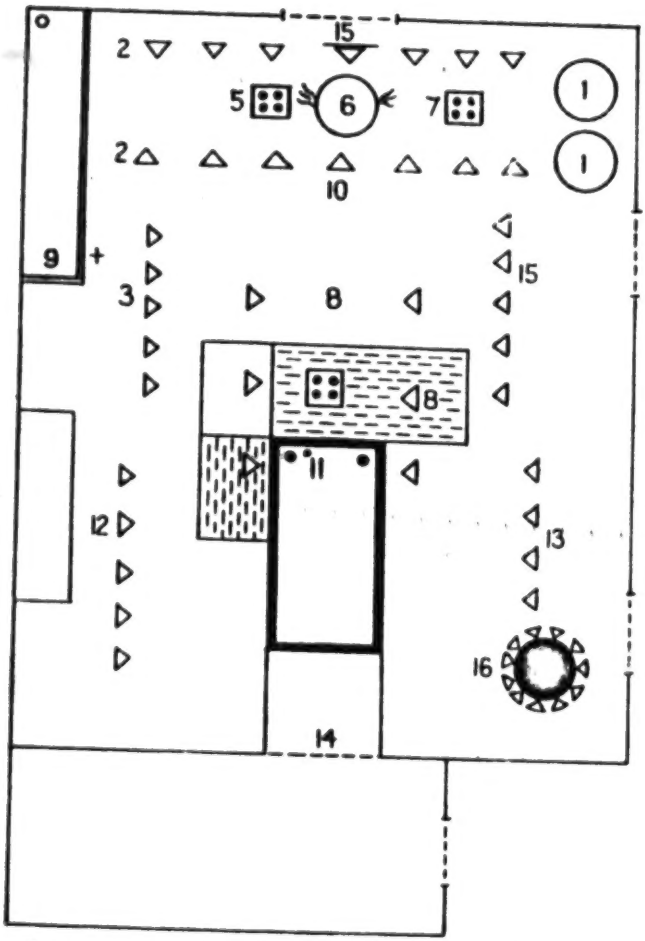
It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P.95]



574
769
953
778
342

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshophi* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshophi* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshophi* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshophi*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

535
273 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

574 drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container
769 and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or
[533] canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning
796 but the crowd has thinned out before then.

769 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial
574 observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*).
273 The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the con-
887 troller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by
[782] the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa kamui ran wa niteh ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

538
769
[177]

small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitus kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

796 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 789 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 731 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* 535 are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *kuttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
[791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

EXORCISM

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

EXORCISM

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

EXORCISM

755 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As per-
782 formed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but
824 other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree
[778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass
783 and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women
[778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a
[824] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken
783 near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them
778 down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised. 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 776 825 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in [778] other exorcisms.

755 782 825 The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 825 776 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 776 782 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as 755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

EXORCISM

755
844

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

[354]
[782]
[825]
[237]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kathimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

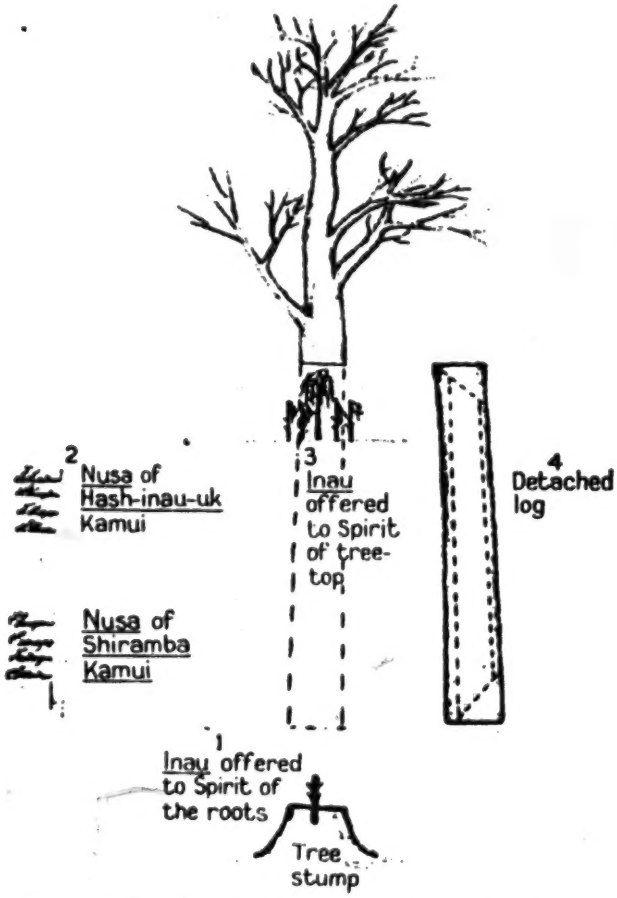
While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

VARIOUS RITES

396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



Text Figure 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304 789

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [519]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

278 and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase
[776] Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of
[782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death.

775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying.

763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S.

[842]

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives
[203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 764 291 [439]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

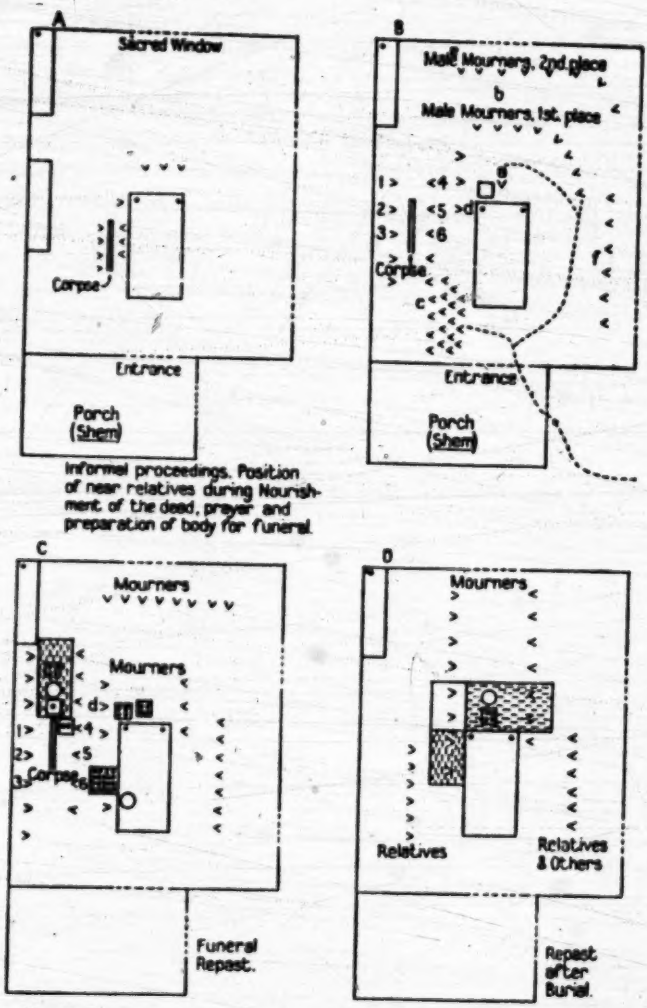
[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *et-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

[P. 127]

342
764
602



TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

764 602

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[595] [1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different
[774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*,
[776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and,
[178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to
[184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn
[844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives. 764 [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales. [765]

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman. [823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[789] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764
778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like [532]
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui [776]
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom [774]
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.
[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid. [515] [783]

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind. [576] [782]

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side. 764 178 291 [593] 765 178 291 [302] [292]

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui.*

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave. 764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north. [778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that 765 184 [291] [302]

765
184
302
[912]

DEATH AND BURIAL

formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries. 128 127

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of 292 789 [582] [123]

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience. [688]

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro:
[804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 789 776 [123] are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her [825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile [841] demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a [791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near [688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

126 123 292 789 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 789 [582] [887] When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 614 174 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volun-
[587] teered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become
[611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

[103] Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

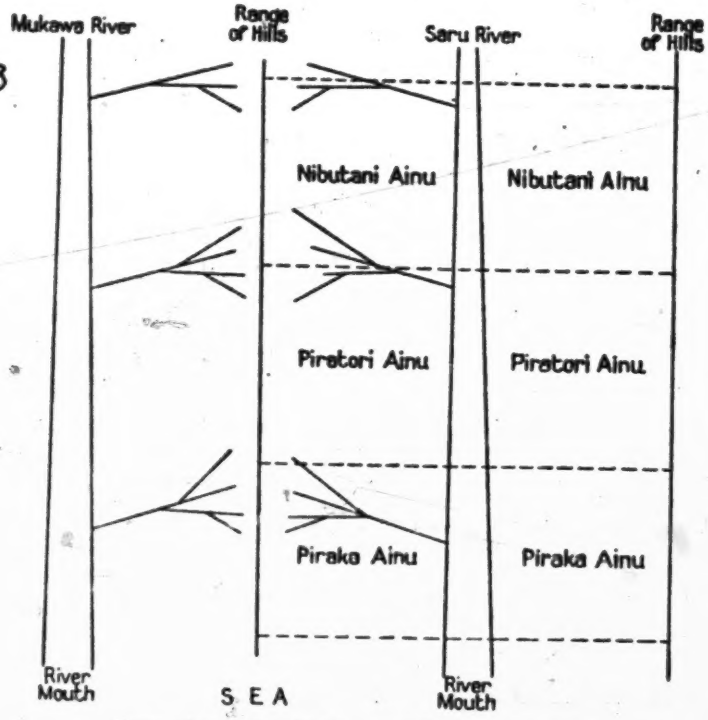
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the
[778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau*
[301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:
769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population. 776 769 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid. 776 769 611

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage. 769 776 [782] [778]

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors. 614 611 769 [423]

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as 611

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and aconite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

611 that implies the recognition of matriliny and patriliny by both sexes for different functions. Nor is it what I have called an asymmetrical system,[1] i.e. single unilineal descent accepted by one sex and bilateral descent accepted by the opposite sex. The Ainu system has double unilineal elements, in that both matriliny and patriliny are recognized, but it is unusual in that each sex acknowledges only the line of its own sex. It is asymmetrical in that exogamy is ruled by matriliny, men acquiescing because of their mothers' matrilineal kin group, of which, however, they profess to be ignorant. Such a system is obviously incompatible with clan organization, as no clan could function if composed of a single sex. [614] However, it is not incompatible among the Ainu, where patrilineal territorial grouping, descent and ancestral worship are unlimited for men, while matrilineal descent and ancestral worship for women is limited to the descendants of the great-great-grandmother.

[1] 'Asymmetry in Descent', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIX, January 1922.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S.

114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu.

539
776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

An account by Munro of the dancing mania:

158
786

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782
845
776
755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782
845
539
755
776

1. *Innono itak* (*invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk'*) *to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782
845
589
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

796 825 782 [574] [824] [983] [533]

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

BABA, M. O. '*Iku-nishi* of the Saghalien Ainu'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXIX, Parts I and II, London, pp. 27–35, 1949.

BATCHELOR, J. *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*. The Religious Tract Society, London, 1901.

— *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*. Tokyo, 1905.

— 'Ainus', Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52, Edinburgh, 1908.

ELDRIDGE, S. 'On the arrow poison in use among the Ainos of Yezo'. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 4, pp. 78–88, 1875/6.

HARRISON, J. A. Trans. *The Ainu of Northern Japan; a study in conquest and acculturation*, by S. Takakura. Transactions of American Philosophical Society, new series Vol. 50, Part 4; Philadelphia, 1960. [See also Takakura.]

HOWELL, R. W. 'The Kamui Oina: a sacred charter of the Ainus'. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 65, pp. 379–417, 1952.

KITAGAWA, J. M. Ainu Bear Festival [*Iyomante*]. *History of Religion*, Chicago, 1961, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 95–151. [Illus.]

MACRITCHIE, D. 'The Ainos'. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Supplement to Vol. 4, pp. xiv, 69, Leiden, 1892.

MARAINI, F. '*Gli iku-bashui degli Ainu*'. Publications of the Italian Cultural Institute in Tokyo, Vol. I, 1942 [English summary].

MONTANDON, G. *La Civilisation Ainou*. Payot, Paris, 1937.

MUNRO, N. G. 'Primitive Culture in Japan'. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 34, Part 2, pp. 1–198, 1906.

— *Prehistoric Japan*, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.

— *Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals*. Yokohama, 1909.

— *Some Origins and Survivals*. Yokohama, 1911.

OKA, MASAO. 'Verwandtschaftssystem der Ainu' [Kinship System of the Ainu]. Actes du IVe Congrès International des Sciences Anthrop. et Ethnol., Vienne, 1–8 Sept. 1952. Tome II, Ethnologica, Première Partie, pp. 27–35, 1955.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

SANSOM, G. B. *Japan, a Short Cultural History*. The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

SLAWIK, ALEXANDER. 'Die Eigentumsmarken der Ainu' [Ownership Marks of the Ainu]. Actes du IVe Congrès International des Sciences Anthr. et Ethnol., Vienne, 1-8 Sept. 1952. Tome II, Ethnologica, Première Partie, pp. 211-16, 1955.

STERNBERG, L. 'The *Inau* Cult of the Ainu'. *Boas anniversary volume: anthropological papers written in honor of Franz Boas*, pp. 425-37, New York, 1906.

JAPANESE PUBLICATIONS

CHIRI, MASHIO. *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, Tokyo, 1953; Vol. III, Tokyo, 1954.

— *Kamui yukaru* [*Yukar*, epic of the Gods]. Sapporo, Aporo Shoten, 1955.

HAYASHI, YOSHISHIGE. 'The custom of land-occupancy of the Ainu, especially on the Kuitakpe' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 84-9. 1953. [Illus.]

— 'The crop management of the Ainus' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 20, No. 3/4, pp. 102-6, 1956.

HOPPO BUNKA. Studies from the Research Institute for Northern Culture. No. 4, Sapporo, 1940/41. [Japanese, with English titles; illus.]:

INUKAI, T. 'The Ceremony of the Ainu at the Trapa Collection'.

— 'The Seal Hunting of Seghalien-Orochon'.

NATORI, T. 'The Origin of Gods and the *Nusa* in the Bear Festival of Sara Anu'.

TAKABEYA, F. 'Studies on Units of Measures used by the Ainu Race'.

INUKAI, TETSUO. 'Fortune-telling by dreams among the Ainu' [English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 17-19, 1957.

JAPANESE JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY: Report of the Joint Research on the Saru Ainu, Special Number presented to Dr Kyosuke Kindaichi on his 70th Birthday: Vol. 16, No. 3/4, 1951. [English summaries. Illus.]:

ISUMI, S. 'The *Iwor* and the Territorial Group of the Saru Ainu', pp. 29-45.

KUBODERA, I. 'The Worship of the Souls of Ancestors among the Saru Ainu', pp. 46-61.

SEGAWA, K. 'On the *Upshor* of Ainu Women in the Saru Valley', pp. 62-70.

SUGIURA, K. 'Kinship Systems of the Saru Ainu', pp. 3-28.

TOSABAYASHI, Y. 'On the Grave-Post of the Ainu', pp. 102-26.

WATANABE, H. 'Utilization of Natural Resources by the Saru Ainu', pp. 71-82.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 KINDAICHI, KYOSUKE. *Saiho-Zuihitsu*, Kyoto, 1938 [Japanese].

— *The Study of the Ainu*, Tokyo, 1953 [Japanese].

KINDAICHI, *The Scripture of the Ainu, the Lore of Ainu-rak-kur* [Japanese].

KONO, HIROMICHI. On the *Inau-shiroshi* of the Ainu [Japanese]. *J. Anthrop. Soc. of Japan*, Tokyo, Vol. 49, No. 555, pp. 12–22, 1934. [Illus.]

— *Ainu no seikatsu* [Ainu life]. Sapporo, Yushobo, 1956. *Hoppo bunka shashin shirizu*, 4. [64 pp. of photographs with explanatory captions. Japanese].

KUBODERA, ITSUHIKO. 'The antiquated funeral customs of Yezo-Ainu' [Japanese with English summary, illus.]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 20, No. 1/2, pp. 1–35, 1956.

— and CHIRI, MASHIO. 'On the *pakoro-kamui* of Aino' [Japanese]. *J. Anthrop. Soc. of Japan*. Tokyo, Vol. 55, No. 629, pp. 124–8; No. 630, pp. 169–99, 1940.

KURAMITSU, HIDEAKI. *Kamikawa Ainu kuma matsuri* [*Kamikawa*, Ainu bear festival. In Japanese]. *Ainu Saiki Kenkyu kai*, 82 pp., 1953.

MATERIALS FOR SUMMARIZED ETHNOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ASIATIC PEOPLES. Vol. II. The Imperial Academy of Nippon, Tokyo, 1944.

NATORI, TAKEMITSU. *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu* [Japanese]. Sapporo, 1945.

— 'The Genealogy of Aino on the Saru River' [Japanese]. *J. of the Anthrop. Soc. of Tokyo*, Vol. 55, No. 631, pp. 203–29.

OKAMURA, KICHIEMON. *Kamui Yukaru: Ainu shinwa* [*Kamui Yukuru*, Ainu mythology. Japanese]. Pub. by author in limited edition, 1958.

SEGAWA, KIYOKO. 'A note on the marriage customs of the Ainu race' [Japanese, English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 46–56, 1957.

SHIMIZU, SHIGEMICHI, *Ainu no shinwa to densetsu* [Ainu mythology and folklore. Japanese]. Dowa Shunjusha, Tokyo, 1955.

TAKAKURA, SHINICHIRO. Monograph on '*Tsuchi-uchi*' [a game in which the Ainu beat one another with war-clubs. In Japanese; English summary]. *Jap. J. Ethnol.*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 57–64, 1957/8, illus.

— *Ainu Seisaku-shi* [History of Ainu Policy, Japanese]. Tokyo Showa 17, 1942. See also under Harrison.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AP6

GLOSSARY OF WORDS USED FREQUENTLY IN THE TEXT

104

Bashui (or *Ikubashui*): prayer-stick or libation wand.
Chisei: dwelling, animal burrow, wasps' nest, or house.
Ekashi: elder, grandfather, ancestor.
Epiru: purification (of objects). lit. 'sweeps away'.
Fuchi: grandmother, ancestress, a title of respect.
Guru: person.
Hopuniri: lit. 'rising up', one form of ritual dismissal.
Ikubashui: see *Bashui.*
Inau: an offering to *kamui* in the form of a wooden staff with attached wood shavings:
Chehorokakep: lit. 'thing shaven backwards', backward-shaven *inau.*
Chikappo shian *inau: inau* made for the Eagle Owl.
Chisei-koro *inau: inau* dedicated to the female spirit, Kenru Katkimat.
Inau chiba: plenteous or overflowing *inau*; *nusa* dedicated to more than one *kamui.*
Inumba inau: the beer-straining *inau.*
Kike chinoye *inau:* twisted shaven *inau.*
Kike parase *inau:* outspread shaven *inau.*
Innono: prayer.
Iomande: lit. 'despatch'; form of ritual dismissal for the *kamui.*
Inoka: image.
Inumbe: wooden frame surrounding the hearth.
Itokpa: sign cut on certain *inau* stems and on some other objects.
Iwakte: lit. 'sending away'. A form of ritual dismissal.
Kamui: god or spirit.
Kamui-kotan: the abode of the dead.
Kara: to make; occasionally incorporated in names.
Kenru: house.
Koro: to possess; frequently incorporated in names.
Kotan: village, or village community.
Kut: see *upshoro kut.*
Kuwa: grave-post.
Mawe: magic, also breath or wind.
Nitue: hard or stubborn.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

GLOSSARY

104 *Nomi:* prayer, worship.
Nusa: a group of *inau.*
Ongami: salutation.
Oripak: awe.
Pakoro: punishing.
Pase: weighty or important (i.e. *pase kamui, pase ongami, pase nomi*).
Pirika: good, beautiful.
Pon: small.
Ram: soul.
Ramat: soul or spirit. lit. 'heart'.
Roroun puyara: sacred window.
Shinrit: ancestral spirits. lit. 'roots'.
Shintoko: vessels, usually lacquered; also large tubs used for the sacred beer.
Shinurapa: the Feast 'of All Souls', or 'Falling Tears'.
Shongo: messenger.
Takusa: a switch of grass or foliage used in purification.
Turenbe: spirit possession by good or bad spirits.
Tusu: female medium.
U-eshopki: ritual (lit. 'mutual') seating at ceremonies.
Ukakik: purification (of persons). lit. 'striking down'.
Ukara: old traditions.
Umusa: mutual condolence.
Upashkoma itak: traditional lore.
Upshoro kut: woman's secret girdle.
Wen: evil.
Wen kamui: evil spirits.
Wen yuk: evil bears.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX

Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi (hearth deities), 34–6
abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan), 58, 138
aconite, 16, 37, 119
adoption, 85, 145
albatross, 23n.
All Souls, v. Falling Tears
ancestor cult, 80, 89, 151
ancestors, beer brewed for, 69
ancestral spirits (*shinrit*), 156
animal deities, 10n., 21
animal skulls, as protectors, 23
animal tales (*uebekere*), 21

babies, burial of, 56
badge (*itokpa*), 151–2, 155; v. also male ancestral sign
badger, 107
Batchelor, Revd. J., on curled shavings, 36; on *ekashi* 10; on evil spirits, 11, 25; on A-e-oina K., 14; on Kotan-koro K., 154; on manure, 64; on monotheism, 12–13; on number, 6, 104; on shamans, 10; on snakes, 19; on stone worship, 54; on swordfish hunting, 115; on *uepotara*, 100
bear, blood of, drunk, 114; and Chikubeni K., 49; given star name, 14; meat of, 64n. 153; as mountain deity, 31, 54; ritual dismissal of (*kamui iomande*), 10n., 37; ritual killing of, 153, 169–71
bears, wicked (*wen-yuk*), 21, 112–13
beer, sacred, brewing of described, 69–71; at Falling Tears, 90 f.; at House-warming, 76–80; at ritual dismissal, 48; at weddings, 149
bird-cherry, 49
bird deities, 22
bird, fabulous (Furi), 22, 84
bird skulls, as protectors, 23
blood-letting, 107
boat-building, 115
boats, miniature, 101
bowls, for eating, 62
bull-roarer, 117
burial, 131 f.

canoe, 26, 37, 117
caterpillar, dreaded, 26
chief, chieftainship, 6, 55, 155
Chiu ra-pe (spirits of the undercurrent), 101–3
childbirth, difficult, 22, 37, 63, 111; prayers in case of, 164–8
childbirth, first, 146; impurity of, 17
clothing, of corpse reversed, 125; of mourners reversed, 37, 139
controller of the drinking, 92 f.
cooking utensils (*topochi k.*), 63
corpse, sewn into mat, 218
crab, spirit, 23, 111
crow, killed ritually, 22

dance, beer-straining, 70; at Falling Tears, 94, 96; farewell, 97; funeral, 130; processional, 100; women's, 15
dancing mania, 101, 161
deer, prayer for increase of, 39
deities, country of, 10n.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX

disease, causes of, 99n.
dishes, where washed, 103
dismissal, ritual (*k. iomande*, *hopun-ire* and *iwakte*), 6, 10n., 37, 46n., 47, 57
divination (*esaman-ki*), 11
Divine Wife, v. K. Katkimat
dreams, 67, 104
dress, ceremonial, 78, 89
drinking, etiquette of (*iomare*), 85–86, 94
drinking-stick, v. libation wand
drum, 11n.

eagle, 10n.
eagle-owl (Kotan-koro K.), 23, 82, 153–5
east, stands for life, 78
ekashi, defined, 10, 150
elder-tree, 48, 49, 136
elm-tree, 15n., 18
entering, etiquette of, 75
epiru, v. purification
exogamy, 146
exorcism (*uepotara*), 55, 67, 99 f.

Falling Tears, ceremony (Shin-urapa), 15, 33, 42, 87 f.
fence (*inau-chipa*), 20; (*inau-san*), 41; v. also *nusa*
fire, divination by, 36; hearth, 60; new, 67, 71; myths, 15, 159; ritual, 66
fire-drill, 18, 20, 71
fire-stick, sacred, 36
Fire-shining Ancestors (Abe-ochi), 34
fish, abundance promoted, 38
fishing rite, 67
folk tale, on creation of food, 26n.
food, ceremonial, 58; at Falling Tears, 87–9; at funerals, 123, 130; at house-warming, 72–3
Fortes, Prof. M., 157n.
fox, 21, 23, 84, 107
fuchi, defined, 10
funeral oration, 131

garlic, wild, 26n.
geese, wild, as souls, 97
ghost (*tukap*), 105, 122
ghost tube, 138
girdles, sacred (*kut*), general account of, 141 f.; betoken kinship, 85n.; given by K. Fuchi, 17; for burial, 125; for worship, 80–1, 135; kept from men, 85; regarded with awe, 40; revealed to Munro, 53, 141
god, v. *kamui*
grampus, v. Rep-un K.
grave-goods broken, 58, 131, 133, 139
grave-posts, 133–5, 139
grouping, social, 146
guardian of the yard, v. Mintara-koro K.

hair, cut in mourning, 137, 140
headdress, sacred, 151
hearth, described, 57; regarded as sacred, 55, 74; ritual of, 60; setting up new, 66
hills, sacred, 53–4
hopun-ire, v. dismissal, ritual
hornet, spirit, 37, 109–10
house, described, xviii, 55 f.; regarded as sacred, 55, 74; burnt at female occupant's death, 138; model burnt, 138
house image (tripod), 66
house-building rites, 66 f.
House-warming (Chisei-Nomi), 74 f., 150
Houses of Evil, 101
human image, 53
hunting rites, 112 f.

ikoro, v. treasures
ikubashui, v. libation wand
illness, 49, 99
impurity, ritual, 60
inau, described, 7, 28 f.; diagram of, 41; abnormal (*shinnai*), 101; backward shaven (*chehorokakep*), 33; beer-strain-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX

ing (*inumba*), 32; bird-true (*chikappo shian*), 36; bush (*hash*), 67; curled shavings (*kike*), 29, 36; *ekashi*, 34–5; evil (*wen*), 32; house (*chisei-koro*), 72, 88; of Kinashut K., 36; of Kitani, 38; outspread shaven (*kike parase*), 34; twisted shaven (*kike chinoye*), 34; winged (*shutu*), 29, 30, 35; used by Japanese, 23; trees used for, 30, 32
inheritance, 149–50
inotu (life), 8
iomande, v. dismissal, ritual
itokpa, v. badge
and *ekashi itokpa*

Japanese, their relations with Ainu, ii–iii; ancient connection with Ainu, 89n.; hated by Ainu, 26
Jung, 24n.

kamui, god or spirit, 9; classification of, 12; list of important (*pase*), 13; operate by possession or magic, 10; good (*pirika*), 9; bad (*wen*), 9, 25; mischievous (*koshne*), 9; punishing (*pakoro*), 9, 25; animal, 21; bird, 22; of rivers, 20; hand-made, 44, 47–9
kamui, list of— (Kamui after name unless K. first)
Abe (fire), 17, 88 (alias K. Fuchi)
Abe-ra-un (ancestors), 88
A-e-oina or Oina (sky), 14, 15, 51, 144
Ai-ush-ni (warrior), 50
Apa-sam (door), 21, 49
Chep-atte (fish), 38
Chikube-ni (expels evil), 48, 49, 67–8
Chisei-koro (house), how made, 45; when made, 74; his titles, 46, 60; kept in house, 30, 44; in north-east corner, 46; saluted, 92, 93; moved after a death, 138; dismantled at house-owner's death, 46
Chup (sun), 13, 38
K. Ekashi (spirit ancestor), 19, 29
K. Fuchi (hearth), account of, 17–19; reborn when fire kindled, 72; perhaps daughter of Shiramba K., 46; specially related to women, 157; keeps infant souls, 56; supreme over ancestors, 14; mediator between gods and men, 19, 42; gave girdles to women, 17, 144; provides food, 88; protects brewing, 69; sleeps at night, 58; less esteemed in north, 34
Hai-o-pira (swordfish), 23, 84
Hash-inau-uk (hunting), deity of the chase, 20, 38, 84; has special prayer-sticks, 40; hills home of, 54; guardian of hunters, 114; helps barren women, 20
Ifunara (finds lost people), 52
Ikafuye (nursing), 49
Ika-kik (expels evil), 50
Ikema (swallow-wort), 52
Imosh (reviver), 51, 68, 82
Itesu (hearth), 35, 88
Irura (guide), 35–6
Isarawa (alias Uari), 35
Isepo (ancestress), 143n.
Kando-koro (sky), 12, 18
Kanna (thunder), 13, 17, 38
Katkimat (Divine Wife), 64, 72, 84
Kesorap (mythical bird), 22
Kim-un (bear), 10n., 31, 152
Kinashut (spirit chief of snakes), 17–19, 64, 108; *inau* of, 33; keeps off disease, 110; his image used in exorcism, 37; besought in difficult labour, 36
Kiyanne (ancestors), 71
K. Kotan (abode of the dead), 58, 138
Kotan-kara (creator of village), 12

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu A36

INDEX

kamui—(*contd.*)
Kotan-koro (owner of village), 12n. v. eagle-owl
Masara-koro (shore), 67
Metot-ush (bear), 31, 84–5, 153
Mintara-koro (precincts), 21, 92
Mintuchi (water nymph), 24, 101
K. Moire Mat (spider), 79
Moshiri-kara (world-owner), 12, 22, 54
K. of Nai-oput, 82
Nai-orun (river), 20, 82
Nusa-koro, connected with ancestor-worship, 18; his *nusa*, 45; fence reserved for, 41; assisted by spider, 22; and hornet, 110; besought in difficult labour, 54; perhaps brother of K. Fuchi, 18
Okikorumi (hero-god), 15
Pakoro (punishing), 9, 25, 105
Pashkuru (crow), 22
Pauchi (disease), comes from Heaven, 25; legend of, 159–160; attacked by Ai-ush-ni K., 50; exorcism of, 63, 101, 102
Penup (man and bird), 52, 53
Pet-orun (river), 20, 82
Peure (Young K. Fuchi), 71, 72
rai k. or *guru* (spirits of the dead), 105, 122
Ramat-tak (reviver), 49, 50
Rep-un (grampus), 36, 40, 143
Rikoma (sun), 14
Rikun-kando (sky), 18, 25, 51
Ru-koro (privy), 21, 51, 92, 111
Satchini (kingfisher), 22
Shiramba, deity of vegetation and Upholder of the World, 16, 17; giver of timber, 28; and houses, 55, 74; sends dreams, 67; saves from bears, 122; perhaps father of K. Fuchi, 46; his soul *nusa*, 45; Chisei-koro K. his deputy, 46
shiratki k. (spirit protectors), 23, 32, 33, 186
Shiri-koro (world-owner), 17
Shitumbe (black fox), 21
Uari (hearth), 17, 33, 35, 60
Wakka-ush (water), 20, 135; alias Pet-Orun, 82
Yooshkep (spider), 22
Yuk-atte (deer), 38
kin groups, 145
kingfisher, 22, 38
kut, and *upshoro kut*, v. girdle

levirate, 147
libation wand or prayer stick (*bashui* or *ikubashui*), described, 62; used for augury, 23; used in ritual of Falling Tears, 90, House-Warming, 75, 78, 79; and wedding, 149
libation wand, winged (*kike-ush bashui*), described, 40; used in worship, 39, 82, 84; marked with *itokpa*, 85, 152
lilac, 45

magic (mawe), 7, 25, 68
male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*), 38, 40, 84, 85, 153
mana, 7
marriage regulations, 147–8
marten, 117
mat, sacred, 63, 92, 97
matrilineal kin groups, 145–6, 157
medium, female (*tusu*), woman becomes, 109, 162, 163; diagnoses spirit cause of disease, 10n., 37, 52, 104, 161 f.; detects breach of taboo, 144
Milky Way, 14
millet pounder, 42
moon, 13, 14
mourning, ritual of, 124, 128 f.
moustache-lifter, improper name for libation wand, 39
mugwort, arrows of, 74; spear of, 14, 45, 47, 53; effigy made of, 52; Penup K. made with, 53; used in exorcism, 107

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX

names of dead tabooed, 150
necklaces, 61
nusa, explained, 8; arrangement of, 42; chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*), 19, 41; soul, 20; of Nusa-koro K., 18, 41

onitak, v. sorcery
ordeal, trial by, 134
owl, 10n.

patrilineages, 145, 151, 156-7
pestle, 63, 111
polygonum, 101
polygyny, 147
pon-itak, v. sorcery
Possessor of the Precincts, v. Mintara-koro K.
Possessor of the Village, v. Kotan-koro K.
prayer-stick, v. libation wand
prayers and invocations, 90, 162 f.
priests, lack of, 7
privy, 64, v. also Ru-koro K.
Protectors, 48
purification, of things (*epiru*), 45, 67, 99; of persons, (*ukakik* and *kashikik*) 99, 137

quivers, 61; imitation, 62; miniature, 14

ramat (spirit or soul), xviii, 8; employs magic, 10; of dead babies kept by K. Fuchi, 17; leaves body in dreams, 122; present in inanimate objects, 8, 16, 28
rebirth, 17, 56, 121
rites, secret, 84-5
roof 56

sacrifice, human, 29
Sakhalin, 53, 133
salmon, 10n., 14
salt, 114
salutation, ritual (*ongami*), 73, 75, 91, 149
seating arrangements, ritual, 81, 93
seduction, penalty for, 147
serpent, fiery, 17
shaman, 10
shinrit (ancestral spirits), 58
Shinurapa, 150; v. Falling Tears
skulls, used ritually, 8, 23-4, 70
smallpox, 25
snakes, 19, 64, 108-9; v. also Kinashut K.
snipe, 24
song, 94, 96
sorcery, 11, 113
spider, 22, 79
spirit possession (*turenbe*), 10, 35
spirit protectors, v. *shiratki* k.
spirits of the dead (*shinrit*), 58; Abe-ra-un K., 88; *rai*, 105, 122
spirits of disease, v. Pakoro K. and Pauchi K.
spirits, evil (*wen k.*), 9, 11, 99, 122
spirits of trees and plants, 16n., 24, 106
stars, 14, 15
stomach-ache, attacked by Ai-ush-ni K., 50
stone circle, 13
stones, treasured, 24; worshipped, 54
storehouse, 64
suicide, 37, 122
sun, 13-14
swallow-wort, 52-3, 120
swords, worn at Falling Tears, 89, 93; at House-warming, 76; as grave goods, 139; used in exorcism, 103; imitation, 62
swordfish, 23, 84, 114

tattooing, 61, 117 f.
totemism, 145
treasures, 60-1, 74
tree exorcism, 106
tripod, roof, 56; hearth, 66, 68n.
true-lore talk, 113
turenbe, v. spirit possession
turtle, 24
tusu, v. medium, female

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INDEX

Uepekan, myth of, 160
uepotara, v. exorcism
u-eshopki, v. seating arrangements
Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), 79, 104, 121, 138

vampire, 114
vessels, ritual, 61

water, running, contaminated by corpse, 133
water used ritually, 103
water nympha, 25, v. also Mintuchi K.
wedding ceremony, 149
west, stands for death, 78
willow, 44
window, sacred, described, 57; prayers said through, 42; oriented, 14, 34; sacred objects passed through, 45, 78, 85; Nusa-koro K.'s *inau* outside, 18; taboo on passing, 43
winnowing basket, 63
women's rites, 43

/Additional information on prayer sticks, frequently referred to as "moustache-lifters," may be found in category 413./

7: Munro and Seligman

Ainu AB6

778
293

/Information on the "sacred" women's girdles will be found in categories 292 and 789./

8: Pilsudski E-5 (1895-1905) 1910 AB6 Ainu AB6

Pregnancy, Birth and Miscarriage Among the Inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu) /Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Gilyaken und Ainu/

by Bronislaw Pilsudski

Vienna: 1910

/ Anthropos
Vol. 5, pp. 756-774

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files

1964

/Title page/

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
827 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage 757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] [975] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 [864] The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 778 782 789 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [976] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
798 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

[illegible]4 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[876] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./
844 the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every
[757] family.
[823]

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of
[574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the
844 Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu
114 women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

896 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[1752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./

844 When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[278] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two
[291] up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since
[184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[191] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned
[156] above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[156] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

/773 cont./

886 However, I believe that this figure is entirely arbitrary and
145 based on the statements of only a few persons. My Ainu friends showed me a woman who must have been from 56 to 60 years old since her son was already 34. She had stopped menstruating scarcely three years before and was certainly not to be regarded as an exception, according to my acquaintances. From the statistical data that I collected among the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, it appears that 12 persons were
[163] born to women of over 40 years of age. Of these women five bore children between the ages of 41 and 45, seven between the ages of 46 and 53. This constitutes 20 percent of all the women over 40 on the eastern shore of the island. It should be noted, however, that I only registered cases in which the children had remained alive, that is to say, the actual number of births is much greater. It may therefore be justly assumed that there are many women among the Ainu who menstruate beyond the age of 40 and whose menopause does not take place before 50.

841 Menstruation is not always regular among Ainu women.
145 I knew for instance a young woman who later died of influenza at the age of 25, and who, according to her husband, lost so little blood that he would jokingly call her a man. This circumstance the young Ainu considered the cause of her sterility, and he sorrowfully confessed to me, that he would have to look for another wife in order to obtain offspring. She frequently complained of pains and said she had the feeling as though something moved in her entrails that caused these pains. Sometimes she also experienced difficulty in breathing at the same time.

It sometimes happens, though rather rarely, that Ainu women have their menstruation not every month, but every sixth week, which is called kiem o-utur tuima, that is, a great interruption of the blood.

Ordinarily menstruation lasts two to three days, and with some women it last four days. In the latter case it is always painful.

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
204 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu).

Von BRONISLAW PILSUDSKI, Lemberg.

I. Die Giljaken.

Das Geburtshaus. — Bei den Giljaken wird der Geburtsakt als unrein angesehen und darf in keinem Falle in der Jurte, am häuslichen Herde, stattfinden. Demzufolge wird nicht nur im Sommer, sondern auch im Winter, während der ärgsten Fröste und Schneegestöber, die Gebärende in eine eigens für sie in der Nähe des Wohnhauses hergerichtete Baude geführt. Schon der Ort, welcher zu diesem Zwecke gewählt wird, weist darauf hin, daß die Giljaken keine Achtung vor dem Geburtsakte haben. Die oben erwähnte Baude wird nämlich inmitten des Gesträuches errichtet, welches den Frauen als Abtritt dient. Die Lage dieses Gestrüppes ist immer ganz genau bestimmt, und kein Mann lenkt seine Schritte je nach dieser Richtung. Man verbietet sogar den Knaben in dieser Richtung herumzulaufen und dort herumzuspähen und warnt sie, daß, falls sie auf die Spur von Weiberblut träten, sie sich eine Krankheit zuziehen würden, welche *taremynd* genannt wird. Sie beginnt mit der Lähmung von Händen und Füßen, der Kranke verliert die Fähigkeit sich zu bewegen, magert ab und stirbt endlich, denn das Übel ist unheilbar.

In die *lan-raf* oder das „Geburtshaus" bringt man die Frau, sobald sich die ersten Wehen einstellen. Dieses „Geburtshaus" wird auch erst im letzten Augenblick, in der Eile hergerichtet. Aus Brettern zusammengeschlagen, mit alter Tannenrinde bedeckt, erinnert es eher an eine Hundehütte als an den Raum, der zum Empfange eines neuen, von den Eltern heiß ersehnten Weltbewohners bestimmt ist. In den Augen der Giljaken besteht kein Mißverhältnis zwischen den zärtlichen Gefühlen und der Liebe der Eltern zum Neugeborenen und dem strengen, fast grausamen Empfange, welcher ihm zuteil wird. Wartet doch des Kindes eine mehr als spartanische, harte Erziehung und dann ein schweres, sorgenvolles Leben inmitten einer zwar mannigfaltigen, aber keineswegs üppigen und sanften Natur. Darum fällt es keinem Giljaken ein, daß vielleicht der erste Eintritt des kleinen Gastes in die Welt demselben zuträglicher wäre, wenn er in Gegenwart von Leuten, inmitten anderer, besserer Bedingungen vonstatten ginge.

Die Gebärende begibt sich in alter beschmutzter Kleidung an den für sie bestimmten Aufenthaltsort. Wenn das Wetter kühl ist, nimmt sie noch mehr Kleidungsstücke mit sich. Der einzige Unterschied in der Kleidung besteht darin, daß die Gebärende die Hosen abstreift, ein Kleidungsstück, welches von den giljakischen Frauen Sommer und Winter getragen wird.

Gewöhnlich ist es der Fall, daß der Gebärenden eine ältere Frau, welche selbst schon mehrmals geboren hatte, hilfreich zur Seite steht. Wenn eine

solche Geburtshelferin, genannt *lanaven szauk*, nicht zur Hand ist, dann kann der Mann der Gebärenden deren Stelle einnehmen; unter keiner Bedingung jedoch darf dies ein anderes männliches Familienmitglied, nicht einmal der jüngere Bruder des Gatten, welcher doch, nach der Sitte der Giljaken, ein Recht auf die Gattin seines älteren Bruders hat und sich einigermaßen als Gatten, jedenfalls aber als den zweiten Vater ihrer Kinder betrachtet.

Die Geburt. — Während des Geburtsaktes sitzt die Gebärende und streckt die Füße nicht von sich. Der Sitz wird in derselben Höhe wie das Bett in der Jurte eingerichtet, also etwa eine halbe Elle über dem Fußboden. Die Gebärende soll sich während der ganzen Zeit ruhig verhalten, nicht um sich schlagen oder gar versuchen aufzustehen, sich auch nicht auf eine oder die andere Seite neigen. Wenn die Frau während einer schweren Entbindung sich nicht selbst in der vorgeschriebenen Stellung erhalten kann und sich vor Schmerz etwa windet, dann ist es Pflicht der Geburtshelferin oder des anwesenden Gatten, die Kranke an den Schultern zu fassen, um auf diese Art unerlaubte Bewegungen zu verhüten. Weiber, welche während der Entbindung aufzustehen versuchen, erkranken nach der Meinung der Giljaken an einem Übel, welches eine Krümmung des Rückgrates zur Folge hat. Man zeigte mir sogar einmal eine junge Frau, welche infolge ihres unruhigen Verhaltens während der Entbindung zum Krüppel geworden war. Ihr Rückgrat war wirklich gekrümmt oder, wie die Giljaken sagen, gebrochen *(naski ts'onkrynd)*. Sie war nicht imstande zu gehen und starb einige Jahre darauf.

Wenn die Geburtswehen gar zu lange dauern und die Kranke zu arg von ihnen gequält wird, bewegt man, um die Entbindung zu beschleunigen, ein Stück eines Kleidungsstückes vor ihrem Gesichte hin und her oder man bläst von oben herab auf ihren Scheitel.

Das Kind wird von der Mutter selbst und nur im Falle übergroßer Schwäche derselben von der Geburtshelferin in Empfang genommen.

Die Giljaken wissen einer Gebärenden nicht künstlich zu helfen; wenn eine Frau nicht gebären kann, stirbt sie, und auch das Kind geht in diesem Falle zugrunde. Solche Fälle kommen jedoch überaus selten vor. Im Laufe von mehr als zehn Jahren habe ich in der Gegend des Flusses Tymi nur einmal gehört, daß eine Frau während der Entbindung starb.

Bei den Giljaken gilt die erste Entbindung als die schwerste. Sie ist aber besonders schwer und schmerzhaft bei sehr jungen, physisch noch nicht genügend entwickelten Frauen.

Mädchen ist es streng verboten, zu lachen, wenn von Entbindung oder Wochenbett die Rede ist, und man verlangt von ihnen, daß sie angesichts des Geburtsaktes all ihren Ernst bewahren. Entgegengesetzten Falles warten ihrer in der Zukunft besonders schwere Entbindungen und qualvolle Geburtswehen.

Um den Mutterkuchen so schnell als möglich zu entfernen, legt man der Wöchnerin Späne einer Holzart (*Sambucus racemosa*) in den Mund. Der bittere widerliche Geschmack des Holzes verursacht Erbrechen, was, nach der Meinung der Giljaken, den Abgang des Mutterkuchens (*ehlaud cuind*, d. h. die Speise des Kindes) beschleunigen soll. Wenn aber der Mutterkuchen dennoch längere Zeit nicht zum Vorschein kommt, dann stirbt die Frau, was zwar

selten, aber doch mitunter einmal bei den Giljaken vorkommt. Der Mutterkuchen wird in ein Tuch eingewickelt und an einem Baume im Walde unweit des Hauses aufgehängt.

Wenn ein Kind „in der Haube geboren" wird, was jedoch sehr selten der Fall ist, wird dieselbe nicht weggeworfen, sondern behutsam getrocknet und unter anderem Hausgeräte sorgfältig aufbewahrt. Die Giljaken glauben nämlich, daß diese „Haube", welche in der Sprache des Stammes *ehlan ok* (der Anzug des Kindes) heißt, für die ganze Familie glückbringend sei.

Das Neugeborene wird nicht mit der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung als Knabe oder als Mädchen angesprochen. Wenn ein Mädchen geboren wurde, nennt man es vorläufig *mukin ehlan*, d. h. schwanzloses Kind (*mukind* heißt gewöhnlich ein Hund mit einem sehr kurzen Schwanze); erblickte aber ein Knabe das Licht der Welt, dann sagen die Angehörigen: *moi iwend panend*, d. h. einer, der einen Penis hat, wurde geboren.

Die Mundhöhle des Neugeborenen wird mittels eines Fingers vom Schleime gereinigt, worauf das Kind gleich an die Mutterbrust gelegt wird. Am darauffolgenden Tage wäscht es die Mutter mit kaltem Wasser, wobei jedoch dieses nicht direkt aus einem Gefäße auf den Körper des Kleinen geschüttet, sondern vorerst in den Mund genommen und erst nachher auf das Kind gebracht wird, was natürlich die Temperatur des „Bades" etwas erhöht. Auf diese Art wird das Kind zwei Jahre lang zweimal täglich gewaschen.

Wenn das Neugeborene ein fehlerhaftes Glied besitzt, trachtet niemand den Mangel auszubessern, ebensowenig besteht die Sitte, den weichen Schädel des Säuglings zu formen.

Nach der Niederkunft wird jungen Frauen empfohlen, viel herumzugehen, wohingegen für ältere das Sitzen angezeigt ist. Vor der Entbindung wird einer jeden Frau, ohne Hinblick auf ihr Alter, so viel als möglich Bewegung geraten.

Frauen ist das Trinken von kaltem Wasser vor wie nach der Entbindung während eines Zeitabschnittes von 10 Tagen strengstens untersagt. Wenn kein Tee zur Hand ist, wird der Kranken, falls sie Durst hat, etwas abgekühltes, gekochtes Wasser gereicht. Während dieser Zeit darf die Wöchnerin auch keinen Fisch mit rotem Fleisch (Lachs, Salm) essen, und der Genuß von gesalzenen Speisen, sowie einer schwarzen, in der Tundra wachsenden Beere *(F vetrum nigrum)* ist ihr gleichfalls verboten. Vor der Entbindung wird der L[illegible]ntweingenuß für schädlich gehalten, nachher gilt er jedoch als heilsam. Br[illegible]ntwein wird aber überhaupt selten gebraucht, da die Giljaken auf Sachalin im Vergleiche mit anderen Bewohnern dieser Insel sehr wenig Alkohol verbrauchen.

Fehlgeburten. — Natürliche Fehlgeburten kommen sehr oft bei den Giljaken vor *(ryrnnd)*, sie werden für ganz ungefährlich gehalten, und nicht einmal als Krankheit angesehen. Man sagte mir, daß es kaum eine Frau gäbe, welche nicht in ihrem Leben eine oder zwei Fehlgeburten durchgemacht hätte. Keiner jedoch von den Einwohnern, mit welchen ich darüber sprach, wußte von einer Frau, die immer abortierte und überhaupt nicht imstande wäre, den Fötus die ganze notwendige Zeit hindurch, bis zu Ende der Schwangerschaft in ihrem Leibe zu tragen. Ich habe nicht die Absicht, die Ursachen der häufigen Fehlgeburten bei den Giljaken festzustellen, da ich nicht die [illegible]

Anhaltspunkte dazu besitze. Ich werde daher die Lösung dieser Frage den Ärzten überlassen. Es ist möglich, daß die Giljaken einer Rasse angehören, die von Natur aus zu Fehlgeburten neigt. Ich glaube jedoch, daß in dieser Hinsicht die Müdigkeit der durch fortwährende schwere Arbeit abgeplagten Frau, und der gänzliche Mangel an Schonung der Schwangeren eine große Rolle spielen. Die ungeheuere Bürde der häuslichen Arbeit wird dem giljakischen Weibe während der Zeit seiner Schwangerschaft nie verringert. Kein Mann hält es für nötig, seine Gattin, welche das zukünftige Kind in ihrem Leibe trägt, zu schützen. Dafür schreibt er die etwa eingetretene Fehlgeburt ganz ruhig nichtigen Ursachen zu. So glauben die Giljaken zum Beispiel, daß Fehlgeburt eintritt, wenn ein Kind seine schwangere Mutter mit einem Riemen, oder einem langen, hölzernen Gegenstande, z. B. einem Löffel, Pfeile, Spielzeug, hölzernem Messer oder auch mit einer Angel ins Gesicht schlägt. Ein Schlag mit einem Zweige, oder mit einem unlängst von einem Baume oder Strauche geschnittenen Stäbchen, wird für unschädlich gehalten. Ein heftiger Schlag oder Fall kann gleichfalls Fehlgeburt herbeiführen.

Verhalten des Mannes. — Seine Sorge um die Gattin drückt der Giljake während der Geburtswehen auf eine sonderbare Weise aus. Er bindet nämlich alles auf, was sich irgend aufbinden läßt. Zunächst an sich selbst: er löst also die zu Zöpfen geflochtenen Haare, die Schuhriemen und die Überärmel. Darauf bindet er alles auf, was zu dieser Zeit im Hause oder in dessen Nachbarschaft zu- oder angeknüpft sein könnte. Im Hofe entfernt der Giljake die Axt, welche im Klotze steckt, er knüpft den Kahn ab, falls dieser an einen Baum gebunden ist, zieht die Patronen aus seinem Gewehre und löst die Pfeile in seiner Armbrust. Ohne Gürtel, ein Bild des Jammers, schleicht er aus einer Ecke in die andere, oder liegt müßig und denkt darüber nach, was er noch irgendwo auflösen oder aufknüpfen könnte, da seiner Meinung nach die Wehen seiner Gattin und ihre Dauer davon abhängen, ob er vielleicht nicht noch etwas unbeachtet gelassen und aufzulösen versäumt hat.

Erst wenn der Nabel des Kindes geheilt ist, darf der Mann eine Arbeit beginnen oder auf die Jagd gehen, überhaupt das Haus in Geschäftsangelegenheiten verlassen und seine Verwandten oder Freunde besuchen. Weder in dieser Zeit, noch später, wird die Geburt des Kindes durch ein häusliches Fest oder Mahl gefeiert.

Allgemeines. — Die Wöchnerin verläßt die ganze Zeit über nie ihren Aufenthaltsort, die Hütte, und darf sich nur während der bittersten Fröste in das Wohnhaus begeben, falls sie selbst die Hausfrau ist. Entgegengesetzten Falles kann sie nicht erwarten, von einer anderen Frau aufgenommen zu werden. Unglücksfälle, welche zuweilen schwachen Wöchnerinnen, die in der Hütte sich selbst überlassen sind, widerfahren, werden bösen Geistern zur Schuld gelegt. Um dieselben fern vom „Geburtshaus" zu halten, in welchem eine der wichtigsten und geheimnisvollsten Naturerscheinungen sich abspielt, wird am Eingange desselben eine große Axt niedergelegt, welche den Zweck hat, die bösen Geister zu verscheuchen. Dieses bequeme und leicht zugängliche Mittel ist aber nicht immer hinreichend. Ich erinnere mich an einen Giljaken namens Kan, welcher mich in aller Eile aufsuchte, um meine Hilfe zu be-

anspruchen, da seine kranke Gattin, welche gezwungen war, in der engen und ekelhaften Höhle alle Arbeit zu verrichten, also auch zu nähen und Holz zu hacken, seinen neugeborenen Sohn unversehens am Kopfe verletzt hatte. Ein anderes Mal entzündete sich die Hütte, in welcher die Frau eines mir bekannten Giljaken im Wochenbette lag, an dem Feuer, welches sie angefacht hatte, um ihre erstarrten Glieder zu wärmen. Wenn solche Unglücksfälle nicht ganz so oft vorkommen, als man vermuten könnte, so ist dies nur dem bewunderungswürdigen Charakter und der Standhaftigkeit der giljakischen Frau zuzuschreiben, die selbst abgemattet und krank nie ihre Geistesgegenwart und Arbeitsfähigkeit verliert. Die Mutterliebe, welche in solch einem Augenblicke aufs neue und mit größerer Gewalt im Weibe erwacht, steigert seine Kräfte und seinen Willen bis zu einem, Männern völlig unbekannten und unverständlichen Grade.

Unverheiratete Giljakinnen führen manchmal, unter dem Eindrucke der sie erwartenden Schande, künstliche Fehlgeburten herbei; sie bedienen sich dabei derselben Mittel, welche auch die zufälligen Fehlgeburten herbeiführen sollen. Die Geschicklichkeit beim Abtreiben des Fötus muß jedoch bei ihnen nicht sehr groß sein, da Kindesmorde oft vorkommen.

Es kommt auch bisweilen vor, daß eine Giljakin ein totes Kind zur Welt bringt; dies geschieht jedoch so selten, daß man mir nicht eine einzige Frau zeigen konnte, der solches widerfahren wäre.

Die Giljaken sprechen sehr ungern über sexuelle Angelegenheiten, und über Erscheinungen, die damit zusammenhängen. Dies ist wahrscheinlich der Grund, daß man Kindern das Erscheinen eines neuen Familienmitgliedes auf eine Weise erklärt, die jedes Gespräch hierüber ausschließt. Wenn das Kind im Sommer geboren wurde, sagt man, es sei unter den Wurzeln eines Baumes oder Baumstammes hervorgeholt worden; von einem im Winter geborenen Kinde gibt man vor, man habe es im Schnee gefunden.

Zwillingsgeburten. — Davon, daß eine Frau auf einmal drei Kinder zur Welt gebracht hätte, verlautet bei keinem sachalinischen Stamme etwas, und demzufoge gibt es auch keine Sagen darüber.

Nicht gar so selten findet man in dem Leben der Eingebornen Zwillinge. Es wird behauptet, daß in einem solchen Falle immer beide Kinder desselben Geschlechtes sind. Persönlich kannte ich zwei lebende Zwillinge vom Stamme der Giljaken, welche 40—45 Jahre alt waren. Während eines Jahrzehntes wurden in mir näher bekannten Gegenden unter einer Bevölkerung von über 300 Personen bei drei Familien Zwillinge geboren, welche jedoch sogleich starben. Als ich im Jahre 1905 abreiste, ließ ich in der Familie eines mir bekannten Giljaken ein fünf Monate altes Zwillingspaar zurück. Nur in einem einzigen, alten, von mir aufgezeichneten, giljakischen Liede ist die Rede von Zwillingen verschiedenen Geschlechtes. Der Bruder ist in seine Schwester verliebt, und bittet sie in dem Liede, sein Herz in ihre Hände zu nehmen, da er sonst sterben werde.

Die Giljaken sind überzeugt, daß der eine der Zwillinge ein Sohn des Berg- und Waldgottes, *pal-niwuch* (Bergmensch), sei, welcher eine mächtige, für den armen, schwachen Giljaken bald huldvolle, bald böse Gottheit dar-

stellt[1]. Darum sollte das Kind des *pal-niwuch* seinem Vater alsbald zurückerstattet werden. Da man jedoch nicht sicher ist, welches von den Kleinen nicht menschlicher Abkunft ist, zieht man es vor, sie beide auf gleiche Art zu behandeln.

Zwillinge dürfen nach dem Tode nicht verbrannt werden, wie dies bei der Mehrheit der Giljaken hinsichtlich anderer Leichen der Brauch ist. Dies würde nämlich an allen Teilnehmern der Zeremonie durch Verlust des Augenlichtes gerächt werden. Selbst die Eltern der Zwillinge werden pflichtgemäß in der Erde begraben, da die Verwandtschaft mit dem Berggeiste auch auf sie übergegangen ist. Die Kinder der Zwillinge jedoch werden für ganz gewöhnliche Menschen ihres Stammes gehalten und bei ihrem Begräbnis wird nicht von der angenommenen Sitte abgewichen.

Wenn die Zwillinge am Leben bleiben und groß werden, bleiben sie ihr Leben lang der Gegenstand des Schreckens aller ihrer Nachbarn und Bekannten, wenn auch genügende Beweise dafür vorhanden sind, daß sie keinerlei übernatürliche Kraft besitzen. Bei jedem näheren Zusammenkommen, sei es in Freundschaft oder in Streitigkeiten, werden sie von den anderen an ihre außergewöhnliche Herkunft erinnert, und alle rechnen die geheimnisvolle Macht, welche ihrer Meinung nach in den Zwillingen verborgen ist. Ein jedes der Zwillinge bekommt den Namen, welchen es sich als Kind zurechtgelegt hat. Die Sitte also, dem Kinde den Namen eines verstorbenen Vorfahren zu geben, wird in diesem Falle nicht befolgt. Der Name der Zwillinge wird weder in derselben Familie noch im Stamme einem zweiten Kinde beigelegt. Es wird also auch hier von der allgemeinen Sitte abgewichen, nämlich die Kinder mit den Namen der verstorbenen Vorfahren zu benennen.

Am meisten jedoch werden diejenigen Zwillinge gefürchtet, welche als Kinder sterben. Der Sprößling der Berggeister, welcher zwar kurze Zeit unter den Menschen weilte, sich aber noch nicht an sie gewöhnt hatte und sich nicht als ihresgleichen fühlt, hat besonders die Macht, den Leuten zu schaden, welche daher eifrigst um seine Huld bestrebt sind. Die Familie, die den ungebetenen Herkömmling der Berge beherbergt hatte, verfertigt ein kleines Modell einer giljakischen Yurte und stellt es entweder auf einem Brettchen in der Wohnung auf oder auch außerhalb derselben, unter freiem Himmel. In dieser kleinen Yurte wird eine aus Holz geschnitzte Figur untergebracht, welche das verstorbene Kind vorstellen soll. Die Familienmitglieder erachten es als nötig, dieser Figur täglich ein wenig von den Lebensmitteln zu verabreichen, die sie selbst genießen. Dies wird auch gewissenhaft nicht nur von den Eltern des Zwillings, sondern auch von den darauffolgenden zwei Geschlechtern vollzogen. Erst die Urenkel tragen die Figur samt ihrer Wohnung unter großer Zeremonie auf einen nahen Berg hinaus, wo ihr noch zum letztenmal ausgesuchte Speisen zum Opfer gebracht werden. Neben die Opfergegenstände wird ein kraus geschnittener, 1 bis 2 Meter hoher, *nau* genannter Stab eingegraben. Von diesem Augenblicke an gewinnt der ganze Stamm die Sicherheit,

[1] Ich hörte jedoch aus dem Munde eines Giljaken auch eine andere Erklärung: darnach soll eines der Zwillinge den Bergen, das andere dem Meere entstammen.

[2] Gewöhnlich bestatten nur diejenigen Giljakenstämme ihre Leichen in der Erde, welche einzelne Abstammung sind.

daß das tote Kind, *tonhr ehlian,* sie auch ohne weitere Bitten und Opfer nicht heimsuchen werde.

Das Nichtbefolgen dieses Gesetzes, das die schrecklichen Berggeister zu erweichen und huldvoll zu stimmen bezweckt, zieht auf die nachlässigen Hinterbliebenen ihren Zorn herab. Als Zeichen ihrer Rache *(tonhr ehlian)* gelten verschiedene Krankheiten, von denen die Eltern und Verwandten des Zwillingspaares befallen werden. Es sind dies gewöhnlich ganz bestimmte Krankheiten, z. B. Verkrümmung der Kiefer, schielende Augen, Halsstarre oder überhaupt Krämpfe. Das Auftreten solcher Krankheiten wird als Folge der Unzufriedenheit des Berggeistes erklärt, und man sagt in solchen Fällen: *„Tonhr ehlian singrund"*, d. h. „das Zwillingskind quält".

Die Furcht davor ist besonders bei den Giljaken so stark, daß man jungen Weibern und Mädchen streng verbietet, Erzählungen solcher Vorfälle mit anzuhören, in der Meinung, durch diese Vorsichtsmaßregel die Geburt von Zwillingen verhüten zu können. Frauen sollen sich auch keinerlei Hausgerät von Bekannten ausleihen, die Zwillinge zur Welt gebracht hatten, auch keine Geschenke von ihnen annehmen. Am gefährlichsten sind in diesem Falle alte, weiche Gegenstände. Hartes hingegen, besonders aus Metall verfertigtes Gerät besitzt nicht die Eigenschaft, das Unglück seines früheren Besitzers auf den neuen zu übertragen.

Der Glaube an die Möglichkeit einer Übertragung der physischen Eigenschaften eines Menschen auf einen anderen mit Hilfe des Gerätes des ersteren ist überhaupt für diesen nördlichen Stamm sehr charakteristisch. Er erklärt auch die abergläubischen Mittel, welche zur Beseitigung der Unfruchtbarkeit einer Frau dienen sollen. Das Weib, welches keine Kinder zur Welt zu bringen vermag, muß eine andere, sehr fruchtbare Frau um deren Hosenband bitten, welches bis zum erwünschten Erfolg getragen werden soll. Ein Giljake erklärte mir, daß die Fruchtbarkeit geradeso von einem Menschen auf den anderen übertragen werden kann, wie eine ansteckende Krankheit, z. B. mittels eines Gefäßes, welches vom Kranken gebraucht wurde.

II. Die Ainu.

Allgemeine Behandlung der Frau. — Unter ganz anderen Bedingungen findet der Geburtsakt bei den übrigen Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin, den behaarten Ainu, welche dem Äusseren nach nicht wenig den russischen Bauern gleichen, statt. Das Fehlen von verschiedenen, die Wöchnerin belästigenden Unbequemlichkeiten, wovon weiter unten die Rede sein wird, kann man nicht dem längeren und näheren Zusammenleben der Ainu mit den Japanern, die ein Kulturvolk sind, zuschreiben. Hat doch das Verhältnis mit ihnen keineswegs andere grobe Sitten, die bei den Ainu und Giljaken in gleichem Maße erhalten blieben, geändert. Die Ursache der größeren Sorgfalt, welche der Wöchnerin hier zuteil wird, liegt vielmehr in einer bedeutend besseren gesellschaftlichen Stellung der ainischen Frau. Dieselbe wird hier niemals verkauft. Nach der Hochzeit wird sie nicht Mitglied eines fremden Stammes. Die Verwandtschaft mütterlicherseits wird als näher betrachtet als die väterlicherseits. In der ainischen Familie kann man überhaupt deutliche Spuren eines früheren

Matriarchats wahrnehmen, welches zwar schon ziemlich verkümmert ist, jedenfalls aber noch immer stark genug zum Ausdruck kommt, um das Los der ainischen Frauen in vielen Fällen bei weitem besser zu gestalten als dasjenige anderen Stämmen angehörender Frauen.

Da das ainische Mädchen nach der Hochzeit es mit dem Übersiedeln in das Haus des Gatten nicht so eilig hat und oft noch einige Jahre in ihrem Elternhause verweilt, macht sie in der Regel ihr erstes Wochenbett inmitten ihr nahestehender Personen ab. Ich kannte eine Frau in den mittleren Jahren, welche in ihre Heimat gereist war, um im väterlichen Hause ihre Niederkunft zu erwarten.

Schon daraus kann man schließen, daß die Ainu der Wöchnerin mehr Bequemlichkeiten gewähren, als die Giljaken und Oroken[1]. In der Tat läßt sich auch im Verhältnis der Umgebung zu der Kranken ein Mitgefühl und eine gewisse Ehrfurcht für die Frau wahrnehmen, welche in kurzem Mutter werden soll. Sogar während ihrer Schwangerschaft erfreut sich die Frau einer gewissen Sorgfalt und Aufmerksamkeit. Ich konnte bemerken, daß man gegen die Schwangere Nachsicht übte, ihr in der Arbeit an die Hand ging und ruhig ihre Trägheit oder ihren längeren Schlaf litt.

Was die Ratschläge für Schwangere betrifft, muß man vor allem die allgemeine Regel anführen, welche den schwangeren Frauen viel Bewegung empfiehlt. Der Fötus soll dann klein sein, und die Entbindung erfolgt schnell, ohne besondere Wehen. Je näher die Zeit der Entbindung heranrückt, desto mehr Bewegung soll die Frau genießen. Wenn sie während ihrer Schwangerschaft viel sitzt, wird der Fötus zu groß, und die Gebärende leidet einige Tage, bis die Entbindung erfolgt.

Die schwangere Frau darf kein Hummernfleisch genießen, da in diesem Falle das Kind eine Hasenscharte bekommt. Sie darf auch kein Vogelfleisch zu sich nehmen, da das Kind dann mit schielenden Augen, die sich wie bei einem Vogel bewegen, zur Welt kommen könnte. So erklärte man mir einen Fall von Hasenscharte bei einer Frau im Dorfe Najero und die schielenden Augen zweier Brüder im Dorfe Takoe.

Zwei Monate vor der Entbindung darf die schwangere Frau weder spinnen noch Seile drehen (aus Nesselfasern), weil dann die Eingeweide des Kindes wie Fäden untereinander geraten könnten. Dasselbe kann auch geschehen, wenn die schwangere Frau Wolle wickeln wollte.

Die Geburt. — Während des Geburtsaktes verläßt die Frau das Haus nicht, sondern sie bleibt an ihrem gewöhnlichen Platze am Feuer. Dagegen werden alle Kinder, jungen Leute und zuweilen auch erwachsene Männer aus der Yurte vertrieben. Es herrscht nämlich der Glaube, daß eine größere Anzahl von Zuschauern die Wehen der Gebärenden vergrößere; auch hält man große Ruhe für wünschenswert. Um das Beschmutzen des Fußbodens zu verhüten, wird die Stelle, wo die Kranke liegen soll, mit Tannen- und Fichtenzweigen belegt; auch bekommt die Gebärende als Unterlage eine aus Gras geflochtene Matte und alte Kleidungsstücke. Die Frau legt sich auf die rechte oder linke

[1] Der dritte auf Sachalin lebende Stamm. Seine Sitten sind mehr ähnlich diesen von den Giljaken, als den Ainu.

Seite, leicht mit einem Gürtel umschlungen, der aus irgend einem Stoff verfertigt, jedoch nicht aus Nesselfasern gewebt sein darf, weil diese zu hart sind. Wenn das Wetter kalt ist, behält die Frau ihre Stiefel an, im entgegengesetzten Falle ist dies nicht nötig.

Sobald das Kind aus der Scheide tritt, spreizt die Gebärende die Beine. Falls sie zu schwach sein sollte, sich allein zu bewegen, schiebt man ihr zwischen die Knie einen großen, aus alten Kleidungsstücken zusammengewickelten Ballen.

An der Seite der Gebärenden steht immer eine erfahrene Frau, welche sie vom Augenblicke der ersten Wehen an nicht verläßt. Es ist gewöhnlich ihre eigene Mutter oder Tante, aber auch eine andere liebende Verwandte kann deren Stelle einnehmen. Einigemal sah ich, daß zu der Schwangeren, die im Hause ihres Mannes ihre Niederkunft erwartete, eine Verwandte als Pflegerin kam, obgleich es in dem betreffenden Hause nicht an erfahrenen Weibern fehlte. Diese wurden jedoch wahrscheinlich für fernerstehend oder für weniger liebevoll gehalten.

Um die Geburt zu beschleunigen und die Wehen zu verringern, wird die Kranke massiert. Die Geburtshelferin befeuchtet ein Stückchen einer Meerpflanze, welche Meerkraut *(laminaria)* genannt wird, erwärmt es, damit der Schleim hervortrete, und reibt mit dieser schleimigen Masse zuerst stark den Rücken, darauf schwächer Brust und Bauch. Häufig wird auch bei diesem Anlaß das folgende Geheimmittel gebraucht: eine getrocknete Fledermaus wird in Holzspäne gewickelt, mit welchen dann der Bauch der Kranken eingerieben wird. Wenn der Geburtsakt trotzdem schwer vor sich geht, werden einer Hündin einige Haare aus der Bauchgegend ausgerupft, diese mit Weidenspänen umwickelt und von neuem massiert.

Die Frau, welche die Stelle der Geburtshelferin vertritt, wendet sich mit der Bitte an die Geister der verstorbenen Vorfahren, welche allgemein als alleinige Beschützer der Frauen gelten, der Kranken zu helfen. Diese Bitte lautet gewöhnlich wie folgt: „Wo immer ihr auch seid, meine Großmütterchen, helft heute einer leidenden Frau!"

Geburtshelferin kann nur eine vernünftige, mutige Frau sein, die ihre Gefühle zu beherrschen weiß, die bei dem Stöhnen und Winseln der Gebärenden nicht den Kopf verliert und nicht von Mitgefühl für sie erzittert. Sie muß nicht nur die physischen Leiden der Kranken lindern können, sondern auch die Macht haben, dieselbe zu beruhigen. Wenn es das erste Wochenbett der Gebärenden ist, ermahnt die Geburtshelferin die Leidende, geduldig die Wehen zu ertragen, wie es andere Frauen taten, die jetzt schon Kinder haben, welche ihnen schon bei der Arbeit aushelfen und deshalb der Gegenstand des Neides kinderloser Frauen sind.

Die Geburtswehen setzen bei den Ainu-Frauen lange vor der eigentlichen Entbindung ein und sind sehr hartnäckig. Als schwer gilt erst eine Entbindung, wenn die Niederkunft am fünften Tage nach den ersten Wehen eintritt.

Die Geburtshelferin spricht, indem sie das Kind in Empfang nimmt, die folgenden Worte: *„Asiri ciacia inankarachty,"* d. h. „Neuer Greis, sei gesund"! Wenn ein Mädchen zur Welt gekommen war, sagt sie aber: *pachko* anstatt

ciacia, d. h. kleine Greisin. Die Ainu glauben, daß ihnen die Kinder aus dem Jenseits von verstorbenen Verwandten geschickt werden, die dort in denselben Verhältnissen wie die Erdbewohner leben. Darum nimmt auch, sobald dem Kinde der Nabelstrang mittels eines Messers abgeschnitten worden ist, die Mutter es so schnell als möglich in die Arme, und spricht: *„A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!* Schaut Leute, wie sie sich beunruhigen!" d. h.: diejenigen, welche das Kind auf die Welt geschickt haben, erinnern sich jetzt daran und sind bekümmert, ob es auch die Reise gut überstanden habe.

Vor den Kindern verheimlichen die Ainu nichts, und die Kinder wissen ganz genau wie die Entbindung von statten geht; darum ist es auch überflüßig, ihnen später hinsichtlich der Ankunft eines neuen Brüderchens oder Schwesterchens etwas vorzulügen.

Verhalten des Mannes. — Der Gatte der Gebärenden muß die Stelle der Geburtshelferin vertreten, sobald sich diese nicht zur Zeit einstellt, oder falls sich die Entbindung zu sehr in die Länge zieht.

Der Gatte der Gebärenden ist ihr in vielen Fällen selbst behilflich, wie übrigens auch die anderen Männer des Hauses. Wenn die Frau stöhnt, wird in einer Ecke des Herdes ein kraus geschnittenes Stäbchen aufgestellt. Dieses Stäbchen wird von den Ainu *inau* genannt, und bedeutet ein Opfer für die Götter, in diesem Falle die Göttin des Feuers. Diese unterhält nämlich unter allen Göttern die besten Verhältnisse mit den Menschen und kann ihnen, wenn sie will, immer behilflich sein. Die Männer umgürten auch die Leidende unterhalb der Brust mit einer Schnur, welche aus langen Weidenspänen gedreht ist, und welche *cinoje inau*, d. h. gedrehtes *inau*, heißt und oft als Heilmittel in allen starken Schmerzen verwendet wird. Wenn trotz alldem die Entbindung noch immer nicht erfolgt, wird der Feuergöttin von den Älteren des Hauses ein neues Opfer gebracht. Ein kleines *inau* wird inmitten des Herdes zwischen die lodernden Klötze gestellt, und da es langsam verbrennt, flüstert ein vor dem Feuer auf einer kleinen Matte sitzender Greis ein leises, für diesen Fall eigens improvisiertes Gebet. Wenn dabei das glimmende Stäbchen in der Richtung nach dem Betenden umfällt, wird dies als Weisung betrachtet, daß das Gebet erhört wurde, und daß die Gebärende bald von ihren Wehen befreit werden würde.

Am Tage der Entbindung arbeitet der Gatte gewöhnlich nicht, aber nicht etwa einer abergläubischen Vorschrift zuliebe, sondern aus Mitgefühl und Sorge. Es interessiert ihn auch sehr, ob ihm von seinen Vorfahren ein Sohn oder eine Tochter beschert worden ist. Er erkundigt sich danach bei der Geburtshelferin, welche lakonisch mit *ochkajko* (Mann) oder *machneku* (Frau) antwortet. Ich muß jedoch darauf hinweisen, daß die Ainu keineswegs durchaus auf einen Nachkommen eines gewissen Geschlechtes erpicht sind. Ich habe zwar öfters gehört, daß der Vater sich einen Knaben wünschte; niemals jedoch habe ich vernommen, daß sich eines von den Eltern oder Verwandten mit Unwillen oder Ärger über die Geburt eines Mädchens ausgedrückt hätte. Wenn der Gatte der Wöchnerin irgend ein dringendes Geschäft hat, das sich durchaus nicht aufschieben läßt, kann er schon am folgenden Tage nach der Entbindung seine Gattin und das Neugeborene verlassen, falls natürlich die Gesundheit beider zufriedenstellend und weiter keine Gefahr im Anzuge ist.

Am ersten Freudentage der Eltern jedoch nimmt er an dem aus Anlaß der Geburt veranstalteten Feste teil. Vor allem wird wilder Knoblauch *(Alium victoriale)* ins Feuer geworfen. Diese Pflanze gilt als Lieblingsspeise der Götter, und die Ainu glauben, daß man, indem man sie ins Feuer wirft, die Götter zwingen kann, an dem Feste teilzunehmen. Auch Reis wird mit diesem Knoblauch gekocht, was eine sehr seltene und schmackhafte Speise gibt. Alle Nachbarn werden zu dem Essen mit eingeladen. Sie kommen vorsichtig und sind darauf bedacht, die der Kranken so nötige Ruhe nicht zu stören, sie verzehren die vorbereiteten Speisen, indem sie an der Freude der Hausleute teilnehmen.

Die Frau nach der Entbindung. — Der Kranken wird auch möglichst gutes und verdauliches Essen gereicht. Man gibt ihr Reis, getrockneten und gebratenen Fisch mit Robbenfett, aber keine saftigen Beeren und überhaupt keine schwer verdaulichen Speisen. So war ich einmal Zeuge, wie eine Wöchnerin sich weigerte, Schwarzbrot zu sich zu nehmen, das sie doch gewöhnlich sehr gern aß. Es ist der Wöchnerin auch untersagt, sehr kalte Speisen zu genießen, und alles wird ihr nur in lauem Zustande verabreicht.

Während fünf Tagen darf sie weder nähen, noch kochen, noch überhaupt eine Arbeit verrichten. Wenn sie aber schwach ist, dauert die Rekonvaleszenz auch noch länger. In normalen Verhältnissen erhebt sich die Wöchnerin am sechsten oder siebenten Tage und begibt sich nach und nach an ihre gewöhnliche Arbeit.

Die Ainu wenden dem Wochenbette eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu. So z. B. wird die Massage auch nach der Entbindung noch fortgesetzt. Um die Schmerzen zu lindern, soll es ratsam sein, in die Späne, womit die Einreibungen vorgenommen werden, ein Stück getrocknete Gebärmutter einer Bärin oder einen Zahn einer eisernen Säge einwickeln. Auch mit angefeuchtetem Seekraut wird wiederholt eingerieben. Die Ainu-Frauen leiden überhaupt nach der Entbindung an Schmerzen in der Kreuzgegend, zu deren Beseitigung verschiedene Mittel angewandt werden. Man macht unter anderem der Kranken auch Umschläge aus heißem, am Feuer erwärmten Sand, welcher in ein schmales Säckchen eingefüllt wird. Es werden ihr auch zwischen die Füße erwärmte Späne des Hollunders *(Sambucus)* gelegt oder man setzt ihr warme Steine, die in Späne eingehüllt sind, auf den Bauch. Anstatt der Späne wird zuweilen auch Gras verwendet.

Wenn die Abgänge der Kranken zu stark und mit Schmerzen verbunden sind, wird ein Aufguß von wildem Grase *(arakoikina)* verfertigt, welchen die Frau zu sich nimmt. Man kocht auch ein gewisses Gras *simosineka (Lamium)* und eine gewisse hoch wachsende Pflanze, welche *hopenukina* genannt wird, und wäscht mit dem warmen Tee den Leib der Wöchnerin. Zuweilen gibt man ihr auch den Aufguß einer gewissen, *okina* genannten Pflanze zu trinken. Als sehr gutes Mittel wird der Wöchnerin während der ersten vier bis fünf Tage das Tragen von schweren Korallen, von der Größe eines Taubeneies, empfohlen, welche als Schatz in jeder Familie aufbewahrt werden.

Um den Abgang des Mutterkuchens zu beschleunigen, wird der Bauch der Kranken mit einem schmalen Streifen Seidenstoff umwunden, und die

Wöchnerin selbst schiebt sich den Finger tief in den Rachen, um dadurch Erbrechen zu verursachen. Sobald sich Brechreiz einstellt, geht auch gewöhnlich der Mutterkuchen ab.

Derselbe wird zusammen mit allen anderen Abgängen in eine Matte gewickelt und nach Sonnenuntergang irgendwo draußen, abseits der Behausung, niedergelegt. Wenn die Entbindung in der Nacht erfolgt war, dürfen diese Reste erst mit Anbruch des Morgens beseitigt werden.

Von einem Reißen der Scheide während der Entbindung haben die Ainu nie gehört, und es ist wahrscheinlich, daß dieses bei ihnen niemals vorkommt. Es gibt aber seltene Fälle, wo die Frau nicht gebären kann. Ich kannte einen Witwer, dessen Frau aus diesem Grunde gestorben war; die Ainu wissen nämlich während einer schweren Entbindung nicht mit künstlichen Mitteln einzuschreiten.

Die Sorge um die Gesundheit der Wöchnerin hört nicht gleich nach der Niederkunft auf. Vor Ablauf von etwa zehn Tagen darf die Frau das Haus nicht verlassen, selbst wenn die Entbindung bei fremden Leuten stattgefunden hat, und die Kranke so schnell als möglich heimzukehren wünscht. Bei ihrer Abfahrt bereitet der Besitzer des Hauses, in welchem sie verweilte, weiche Hobelspäne vor, worauf die Frau im Schlitten oder im Boote gebettet wird.

Meine Beobachtungen der Verhältnisse bei den Ainu und Giljaken vergleichend, muß ich zu dem Schlusse kommen, daß die Ainu-Frauen schwerer und unter größeren Wehen gebären, als die Giljakinnen, trotzdem die Lage der letzteren nicht nur während des Wochenbettes, sondern überhaupt im Familienleben bei weitem schlimmer ist. Ein bekannter russischer Forschungsreisender, KRASCHENINNIKOV, welcher zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ein Werk, benannt: „Die Beschreibung von Kamtschatka" verfaßt hat, erwähnt in diesem Werke, daß bei den, auf den Kurilen lebenden Ainu die Entbindung schwerer vonstatten geht, als bei den Völkern Kamtschatkas, da die Rekonvaleszenz der kurilischen Ainu-Frauen nach der Entbindung ihren eigenen Aussagen zufolge manchmal bis drei Monate dauert. Im Jahre 1903, während meines Aufenthaltes unter den Ainu, starb einige Tage nach der Entbindung eine 32 Jahre alte Ainu-Frau, die vor der Niederkunft heftige Wehen gelitten hatte und während des Geburtsaktes das Bewußtsein verlor. Das Kind kam lebend zur Welt, starb jedoch einige Tage darauf.

Um der geschwächten Frau die Gesundheit so schnell als möglich wiederzugeben, gelten auch die Zweige der *Taxus baccata*, welche, stark erwärmt, auf den Körper der Kranken gelegt werden, als vorzügliches Mittel.

Behandlung des Neugeborenen. — Der Nabelstrang wird mit einem Messer durchschnitten und die Wunde mit einem Pulver, welches aus der Zerreibung von Flußmuscheln gewonnen wird, bestreut und mit einem Stück Zeug verbunden. Der Nabel heilt immer normal, und der Nabelbruch ist den Ainu völlig unbekannt. Der Kopf des Kindes wird hier einigemal tagsüber mit den Händen geformt, da die Ainu behaupten, derselbe könne entgegengesetztenfalls verunstaltet sein. Der Kopf soll vorn und hinten sowie auch von oben abgerundet sein. Danach trachten auch die Ainu, indem sie das weiche Köpfchen des Kindes formen. Während derselben Zeit wird der Kopf des

Kindes, insbesondere dort, wo er weich ist, mit weichen, warmen Holzspänen umhüllt.

Das Neugeborene wird gleich am ersten Tage seines Lebens mit warmem, reinem Wasser, ohne jedweden Zusatz, gewaschen. Der Knabe bekommt ein kälteres Bad als das Mädchen. Das Wasser wird in kleinen Mengen aus einem aus Birkenrinde verfertigten Gefäße auf den Körper des Kindes gegossen, welches man mit der linken Hand über dem Fußboden hält, während man es mit der rechten Hand einreibt. Es ist verboten, zu dem Bade Wasser zu verwenden, welches man zuvor in den Mund genommen hat, wie dies bei den Giljaken geschieht; die Ainu glauben nämlich, daß das Kind in diesem Falle augenkrank werden könne.

Sobald das Kind in Windeln eingehüllt ist, gibt man ihm Nahrung. Während des ersten Tages wird das Neugeborene gewöhnlich von einer anderen Frau, die noch genug Nahrung hat, gesäugt. Wenn aber keine geeignete Frau in der Nähe ist, reicht auch wohl die Mutter gleich selbst ihrem Kinde die Brust. Wenn die Mutter jedoch längere Zeit keine Nahrung für das Kind hat, werden die Brüste mittels einer eigenen, aus weichem Stoffe verfertigten Binde festgehalten, wodurch das Hin- und Herrutschen und Sich-senken der Brüste verhindert wird. Die Brüste werden auch mit dem weißen Safte einer *to pe kara kina*, d. h. „Milch gebendes Gras", genannten Pflanze bestrichen. Frauen, die ungenügend Nahrung besitzen, kommen bei den Ainu, ihren eigenen Aussagen zufolge, sehr selten vor. Gewöhnlich haben die Ainu-Frauen mehr Milch als das Kind benötigt und ich habe zu wiederholtenmalen gesehen, daß Frauen einen Teil ihrer Nahrung beseitigten oder auch zwei Kinder nährten.

Fehlgeburt. — Was die Fehlgeburt anbelangt, so kommt dieselbe, wie ich von verschiedenen Ainu-Männern und -Frauen gehört habe, höchst selten vor.

Zwei Jahre hindurch (1903—1904) verfolgte ich selbst sehr genau alle Veränderungen in der Bevölkerung des östlichen Ufers von Sachalin und verzeichnete im Jahre 1903 zwei Fälle von Fehlgeburt (eine bei einer 29jährigen Frau im 8. Monate der Schwangerschaft und eine bei einer 24jährigen Frau im 6. oder 7. Monate der Schwangerschaft; beide gebaren nach 1 und 1½ Jahren ganz regelrecht lebende Kinder) und im Jahre 1904 einen Fall (bei einer Frau im 9. Monate der Schwangerschaft). In diesen Dörfern gab es in den Jahren 1903—1904 25 Entbindungen, 147—155 entbindungsfähige Frauen, wobei ich zu den letzteren alle über 15 und unter 51 Jahre alten Frauen zähle.

Die Ainu wissen nicht, daß, falls eines von den Gatten von Syphilis angesteckt ist, Fehlgeburt erfolgt. Eine von den oben angeführten Fehlgeburten kann man eben diesem Grunde zuschreiben (der Vater war syphilitisch).

Von den Verhältnissen am westlichen Ufer Sachalins besitze ich keine genaue Kenntnis; es ist aber möglich, daß dort Fehlgeburten öfter vorkommen, da die Bevölkerung dieser Gegenden in den letzten Zeiten oft durch Vermittlung japanischer Arbeiter, welche zum Fischfange nach Sachalin kommen, der syphilitischen Ansteckung unterliegt.

Die Ainu selbst erklären die Ursachen der Fehlgeburt folgendermaßen:

1. Wenn der Gatte an seinem Penis ein Geschwür hat, welches nicht heilen will, wird dies nicht als eine Krankheit angesehen; verheimlicht der

Mann seinen Fehler nicht und verständigt er davon seine Frau und ihre Verwandten, dann findet keine Fehlgeburt statt.

2. Wenn die Frau während der Schwangerschaft fällt und eine starke Erschütterung erfährt, erfolgt Fehlgeburt.

Nach sieben Mondesmonaten der Schwangerschaft soll die Frau den öfteren Beischlaf mit ihrem Gatten meiden, da während desselben der männliche Samen in die Augen und den Mund des Fötus geraten könnte, und das Kind dann schlecht sehen würde. Es wird erzählt, daß es vorkommt, daß das Neugeborene so viel weißen Schleim im Munde hat (der geradeso wie der männliche Samen *owembo* genannt wird), daß man ihn nicht schnell genug aus dem Munde entfernen kann, und das Kind stirbt, da es davon erstickt wird.

Nach der Entbindung ist der Beischlaf während 30 bis 40 Tagen verboten.

Charakteristisch ist die Ansicht der Ainu, daß die Befruchtung nicht durch ein- oder zweimaligen Beischlaf erfolgen kann. Das Kind ist die Frucht wiederholter Begattung, darum gilt es bei den Ainu-Frauen für ungefährlich, sich einem Manne ein- oder zweimal hinzugeben; sie fürchten jedoch die Folgen eines längeren Liebesverhältnisses.

Künstlich wird die Fehlgeburt bei den Ainu oft, viel öfter als bei den Giljaken, herbeigeführt. Das Leben der letzteren gestaltet sich viel normaler im Rahmen der hergebrachten Sitten, wohingegen die Ainu auf Sachalin schon fast zwei Jahrhunderte lang unter dem Einflusse eines starken äußeren Faktors, des Einschreitens der Japaner, stehen. Diese greifen in großem Maße in das Leben der Ainu ein, verändern es, und importieren nicht gerade kulturfördernde Elemente. Die Frauen besonders stehen unter dem Einfluße ausländischer Männer, die auf Befriedigung ihres Geschlechtstriebes sehen. Daher stammt die große Anzahl von geheimen Verhältnissen, welche von Ainu-Frauen mit Ausländern unterhalten werden, und es bildet sich häufig der Typus von Frauen, die sich der nur schwach verhüllten Prostitution widmen. In beiden Fällen vermeiden sie ganz zielbewußt die Schwangerschaft und wenden alle Mittel an, um dieselbe zu beseitigen, wenn sie zufällig eintritt.

Das meist gebrauchte Mittel hierzu, welches den Ainu-Frauen seit langem bekannt ist, ist das Pressen des Bauches mit den Händen oder irgend einem schweren Gegenstande. Diese Operation jedoch, obgleich sie während einer ganzen Reihe von Generationen praktiziert worden ist, bleibt immer für die Frau sehr gefährlich und verläuft selten ungestraft. Alte Leute erzählten mir, in der Jugend öfters Zeuge gewesen zu sein, daß diese Methode die Fehlgeburt hervorzurufen nur zu oft mit dem Tode der Frau geendet hat. Ich sah auch selbst ein sehr herabgekommenes, fast immer krankes Weib, das sich niemals vollkommen aufzurichten vermochte und auch kurze Zeit darauf in meiner Gegenwart starb. Man erzählte mir von ihr, daß sie vor einigen Jahren mittels der genannten Methode eine künstliche Fehlgeburt veranlaßt und dadurch ihre Gesundheit untergraben hatte. Manche Greise versicherten mich, daß es Frauen gebe, die so meisterhaft zu Werke gehen, daß sie imstande seien, auf diese Art einige Male im Leben den Fötus in ihrem Leibe zu töten.

Ein zweites Mittel, die Schwangerschaft zu unterbrechen, ist ein starkes Schnüren des Bauches oberhalb der Taille während der ersten Monate. Der

Fötus geht vor dem eigentlichen Ende der Schwangerschaft ab, aber in den folgenden Monaten bleibt ein hartnäckiger Schmerz in den Seiten. Dieses Mittel gilt als sehr unbequem, da es der eingeschnürten Frau schwer fällt zu arbeiten, viel weniger noch kann sie an den vielen vorübergehenden Liebeleien teilnehmen, denen zuliebe sie zu diesen Hilfsmitteln Zuflucht nimmt.

Um sich des Fötus zu entledigen springt die Frau manchmal aus erheblicher Höhe herab, z. B. von der Treppe, die zu dem, auf Pfeilern gebauten Speicher führt.

Zu den sympathischen kann man ein anderes Mittel zählen, welches dem Glauben der Ainu-Frauen zufolge die Fehlgeburt herbeiführen soll. Es besteht darin, daß die schwangere Frau ihre untere Bekleidung, etwa das Hemd, welches gewöhnlich dieselbe Länge hat wie das Oberkleid, bis zum Gürtel entzwei schneidet und sie so bis zum erfolgten Abortus trägt. Dieses Mittel ist jedoch wenig verbreitet und muß ganz neu sein, da es mir nur von einer Frau angegeben wurde. Die anderen, die es hörten, wunderten sich nur, bestätigten aber nicht ihre Angaben. Ein altes, und wahrscheinlich oft gebrauchtes Mittel ist der Rost, da ich von seinem Gebrauche im Norden sowie im Süden des östlichen Ufers hörte. Im Norden wird noch ein gewisses Gras dazugetan; die Männer, die mir davon erzählten, wußten jedoch nicht seinen Namen. Mit den Frauen dieser Gegenden war ich nicht so bekannt, als daß sie offen diesen heiklen Gegenstand mit mir besprochen hätten.

Künstliche Fehlgeburten waren, den Erzählungen alter Ainu zufolge, schon in ferner Vergangenheit bekannt, da die Mädchen sich einer absoluten Freiheit im geschlechtlichen Verkehr erfreuten, sich aber schämten oder weigerten, vor der Hochzeit Kinder zu gebären. Es ist möglich, daß damals auch noch andere Mittel gebraucht wurden, um den Fötus abzutreiben.

Jetzt benützen die Frauen hauptsächlich japanische Mittel, welche von den Arbeitern und Beamten der Fischereiunternehmungen, welche auf dem ganzen südlichen Ufer Sachalins zerstreut sind, eingeführt werden. Ich konnte jedoch von den Fischern, die ich hierüber befragte, nichts über diese Mittel erfahren. Vielleicht stieß ich auf Leute, die wirklich davon keinen Begriff hatten oder vermieden sie vielleicht absichtlich, offen mit mir über diese Sache zu reden, da sie wußten, daß das neue japanische Strafgesetz sehr strenge alle Manipulationen verfolgt, die die Verringerung der Geburtszahl bezwecken. Ich erfuhr jedoch von einem intelligenteren Japaner, daß der Safran, welcher wild in großen Mengen auf der Insel Hokkaido wächst, als sehr sicheres Mittel gilt. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es in Japan, angesichts des dort so verbreiteten Brauches, die Schwangerschaft zu verhüten und zu unterbrechen, viele Mittel gibt, die zu diesem Zwecke dienen. Auch die Ainu-Frauen glauben an diese *sisiam kusuri* (japanische Heilmittel); sie verraten jedoch nur selten ihr Geheimnis, das sie unter der Bedingung der Verschwiegenheit erhalten.

Zwillingsgeburten. — Bei den Ainu ist die Geburt von Zwillingen von demselben Aberglauben begleitet wie bei den Giljaken. Eines von den beiden ist durchaus teuflischer Abstammung, da der Mensch ihrer Meinung nach das Weib nur mit einem Kinde befruchten kann. Ein derartiges Verhältnis zu zwei gleichzeitig geborenen Wesen läßt leicht vermuten, daß die Ainu wahrscheinlich

trachteten, sich der für sie widerwärtigen teuflischen Brut zu entledigen. Jedoch konnte ich keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Vermutung finden, daß bei ihnen die Sitte besteht, eines der Zwillinge zu töten. In dem Buche eines russischen Reisenden vom Anfang des 19. Jahrh., KRASCHENINNIKÓV, wird jedoch eine solche Sitte erwähnt, freilich als bei den Ainu der kurilischen Inseln herrschend. Ich habe aber die folgenden Gründe, zu behaupten, daß bis heute noch die Ainu ihre Zwillinge zu töten pflegen:

1. Ihre Überzeugung, daß von Zwillingen immer nur eines am Leben bleibt, nämlich dasjenige, welches menschlicher Abstammung ist. Das verstorbene ist teuflischer Herkunft.

2. Die Furcht der Ainu-Familie, das vom Bösen abstammende Kind zu erziehen, die fortwährende Schande der Mutter angesichts ihrer Bekannten. Dieses Gefühl der Schande ist so stark, daß es mir ungemein schwer fiel, irgendwelche Informationen über Mütter zu erhalten, welche Zwillinge geboren hatten. Nur solche Leute erlaubten sich sie mir zu bezeichnen, die in keinem verwandtschaftlichen Verhältnis zu deren Familien standen oder sogar feindlich gegen sie gesinnt waren.

3. Der Umstand endlich, daß während meines Aufenthaltes unter den Ainu kein einziges lebendes Zwillingspaar aufzufinden war, obzwar es mir gelang Informationen über zwei erwachsene Frauen zu erhalten, von denen beide, als einzig überlebende, zwei verschiedenen Zwillingspaaren angehörten. Im Jahre 1902 genas in einem mir bekannten Dorfe eine Frau von zwei Zwillingen, welche jedoch gleich starben.

Diese Gründe zur Annahme, daß bis heute noch bei den Ainu eines von den geborenen Zwillingen getötet wird, könnten höchstens durch eine einzige diesbezügliche Sage abgeschwächt werden. Es wurde mir nämlich erzählt, daß Zwillingsbrüder, die am Leben blieben und deren Eltern es gelänge sie zu erziehen, Glückskinder wären und besonders im Waidwerk ihren Mann stellten. Es ist jedoch möglich, daß diese Sage japanischer, und zwar späterer Herkunft ist, da sie vielen unbekannt war. Andere behaupteten z. B., daß bei den Ainu, wie bei den Japanern, nur der jüngere der Brüder tapfer, stark und glücklich sei. Der ältere soll sich durch nichts von jedem Durchschnittsmenschen seines Stammes unterscheiden.

Die Ainu wie die Giljaken trachten in gleichem Maße sich vor einem wiederholten derartigen Unglück durch Opfer und Gebete zu schützen. Im Süden Sachalins z. B. hängt man über dem Bette der Mutter, welche Zwillinge zur Welt gebracht hatte, den gewöhnlichen Opfergegenstand, den kraus geschnittenen Stab *(inau)* zu Ehren der Götter und Geister auf. In den nördlichen Dörfern werden außer dem *inau* zwei kleine Puppen, oder besser gesagt Holzstäbchen, an der Wand befestigt, welche die Zwillinge darstellen sollen. Dieses *inau* wird jedesmal, so oft die alte Asche aus der Jurte entfernt wird, aufgefrischt, worauf fast allen Göttern Opfer dargebracht werden. Ich habe bei einem Ainu, dem Bewohner des am nördlichsten gelegenen Dorfes Tarajka, Talismane gesehen, welche den Zweck hatten, das wiederholte Zurweltkommen von Zwillingen zu verhüten.

Die Ainu vermeiden Frauen, welche Zwillinge geboren hatten, in gleichem Grade, wie sie vor den letzteren zurückscheuen. Sie fürchten nämlich, die verhängnisvolle Eigenschaft könne von ihnen auf andere übergehen. In dieser Hinsicht jedoch sind ihre Ansichten von denen der Giljaken ganz verschieden. Sie erachten nämlich weiche Gegenstände, Hausgeräte aus Meergras, Kleidungsstücke u. dergl. als nicht so schädlich wie Gegenstände aus Metall, oder überhaupt harte Sachen.

Unfruchtbarkeit. — Die Ainu glauben auch, daß ein erwachsener Mensch seine Eigenschaften auf einen anderen übertragen kann. So kauft z. B. ein unfruchtbares Weib verschiedenes, von einer kinderreichen Frau verfertigtes Gerät und bedient sich dessen ständig, trägt wohl auch kleinere Gegenstände auf sich. Als gutes Mittel wird dem unfruchtbaren Weibe auch ein Trank verabreicht, welcher nichts anderes ist als Wasser, in dem vorher das lederne Gürtelende einer kinderreichen Frau gekocht wurde. Es herrscht auch der Glaube, daß eine unfruchtbare Frau geheilt werden kann, wenn sie sich mit nacktem Gesäß auf den soeben abgegangenen Mutterkuchen einer Frau setzt, die gerade ein Kind zur Welt gebracht hat. Von einigen Männern wurde mir von noch einem Mittel berichtet. Der Gatte der kinderlosen Frau nämlich steckt ohne deren Wissen unter ihr Kopfkissen ein hölzernes Messer, welches einem wirklichen aufs Haar gleichen muß. Wenn nach Jahresfrist die gewünschte Wirkung nicht eingetreten ist, nimmt sich der Mann eine andere, jüngere Frau, um von ihr die ersehnte Nachkommenschaft zu erhalten.

Selten jedoch schreiben die Ainu die Schuld der Kinderlosigkeit einer Familie ausschließlich dem Weibe zu. Es herrscht vielmehr die allgemeine Ansicht, daß dies von den beiden Gatten abhänge oder eigentlich von ihrem Blute, welches hart oder weich sein kann. Besitzen beide Gatten weiches Blut, wird ihnen schon im ersten oder zweiten Jahre ihres Zusammenlebens ein Kind geboren. Ist aber das Blut eines der Gatten hart, dann können erst nach mehreren Jahren Kinder zur Welt kommen. Wenn jedoch beide Gatten hartes Blut haben, dann sind sie zur Kinderlosigkeit verurteilt und nichts kann ihnen helfen, nicht einmal die oben angeführten Mittel. Es ist bezeichnend, daß es nicht erlaubt ist, sich in diesem Falle an die Schamanen um Hilfe zu wenden. Diese würden es entschieden ablehnen, die Götter mit derartigen unreinen Angelegenheiten *(ciachkire oruspe)* zu belästigen.

Unfruchtbarkeit ist jedoch nicht etwas, was mit Verachtung gestraft werden müßte. Die kinderlose Familie adoptiert gewöhnlich ein Kind von Verwandten. In den ainischen Märchen und Sagen kommt es oft vor, daß tapfere Helden, denen es im Leben immer gut geht, und die sich unter großen Gefahren und großem Kraftaufwand eine schöne Gattin errungen hatten, kinderlos bleiben, eben weil sie so mächtig gewesen *(we-nupuru)*. Denn Kinder werden gewöhnlich schwächeren *(we cian)* Helden des ainischen Folklores geboren.

Als anerkannt unfruchtbar gelten Frauen, welche keine Menstruation haben, die sogenannten „reinen", welche von den Ainu als *kiejsach machneku* (d. h. blutlos) bezeichnet werden. Solchen Mädchen ist der geschlechtliche Verkehr mit Männern strengstens untersagt, da sie dabei augenblicklich den Tod finden könnten. Nicht lange nach meiner Ankunft bei den Ainu starb

eine Frau, welche bis in ihre späten Lebensjahre ihre Unschuld bewahrt hatte. Sie hatte auch schamanische Anlagen und war längere Zeit Schamanin, woraus man folgern kann, daß sie ein zarteres und empfänglicheres Nervensystem besessen als die anderen Mädchen. Man findet bei den Ainu Frauen, bei welchen die Menstruation schon in der Jugend aufhört. Solche Frauen sind auch zur völligen geschlechtlichen Abstinenz verurteilt. Man wies mir eine Frau, welche, obgleich sie gemeinsam mit einem alten Manne lebte und als seine Frau galt, aus dem oben angeführten Grunde doch abgesondert von ihm schlief, was schon lange Jahre dauerte.

Menstruation. — Die Ainu wissen, daß nach dem Aufhören der Menstruation für die Frau der Lebensabschnitt anfängt, wo sie nicht mehr der Befruchtung zugänglich ist. Man konnte mir jedoch nicht das durchschnittliche Alter angeben, wo dies eintritt. Der russische Arzt N. Kirilov berechnet dieses Alter auf 40 Jahre. Ich glaube jedoch, daß diese Zahl ganz willkürlich genannt und nur auf den Angaben weniger Personen begründet ist. Meine ainischen Freunde zeigten mir eine Frau, welche 56 bis 60 Jahre alt sein mußte, da ihr Sohn schon 34 Jahre zählte. Sie hatte ihre Menstruation kaum 3 Jahre vorher verloren und war, den Aussagen meiner Bekannten zufolge, gar nicht als Ausnahme anzusehen. Aus den von mir am östlichen Ufer Sachalins unter der Bevölkerung gesammelten statistischen Daten geht hervor, daß 12 Personen von über 40 Jahre zählenden Frauen geboren wurden. Fünf davon gebaren in ihrem 41. bis 45. Lebensjahre, sieben im Alter von 46 bis 53 Jahren. Es ergibt dies 20 Prozent der Gesamtzahl der über 40 Jahre zählenden Frauen am östlichen Ufer der Insel. Man muß jedoch beachten, daß ich nur die Fälle aufgezeichnet hatte, wo die Kinder am Leben geblieben waren, d. h. die Zahl der Geburten überhaupt noch viel größer ist. Man darf daher mit Recht annehmen, daß es unter den Ainu viele Frauen gibt, bei denen die Menstruation noch über das Alter von 40 Jahren dauert und bei denen das Klimakterium nicht vor 50 Jahren eintritt.

Die Menstruation geht bei den Ainu-Frauen nicht immer ganz regelrecht vor sich. So z. B. kannte ich eine junge Frau, welche später in meiner Anwesenheit im Alter von 25 Jahren an Influenza starb und welche, den Aussagen ihres Gatten zufolge, so wenig Blut verlor, daß dieser sie scherzend einen Mann zu nennen pflegte. Diesen Umstand gerade hielt der junge Ainu für die Ursache ihrer Unfruchtbarkeit und gestand mir sorgenvoll, daß er, um Nachkommen zu erlangen, sich noch eine Frau werde suchen müssen. Sie klagte öfters über Schmerzen und sagte, sie habe das Gefühl, als ob in ihren Eingeweiden sich etwas bewegte, was diese Schmerzen verursache. Sie fühlte auch manchmal Atembeschwerden dabei.

Es kommt manchmal, obzwar ziemlich selten, vor, daß die Ainu-Frauen ihre Menstruation nicht jeden Monat, sondern jede sechste Woche bekommen, was als *kiem o-utur tuima*, d. h. große Unterbrechungen des Blutes, bezeichnet wird.

Gewöhnlich dauert die Menstruation zwei bis drei, bei manchen Frauen jedoch auch vier Tage und ist dann immer schmerzhaft.

Nach der Entbindung haben die Ainu-Frauen gewöhnlich lange keine Monatsregeln, da sie längere Zeit ihre Kinder selbst stillen. Wenn jedoch die

Frau in ihren Geschlechtsverhältnissen nicht mäßig ist, dann bekommt sie schon nach fünf Monaten ihre Regeln, wenn sie auch selbst ihr Kind stillt.

Während der Menstruation tragen die Ainu gewebte Schürzen, welche sie entweder von den Japanern oder von den Russen kaufen. In früheren Jahren wurden zu diesem Zwecke Schürzen aus weicher Robbenhaut verwendet. Diese Schürzen werden um den nackten Leib gebunden, und zwar nicht vorne, sondern hinten. In sitzender Stellung tropft das Blut auf die Schürze und schützt so die Kleidung vor Flecken. Es trifft sich manchmal, daß das Blut auf den Fußboden der Jurte, oder auf die Erde im Hofe tropft, wenn die Frau herumgeht, da ja die Ainufrauen keine Beinkleider tragen. Ich habe selbst zu wiederholten Malen solche Flecken gesehen, obgleich die Frauen diese Möglichkeit, welche sie für eine Unanständigkeit halten, so gut als es nur geht, zu vermeiden suchen.

Hier sieht man wieder den großen Unterschied im Verhältnisse der Familie zu den Frauen der Ainu und der Giljaken, worauf ich schon früher, bei der Beschreibung des Geburtsaktes bei diesen Stämmen, hingewiesen habe. Die Ainu betrachten es als unschädlich, das Blut eines Weibes anzusehen, oder selbst mit dem Fuße auf einen Blutflecken zu treten. Ja, das Blut der Menstruation gilt sogar als guter Talisman. Wenn jemand einen Blutstropfen am Boden sieht, soll er ihn mit dem Finger abwischen, und seine Brust damit bestreichen. Es ist dies ein ausgezeichnetes Mittel, welches jedermann zum Wohlstande helfen kann, da es bei verschiedenen Geldangelegenheiten eine günstige Wirkung ausübt. Das Blut des Weibes auf der Brust des Mannes wird zum Talismann, welcher bewirkt, daß alle, welche mit ihm in Geldangelegenheiten zu tun haben, ihm nachgeben, was zu seinem großen Vorteile gereicht. Wer eine während der Menstruation gebrauchte Schürze zu sehen bekommen würde, was indessen sehr selten geschehen kann, da die Frauen diese Schürzen sorgfältig vor den Augen aller, besonders aber der Männer, verbergen, soll die Besitzerin bitten, ihm ein kleines Stückchen davon zu schenken. Dies soll er immer bei sich tragen, da es als machtvoller Talisman im Kampfe ums Dasein wirkt.

Männer, die weite Jagdausflüge unternehmen, haben fast immer ein Stückchen solch einer Schürze mit sich, welches auch als Mittel gegen Schmerzen dient. Es wird in diesem Falle befeuchtet, und die kranke Stelle damit eingerieben.

Alles das weist darauf hin, daß unter den Ainu noch starke Spuren der Zeit zurückgeblieben sind, wo die Frau die Hauptrolle im Leben der Familie und des Mannes spielte.

9: Lavrov E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6

On the Representative Art of the Nivkhi and Ainu
[Ob Izobrazitel'nom Iskusstve Nivkhov i Ainov]

by I. P. Lavrov

Moskva, 1949
Kratkie Soobschenia
Vol. 5, pp. 32-39

Translated from the Russian by Leo Bromwich

Human Relations Area Files
1964

[Title page]

9: Lavrov--1 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
171

/32/

The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

A
G
532
114

A
G
[113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaia Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

A
G
[113]

by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, svíazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
114
[113]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean.

A
G
114
121
532

Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

G /33 cont./
532
825 In the ancestral bear barns of the My and Uarki settlements we had an opportunity to look over and in part to draw and photograph up to 40 whole specimens and fragments of specimens of the ornamented "bear ladles"—nikhyr. All the ladles may be divided into two groups in accordance with the symbolic representations on their handles:

1) Ladles with the representation of a bear sitting on his hind legs (in rare cases, two bears) with a noose over his neck. A crossbar frequently connects the noose with the handle. The bear's nuzzle lies on the edge of the vessel. In some samples of this group the hind part of the bear is twisted in the form of a spiral. (Drawings 1 and 2)

2) Ladles representing a bear (in rare cases, two bears) standing between two pillars. The crossbar connecting the pillars is continued to the end until its connection with the dipper, and, together with the base on which the figure stands, forms a long continuous frame of the carved handle. In the centre of the frame, in the rectangle formed by the pillars, is the bear with his muzzle turned toward the vessel. (drawing 1, a). In the ladles of the first and second group the edge of the handle opposite to the dipper usually ends in a twirl or a circlet with a protrusion in the shape of a spear or "a goose."

According to the explanations given by our informants, the ladles of the first group were prepared "when the bear was killed in the hunt." The hind part, twisted into a spiral, represents not the bear itself, but only its skin: "from the forest the head and skin of the bear was carried home on a belt." The representations of the second group have reference to a bear fed within a settlement and killed on a holiday. On the whole, the workmanship of the ladles we have seen is primitive, but the carving, and especially the representation of bears is very expressive. The bear sculpture contains rich potentialities for the development of the realistic (animalistic) art. Individual bear ladles are more than one metre in length. Some of them contain pictographic carvings. One's attention is drawn to the generally birdlike shape of /34/ the ladles. In this connection

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird
A heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

172 The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
532 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
825 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
[177] self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.
A /35 contains photographs./ /36/

532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178

5. See L. Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

532 /37 cont./
825
178
[113] problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532 Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme
825 in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi,
[171] the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note
[114] an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the
[171] ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed be-
[171] fore the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

[113]

6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

532 /38 cont./
[113]

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L.Y. Shternberg, in Aĭnskaĭa problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation developed on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

[825]

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the
171 peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

Gilyak RX2

A /39 cont./

532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

G
171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
532
825

Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A
172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Nilta and Sirokham.
532
825

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
825

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

/39 cont./

532
825

heads, wound by cords made of bark.

Figure 6, page 39.

Ainu sticks ikunisi: a) high relief carving (swallow and bear head); b) high relief carving (swallow chasing a whale, and swallow in enclosure); v) stick wound with cords made of bark; g) and d) carving imitating intertwining of cord. Reproductions from various sources.

9: Lavrov AB6 Ainu

АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК СССР

ИНСТИТУТ ЭТНОГРАФИИ

ИМЕНИ
Н. Н. МИКЛУХО-МАКЛАЯ

КРАТКИЕ СООБЩЕНИЯ

V

[title page]

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО АКАДЕМИИ НАУК СССР
МОСКВА—ЛЕНИНГРАД
1949

[32]

Н. П. ЛАВРОВ

ОБ ИЗОБРАЗИТЕЛЬНОМ ИСКУССТВЕ НИВХОВ И АЙНОВ

(Из материалов Амуро-Сахалинской экспедиции)

Исключительное орнаментальное богатство изобразительного искусства народностей, населяющих бассейн Амура и о-в Сахалин, многообразие и совершенство традиционных способов художественной обработки дерева, бересты, кости, рыбьей кожи, меха и тканей неоднократно привлекали внимание исследователей Сибири и Дальнего Востока. Объединяемое общими чертами и в то же время бесконечно ранообразное в деталях искусство нанайцев (гольдов), нивхов (гиляков), ульчей, ороков, айнов и других народностей отличается выработанностью приемов и устойчивостью форм, свидетельствующих о древности изобразительных сюжетов и орнаментальных мотивов, лежащих в основе декоративных композиций. Описания и изображения орнаментики на одежде, утвари, лодках, жилищах, надгробиях имеются в работах Шренка,[1] Лауфера, Штернберга,[2] Лопатина[3] и, наконец, в исследованиях Иванова,[4] посвященных религиозно-бытовой пластике и орнаментике народностей Амура. Благодаря работам названных авторов можно составить достаточно точное представление о стилистическом и сюжетном своеобразии этого замечательного центра народно-декоративного искусства, в то же время являющегося звеном в цепи, протянувшейся вдоль тихоокеанского побережья с юга на северо-восток и, может быть, соединявшей еще энеолитические культуры Азии с древним населением крайнего северо-востока и северо-запада Америки. И если пока еще в этой цепи многое неясно и почти все спорно, то, надо полагать, ведущиеся и принимающие все более широкий размах работы Северо-восточной экспедиции АН СССР помогут распутать сложный узел этнических и исторических взаимоотношений в бассейне Амура и на северо-восточном побережье Тихого океана. Дважды участвуя в работах экспедиции — в 1945 г. на Чукотке и в 1947 г. в низовьях Амура и на Южном Сахалине, я как сотрудник Института художественной промышленности имел задания обследовательского и организационного характера в целях разработки мероприятий по восстановлению заглохших и развитию существующих народно-художественных производств. Одновременно мною

---

[1] Л. Шренк. Об инородцах Амурского края. СПб., 1903.
[2] Л. Я. Штернберг. Айнская проблема. Сб. МАЭ, т. VIII, 1929.
[3] И. Лопатин. Гольды. Владивосток, 1922.
[4] С. В. Иванов. Орнаментика и обряды, связанные с амурской лодкой. Сов. этнография, 1935, № 4—5; «Медведь в искусстве народностей Амура». Сб. памяти В. Г. Богораза, 1937.

изучались вопросы стиля, генезиса, развития и распространения орнаментальных форм.

Амуро-Сахалинской экспедицией собран значительный материал по изобразительному искусству нанайцев, ульчей, нивхов, ороков и айнов. В настоящем сообщении я рассмотрю только некоторые типичные формы нивхской и айнской орнаментики и религиозно-бытовой скульптуры, которые позволяют по-новому осветить вопросы происхождения «гиляцкой медвежьей посуды», ленточно-шнурового орнамента и айнской медвежьей скульптуры.

В родовых медвежьих амбарах селений Мы и Уарки мы имели возможность просмотреть и частично зарисовать и сфотографировать до 40 цельных экземпляров и фрагментов орнаментальных «медвежьих ковшей» — *нихыр*. Все ковши можно разделить на две группы в соответствии с символикой изображений на ручках ковшей:

Рис. 1, а, б. «Медвежьи ковши» из сел. Мы (из сборов экспедиции). Нивхи Амурского лимана

1) Ковши с изображением осевшего на задние ноги медведя (редко двух медведей) с петлей на шее. Петля часто соединяется перекладиной со столбом. Морда медведя лежит на краю сосуда. У некоторых изображений этой группы задняя часть завернута в виде спирали (рис. 1 и 2).

2) Ковши с изображением стоящего между двумя столбами медведя (иногда двух медведей). Перекладина, соединяющая столбы, продолженная к концу до соединения с сосудом, образует, вместе с основанием, на котором стоит фигура, длинную сплошную раму, прорезной ручки. В центре рамы, в прямоугольнике, образованном столбами, помещается медведь, также обращенный мордой к сосуду (рис. 1, *а*). Противоположный сосуду край ручки у ковшей и первой и второй группы обычно заканчивается витком или кружочком с выступом в виде копьеца или «гуська».

По объяснению наших информаторов, ковши первой группы изготовлялись, «когда медведя убивали на охоте». Задняя часть зверя, завернутая спиралью, означает не самого медведя, а только его шкуру: «на ремне голову со шкурой из лесу домой таскали». Изображения второй группы относятся к медведям, выкормленным в селении и убитым на празднике. Исполнение всех виденных нами ковшей в общем примитивное, но резьба, особенно изображения медведей, очень выразительна. В медвежьей скульптуре заложены богатые возможности развития реалистического (анималистического) искусства. В отдельных образцах медвежьи ковши бывают длиной более метра. На некоторых из них имеется пиктографическая резьба. Обращает на себя внимание птице-

видная в общих чертах форма ковшей. В этой связи интересно сопоставить форму медвежьей посуды с ритуальной посудой, употреблявшейся нивхами для «кормления моря»; в последних (как нам кажется, более архаических) также преобладают сосуды в виде птицы, иногда усложненные символической декорацией (сосуды с двумя птичьими головами и длинными переплетенными шеями и др.).

Ценные коллекции, уже «археологические» по своему происхождению, собраны по искусству айнов. Насильственная японизация айнов настолько сильно сказалась в утере ими самобытной национальной

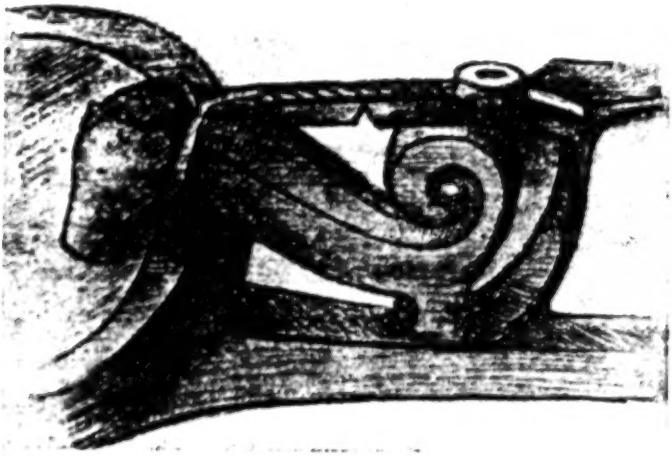


Рис. 2. Фрагмент «медвежьего ковша» с изображением шкуры медведя с головой. Сел. Мы. Нивхи Амурского лимана

культуры, что мы почти ничего не нашли характерно айнского в жилищах, одежде и утвари. И только около айнских селений на старых мольбищах — *инау-ках* — мы обнаружили старинную айнскую утварь и предметы религиозного быта, хранившиеся там с того времени, когда айны еще справляли медвежий праздник. В особенности интересные находки нами были сделаны близ селений Ниитой и Сирохама. Наибольший интерес среди этих находок представляют выкопанные из-под корней дерева скульптурные изображения медведей, медвежьих голов и в особенности змеевидные изображения с головой медведя и какие-то непонятные на вид искривленные и переплетающиеся куски корней, также оканчивающиеся медвежьими головами. Найденные фигурки, видимо, были обернуты кусочками медвежьего меха и обвязаны веревками из луба. Об этом свидетельствуют плотно приставшие к изображениям клочки волос и рыхлая масса с остатками веревок, в которой лежали извлеченные из земли фигурки. Несколько экземпляров полностью сохранили свои покровы (рис. 3, *а*). Наш информатор Сирокава (65-летний айн из селения Сирохама) сообщил нам, что подобные изображения хранились в каждом айнском доме и после удачной охоты на фигурке

[35]

а (a)

б (b)

в (v)

г (g)

д (d)

е (e)

ж (zh)

з (z)

Рис. 3. а — з. Скульптурные изображения со старых мольбищ айнских селений Нинтой и Сирохама

медведя прибавлялся новый шнурок. Все изображения сделаны из корней лиственницы, причем мастерами как бы нарочито использовались всевозможные искривления и сращивания корней, видимо, с какой-то определенной целью. Только в отношении голов исполнители проявили несомненное желание и большое уменье передать полный правдоподобия и вместе с тем монументального обобщения реальный облик медведя.

Собранную нами коллекцию изображений (около 60) можно разделить на четыре группы:

1) Отдельные, реально исполненные медвежьи головы (рис 3, *б*).

2) Наиболее многочисленные изображения, передающие общий вид медведя (рис. 3, *в*), хотя почти все они имеют искаженную форму: у многих из них недостает ног или они невероятно искривлены; у других отсутствует туловище и ноги соединяются непосредственно с головой. К этой же группе можно отнести и одно парное изображение осевших на задние ноги медведей с непонятными придатками, возможно, оставленными для устойчивости (рис. 3, *г*).

3) Небольшая по численности группа скульптурных комбинаций из нескольких голов и ног (рис. 3, *д*).

4) Изображение в виде змеи с медвежьей головой и несколько изображений странной формы из переплетающихся корней; среди последних кусок корня с завязанными узлом раздвоенными концами, обработанными также в виде голов (рис. 3 *е*, *ж*, *з*).

Все эти изображения Сирокава назвал *инóка*. Л. Я. Штернберг переводит это айнское выражение словом «змей»; *инóка-камуи* — божественный змей. Поскольку среди инóка все же преобладают изображения медведей, можно предположить, что на деревянное изображение медведя айны перенесли название змея. Такое предположение согласуется с фантастической формой «медведей», как бы сохранивших еще змеевидные черты и придатки. Видимо, в этих инóка сочетался распространенный по всей Сибири северный культ медведя с занесенным айнами с юга культом змей.[5] Культ медведя, как имеющий более реальное значение в условиях Сахалина, как бы преодолевает в этих изображениях полузабытый айнами миф о «божественном змее».

Скульптурные формы инóка, освобожденные временем от скрепляющих их веревок и меха, представляют исключительный интерес, позволяя проследить пластическое перевоплощение мифического образа змеи в реальное изображение медведя.

Интересные образцы для сопоставления медвежьей тематики в нивхской и айнской резьбе дают *икуниси*, айнские палочки — «усодержатели». Отмечу прежде всего необычайное их количество. Около 500 штук известно нам по прекрасно изданным альбомам и коллекции музея в Южносахалинске. Отдельные экземпляры, ставшие ныне редкостью, мы видели и частично приобрели в айнских селениях. Отличное мастерство исполнения, богатство формы и поразительное разнообразие орнаментации, исполненной в различной технике миниатюрно-декоративной резьбы, позволяют отнести икуниси к подлинным произведениям искусства.

Обращает на себя внимание символико-пиктографическая резьба на икуниси. Имеющиеся в нашем распоряжении материалы дают не только сюжеты, близкие к тем, что известны на нивхской медвежьей посуде, но и еще целый ряд новых композиций.

---

[5] См. Л. Я. Штернберг. Айнская проблема. Сборник. Хабаровск, 1933, стр. 571.

Характерно, что на икуниси с медвежьей тематикой преобладают не изображения цельных фигур медведей, а только их головы (одна или несколько), обычно помещенные в веревочно-ленточных петлях и переплетениях (рис. 4 и 5). На некоторых палочках переплетения сделаны не в виде резьбы, а из настоящих лубяных веревок; на других головы показаны на прямоугольных площадочках; перед головами помещены чашки. Нам представляется, что эти композиции с медвежьими голо-

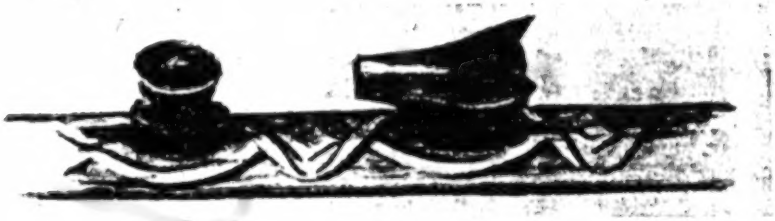


Рис. 4. Фрагмент айнской палочки *икуниси* с изображением медвежьей головы

вами фиксируют скорее раннюю форму медвежьего культа (почитание голов), широко распространенную по Сибири, чем локально ограниченный, более сложный по своей идеологии «праздник медведя», связанный с содержанием медведя в клетке-срубе и церемониальным убиением его. Если это предположение правильно, то и медвежьи сюжеты айнских палочек архаичнее по своему содержанию, чем резьба нивхских ковшей.

Рис. 5. Айнская палочка *икуниси* со скульптурным изображением медвежьих голов, перевязанная веревками, свитыми из луба

Не менее распространенным сюжетом икуниси (встречающимся также на деревянных ножнах сабель) является скульптурное изображение касатки, заключенное в своеобразную загородку или обойму (рис. 6, *б*). Еще более часты изображения касатки, помещенные в веревочных петлях и ленточных переплетениях (рис. 6, *а*). В варианте последнего типа нередко одновременно с касаткой изображается и медвежья голова. Устойчивость композиции, хорошо выработанный тип клетки-обоймы и множество вариаций с веревочно-ленточными переплетениями позволяют допустить возникновение этого сюжета с касаткой независимо от аналогичных композиций с медведем. Если это так, то вряд ли можно связывать происхождение веревочно-ленточного орнамента только с медведем. К этому можно добавить, что не только касатка, но и морской бобр и тюлень в орнаментальных переплетениях на икуниси свидетельствуют о более широкой основе возникновения веревочно-ленточных мотивов.

Попытаемся выяснить значение самих икуниси. Мало вероятно, чтобы первоначальным назначением этих палочек с пиктографической

резьбой и символическим орнаментом было поддерживать усы во время питья саке. Монтандон[6] считает, что употребляемый этнографами термин «усодержатели» определяет айнские палочки только как предметы «современного туалета» и не выражает их ритуального значения. Однако предлагаемое Монтандоном название «палочки для возлияния» также не вскрывает первоначального смысла этих загадочных предметов.

Интересно сопоставить икуниси с пиктографическими гравюрами на дощечках береговых чукчей и с резьбой на костяных предметах эскимосов. У чукчей и эскимосов они служат в одних случаях для фиксирования результатов удачной охоты (изображались убитые животные, а также воспроизводились сцены самой охоты), в других — с целью заклинания «производящих и дающих пищу сил природы». Не являются ли и икуниси в основе памятными дощечками, на которых отмечалось число убитых на охоте зверей и обстоятельства, при которых происходило это событие? Характерно, что почти на всех икуниси, обычно на концах, имеются простые нарезки (число их различно); встречаются палочки только с нарезками, без изображений и орнамента.

В айнской орнаментике, несмотря на удивительное разнообразие художественных вариаций, устойчиво сохраняются основные мотивы. Различные фазы художественного развития этих мотивов позволяют проследить и вскрыть их материальные и идеологические основы. Исследователи, занимавшиеся искусством айнов, по-разному объясняют содержание и происхождение айнского орнамента. В работах Шурца, Лауфера, Монтандона и в особенности Штернберга содержатся интересные наблюдения и предположения, хотя и не всегда хорошо обоснованные (Шурц, Монтандон). Не имея возможности в данной статье проанализировать все выделяемые упомянутыми авторами, а также обнаруженные нами основы айнской орнаментации, я остановлюсь только на двух, как нам кажется, наиболее распространенных из них. Такими основными мотивами являются свитая из луба или другого материала веревка и извивающиеся и переплетающиеся змеи.[7] Развившиеся из этих основ мотивы настолько близки по своим пластическим качествам, что невольно возникает желание признать только одну из указанных основ действительной и связанный с ней мотив изначальным, а другой — производным от первого. Однако очень существенное различие в самих основах не дает нам права сделать такое обобщение. В основе мотива извивающихся и переплетающихся змей лежит религиозное представление о божественной сущности змей, являющееся фантастическим отражением реальной борьбы человека со змеями в южных широтах. Веревочный орнамент развился на основе реальных действий — привязывания и обвязывания. В декоративных композициях оба мотива легко переходят один в другой и иногда совершенно неразличимы.

Различного рода переплетения, петли, хитро завязанные узлы из веревок и лент (змей) образуют наиболее распространенные формы айнского орнамента (рис. 6, *в, г, д*). Веревочно-ленточный орнамент соединяется с изображениями животных, связывает их с поверхностью декорируемого предмета. Распадаясь, он может дать геометрические формы и различного рода кривые.

---

[6] G. Montandon. La civilisation ainou. Paris, 1937.

[7] Развитие форм айнского орнамента из змей вскрыто в исследовании Л. Я. Штернберга — Айнская проблема. Сб. Музея антропологии и этнографии АН СССР, т. VIII, 1929.

Среди народностей Сибири, несомненно, первенство в искусстве миниатюрно-декоративной резьбы принадлежит айнам. Мастерство художественной обработки небольших поверхностей твердого дерева (значительно реже — кости или рога) доведено айнскими резчиками до вир-

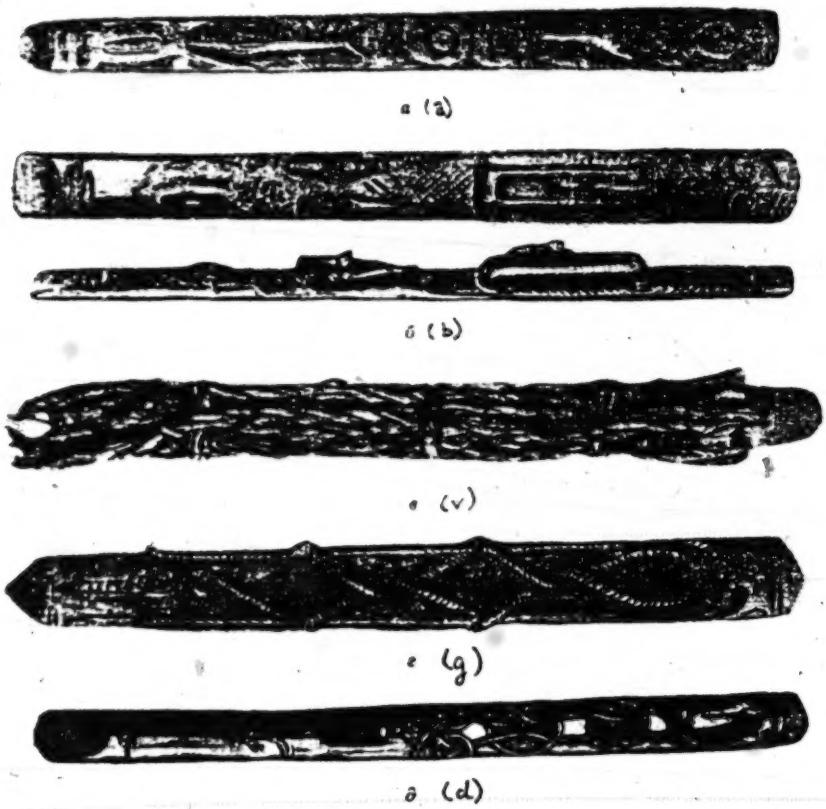


Рис. 6. Айнские палочки *икуниси*:

а — горельефная резьба (касатка и медвежья голова); *б* — горельефная резьба (касатки, преследующие кита, и касатки в загородке); *в* — палочка, обвязанная веревками из луба; *г* и *д* — резьба имитирующая веревочные переплетения. Репродукции из разных источников

туозности. Лучшим примером является декорация на икуниси. Композиционное многообразие орнаментальных мотивов и изобразительных сюжетов на этих палочках, представляющее не только ряд декоративных элементов, распространенных на Сахалине и Амуре, но также и типичных для искусства охотников Арктики, дает нам основание предполагать, что айнская художественная культура, как в фокусе соединившая в себе древние орнаментальные традиции многих народов, является древнейшим центром орнаментального искусства на северо-востоке Азии. Несомненно также воздействие этого центра на соседние народы, а через них и на более отдаленные культуры.

10: Pilsudski E-5 (no date) 1909 AB6 Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

The Aborigines of Sakhalin
[Die Urbewohner von Sachalin]

by Bronisław Piłsudski

Braunschweig, 1909
Globus,
Vol. 96, pp. 325-330

Translated by A. Holborn

Human Relations Area Files
1964

[Title page]

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

/325 cont'd/

174 With regard to the clay fragments that are found in different places, the Gilyak have two versions: some attribute them to the old Ainu, others assert that a long time back, when the Japanese and Manchurian iron caldrons were still unknown to them, their own Gilyak ancestors had themselves manufactured clay vessels, which, by the way, may have been the case. The Gilyak believe that stone axes and other stone tools fall from heaven when lightning strikes.

In 1905 I met in Nikolayevsk on the Amur a Gilyak who lived on the mainland; he confirmed to me that around there stone axes are called lyi tuch, i.e. axes of lightning. They held the potsherds found in the Amur region to be remains of Chinese vessels. As to the earth hollows which there, too, occur not infrequently, they either have nothing to report on them at all or they believe those tulkus to be remnants of huts of their ancestors, who formerly had not built big huts as they are customary nowadays in Manchuria, but had contented themselves with clay huts. From a clever Gilyak living in the neighborhood of Nikolayevsk I heard a characteristic tale about these caves which I can quote in a literal translation.

"A long, long time ago there appeared here on the Amur Russian or other devils who killed the people. They came in big boats or barges and could not cross shallow water. Therefore the Gilyak fled to where there were little rivers, built their clay huts there, and stuck it out for the winter or somewhat longer. Then they went back to the banks of the great Amur. They called the newcomers Kinys, i.e., "devils." By chance I met also in Nikolayevsk three Gilyak who, when asked about the Tonchi, said they had heard that on Tu (Gilyak word for Sakhalin) there lived a people similar to the Tungus and Orok called Tozin. The Tozin language was also similar to the Orok. But it was not known from where this people had come to Sakhalin. Since, unfortunately, I have never revisited this region, I was not able to check on this information more thoroughly or to receive more detailed information from other Gilyak on the above mentioned Tozin.

194 The consonant "z" is completely unknown to the Ainu. Wherever it occurs in other languages related to theirs, they replace it by "c." The Gilyak word yzyn is pronounced in Ainu "ocion," the Russian zima becomes cima, etc. Often the n- ~~sound is inserted~~.

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[768] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[237] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
[113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

114

the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175
648

census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

/327 cont'd/

173 Therefore the Ainu often waged war against the Tonchi. Though it happened quite often that Ainu and Tonchi who were neighbors visited each other the latter always had their knives ready on such occasions, whereas the former moved their knives in such a way that they landed straight on their knees. Greatest circumspection was observed on both sides. These constant rivalries and wars with the Ainu finally forced the Tonchi to quit. They departed, as they had come, on boats and left the island for good. The inhabitants of the north maintain that the Tonchi went east and that the point from where they sailed had been the "Cape of Suffering" (Kap des Leidens). And actually abundant traces of their presence can be found around this promontory.

The southern Ainu do not tell of the disappearance of the Tonchi with so much certainty: They had gone into the mountains or landed at the other seashore, nobody knew for sure, but one day they had suddenly disappeared. There had been many of them, many more than there were Ainu on the island today. In Tunajtscha, for example, according to legend there lived formerly 120 Tonchi ("Iwanhoc"), still more in Ajrupo, ca. 160. On account of the large numbers of excavated hollows the Tonchi were also called sirukuru vende kamui, i.e. the people that damages the surface of the earth.

Some Ainu assure me that nowadays the Tonchi came to the Seal Island (Robbeninsel) together with the Americans in order to shoot sea-lions and that some Ainu who visited the island for the same purpose had seen them there. As is well known, the company who has acquired the right of sea-lion hunting on the Robbeninsel and neighboring places employs for this purpose mostly Aleutians who are always brought along by the white hunters. Apparently these Aleutians in their outward appearance recall the description of the Tonchi as preserved in legends.

Twice I was told a legend according to which not even the Tonchi were the first inhabitants of the island. Before them Sakhalin was inhabited by winged people, rach koro ajnu. At that time it was warm on the island, and these strange beings thus I was told by an old man from the village of Nayero, did not build houses nor use clothing. The winter was usually very mild, and though it snowed

/327 cont'd/

173 occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [177] these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Stanta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

/328 cont'd/

173 swords on Hokkaido. From this conversation I concluded that this was a matter of swords imported from Manchuria and that the name Tondzin they were given can be explained by the fact that a long time ago it was the Tonchi who brought Manchurian objects into the country for the first time.

172 In the following places on Sakhalin known to me remains of Tonchi dwellings can be found:

a) On the western shore of Sakhalin.

1. In the southern village of Siranusi (De Preradowicz, Ethnographische Skizze von Sud-Sachalin, p. 13). 2. At a distance of ca. nine kilometers from the village of Siranusi (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 3. On the river Tei, above the great fisheries (from there workmen brought me two stone axes). 4. Next to the village Poro-Tomari, somewhat to the north of Mauka (according to Siemionow). 5. In Oko Tomari, not far from Mauka, in a place bordering the seashore a stone chisel was found (according to the same Siemionow). 6. Large quadrangular piles of earth on the banks of the river Mauka, situated a little higher than the fishery plants, (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 7. The same type of earthpiles near Kusunay. 8. The valley of the river Dui and the valley of Aleksandrowsk. Both places are mentioned by Polakow in his reports on the research on Sakhalin. 9. The shallow seashore between the villages Wiahtu and Pomr (Ausgrabungen von L. Sternberg, Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 177).

b) In the Bay of Aniwi.

1. At the mouth of the river Susui (Polakow, Berichte uber Forschungen auf Sachalin, p. 19). 2. In the environment of the village and Lake Tschipisani. Laks, the manager of the sawmill there, collected many stone tools and gave them all to the naturalist P.J. Schmidt when he traveled on Sakhalin. 3. Near Korsakowsk (a stone wedge was found there. Katalog des sachalinischen Museums. Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 176).

c) On the eastern shore.

1. and 2. In the environment of the villages Ayrupo and Tunaytschi (according to the Ainu). 3. and 4. Near the villages

/328 cont'd/

172 Dubki and Seraroko, next to one of the caves near Seraroko, a whole pot was found which was given to the Sakhalin Museum. I myself dug for some days in this place, but did not find anything except some fragments which I sent to the museum of the Petersburg Academy of Arts and Sciences. 5. Three kilometers below Naybutschi, not far from Swan Lake (Schwanensee) (De Preradowicz, p. 10).
6. Around the village Mogunkotan (Lopatin). 7. Around the village Siruturu. 8. On the bank of the river Nituj, some kilometers above its mouth. 9. On the bank of the river Kotankes, ca. seven kilometers above its mouth. 10. To the south of the village Kotankes, at a distance of ca. five kilometers from the seashore on a large circumference. 11. Next to the village Tomarikes (according to the Ainu). 12. On the bank of the Black River (in Ainu: Utnaj), a tributary of the Poronaj. Here many stone tools and vessels were found (information obtained from the merchant Larionow).
13. Around the Ainu village Taraika and the lake of the same name (Lopatin, Polakow). I left the fragments which were found there with an Ainu of the village of Nayero. 14. Not far from the Cape of Suffering (Siretoko). 15. North of the Cape of Suffering on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk which is called Karer by the Ainu. (These two places are mentioned by the Ainu.) 16. Around the village Natro at the Niische Bay. 17. Around the village Tschaywo. (16 and 17 are mentioned by the Gilyak.)

d) In the valley of the Tym River.

1. On the road between the villages Rykowsk and Palewo a large arrowhead was ploughed up. The wife of the farmer Schermukschyn preserved it in the belief that it had fallen from the sky and brought luck. 2. To the north of the village Rykowsk, at a distance of five to six kilometers from it, one of the workmen who built the road to the village Dezbinskoye found a stone chisel and a stone ax. Both objects were dug out and the finder kept them with a view to using them for sharpening knives, but lost them soon afterwards. The meadow in the woods where they had been found was sown every year, therefore it was impossible for me to dig there, but I repeatedly found on the surface many pieces of stone that had been worked on.

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place
[194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the
[291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak
[177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
174

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
493 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
291 from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
174 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

/328 cont'd/

174 pottery known to the people of the Kurile Islands that this art was known to the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin, too. For in that case one would be unable to explain why pottery has maintained its place until modern times among the Ainu of the Kuriles while it has been forgotten by all the other Ainu so thoroughly that not even legends are known about it.

172 174 A comparison between the remains of the Stone Age on the Island Nippon and those of Hokkaido showed that the stone period on Hokkaido was much later than on Nippon. Relying on these results, Professor Tsuboi of the University of Tokyo asserts that the Koropok-guru whom he considers the makers of the above-mentioned stone relics had advanced from south to north. Perhaps the expected research of Japanese archeologists in the field of Tonchi remains will furnish the material for proving the hypothesis that the people Koropok-guru, whose descendants Tsuboi recognizes in the Eskimos of today, have migrated from Hokkaido to Sakhalin and from there further to the north.

If a comparison of the stone remains, tools, potsherds, and caves of the Tonchi with similar remains on Hokkaido shows that the makers of the latter have nothing in common with the Tonchi and that the route taken by the Koropok-guru did not lead via Sakhalin at all, there is another plausible conclusion left, namely that the inhabitants during the stone period on Sakhalin and in the Amur region were the same. There is still another factor indicating the identity of the original inhabitants of Sakhalin with those of the Amur region: Among the potsherds originating in the Stone Age Polakow also found bones of wild boars, who nowadays are no longer found on this island, only on the continent. But if at some time there were no boundaries between the animal kingdom on the continent and that on the island, one can claim with still greater certainty that the same human type could easily populate both lands which even today have much in common.

Among others Busse, an expert on the Amur region, in his article "Antike Ueberreste in den Talern Lefu, Daubiche und Ulache" (Berichte der Gesellschaft fur Forschungen in der Amurgegend, Vol. I,

/328 cont'd/

172 Wladiwostok, 1888) has expressed this thesis. The /330/ results of
174 his own excavations in the district of Primorsk and those of Polakow on Sakhalin make Busse conclude that the aborigines of Sakhalin belonged to the same tribe as the Ileu people which is part of the Susihenish branch and belongs to the Tungus race. These aborigines of Manchuria and the region of Ussuri were first described by Chinese historians. According to their report the Ileu tribe lived in the mountains, in woods, was particularly fond of elevations, and lived in caves. For arms they used bow and arrow. The arrowheads were made of stone and soaked in poison. The tribe engaged in hunting and fishing and excelled in great fortitude. Therefore its neighbors had to suffer much from its attacks on land and sea.

An acquaintance of mine, a Japanese, translated for me the following passage on the Susiheni from the book of the Japanese scholar Okamoto Riunosike on the History of the Island Hokkaido and the Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Japan. I quote:

"Susin (also Skucin or Hikusin) traveled on the shores of the Island Hokkaido in matters of trade. They lived in the eastern part of Tartary without forming permanent settlements and often came to Yezo (Hokkaido) with the intention of entering into trade relations with the Japanese. Their customs were very different from those of the Ainu."

These same Suschin are also mentioned in one of the oldest Japanese chronicles Udzi-dzine-mono gatali.

On one of the old monuments in Tagadzo (near the city of Senday close to the harbor of Siogama) one reads that the tribe Skucin, three thousand ri from Miakiken (old name for Senday and its environment) in the Province Mucu (old name for Nippon and the whole Yezo) lives in the northwest. As several educated Japanese assured me, none of the old Japanese chronicles reports that the Ainu used stone tools. Nor do the legends among the Ainu mention anything about it. In Eastern Asia, however, the stone period was very late. Thus the Russian scholar Palladius claims on the basis of Chinese sources that the stone period in several districts of the Ussuri region coincided with the eleventh century.

/330 cont'd/

172 As long as there is no exact comparative examination of the stone
174 remains dug out in the Amur region on Sakhalin and the Japanese islands as well as comparative research on the peoples living in Eastern Asia by which many a hypothesis will be confirmed, others refuted, I myself follow Busse's thesis mentioned above which says that the Tonchi on Sakhalin were inhabitants belonging to the Susihenisih tribe.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.i]
[p.ii is blank]

THE AINU

A Study of Ecology and the System of Social Solidarity between Man and Nature in Relation to Group Structure

By

HITOSHI WATANABE

CONTENTS

LIST OF TEXT FIGURES AND MAPS	i
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. GROUP STRUCTURE	7
III. FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES	19
IV. COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR	43
V. TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS	56
VI. SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE	69
VII. SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION	79
NOTES	83
REFERENCES CITED	160

LIST OF TEXT FIGURES AND MAPS

Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi.	10
Fig. 2. Fishing devices.	20
Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.	28
Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.	30
Fig. 5. Hunting devices.	33
Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses and cooperation between the households.	48
Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.	55
Fig. 8. Diagram representing a river valley as the territory of a river group and its ecological zones.	58
Map 1. Rivers of Hokkaido and old administrative divisions.	facing 2
Map 2. Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and other gathering sites in the upper Tokapchi valley.	at end

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hōkkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

151 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with, the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A1]

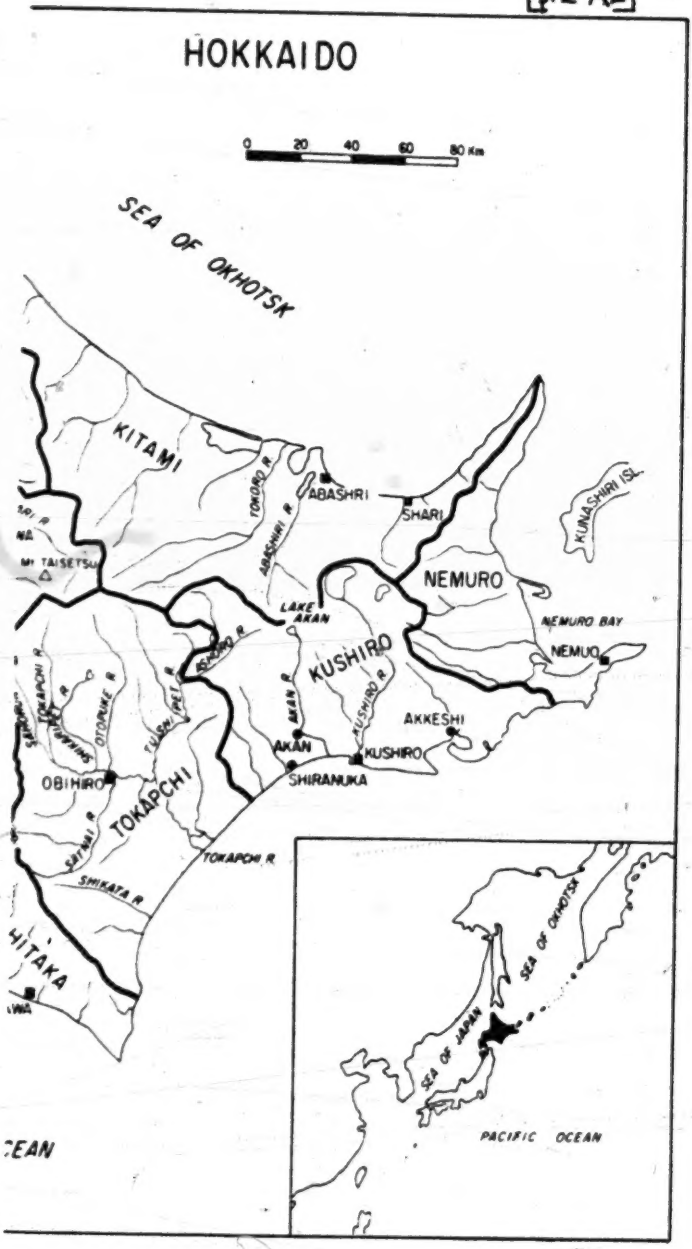
102
133
631

Map. 1. Rivers of Hokkaido a

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A2]

102
133
631



nd old administrative divisions.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i. e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,
127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

124 importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of
128 the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

128 In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed
121 in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there
[115] is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

114 My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(1947) and his suggestions personally given me in the course of my study at the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, as well as through implications revealed in his lectures and seminar. Without their influence and encouragement this paper would never have been written. I should acknowledge this with gratitude. 114

Five major field surveys in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 were carried out by me as a member of the Joint Research Committee on the Ainu and were financed by the Scientific Research Grant from the Ministry of Education, Japan. I gratefully acknowledge also my indebtedness to the Ministry of Education and the members of the Committee, particulary to Professor Masao Oka, Chairman of the Committee. Two other field trips were partly financed by Mr. Hiroshi Misumi, to whom I make grateful acknowledgement. 122

While at the University College, London, I received valuable help from many other persons. Of these special thanks are due to Drs. Phyllis Kaberry, M. Mary Douglas and D. J. Stenning, all of whom influenced greatly my way of thinking, to Dr. Farnham, M. Rehfisch, Miss Katherine, E. A. Attwood and Miss Jean Baker for each kindly reading through part of the manuscripts which formed the basis of the present paper, for their valuable suggestions and for their kind help in improving the English text. I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. M. Douglas who read through the whole manuscript and gave me very constructive advice. 000

I wish to express my thanks to many persons for their kind help in the preparation of this paper, especially to Professor Tetsuo Inukai, of University of Hokkaido, Professor Akiyoshi Suda and Dr. Sugao Yamanouchi, of the Anthropological Institute, University of Tokyo, Dr. Seizo Sano and Mr. Kohichiro Shibata, of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, and Dr. Shizuo Yoshino and Mr. Eiji Iwai, of Faculty of Agriculture, University of Tokyo, who brought to my attention some of the important literature and gave various facilities to utilize them along with much valuable information.

I am grateful to Professor Hisashi Suzuki, Chairman of the Anthropological Institute, Faculty of Science, University of Tokyo, and other members of the staff, and the late Professor Kenichi Sugiura, formerly of the Institute, for their interest shown in my work and their generous backing.

I thank also my Ainu informants, particularly the late Ushintasan, Ushino and Kazari, for their devoted cooperation in the field work.

Finally, I should note that those persons mentioned above have no responsibility to any statements made and views expressed in this paper.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *1*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

361
103

			Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L.G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Nupokomap	9
		L.G.	Munhunki	3
		L.G.	Urekarip	3

R.G. River Group
S.I.G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L.G. Local Group

361 The Settlement.
621 Families settled together and formed a ***kotan***, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several ***kotans*** consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a ***kotan*** varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[10].

[103] The material aspect. The ***kotan*** was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for ***kotans*** were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the ***kotan*** itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent ***kotans*** would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a ***kotan*** were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each ***kotan*** group was called by the name of the ***kotan***,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

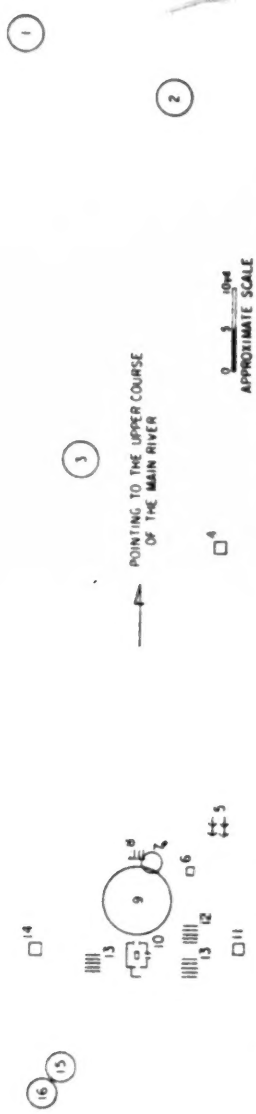


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 796 621 608 64 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otofuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[382] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present
writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local
group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from
different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did
privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there
might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different
local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the abori- [776]
ginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the
river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities
that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of his wife: 582

a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as his wife's 1
(from Memroputu)

b) From other river group than his wife's..... 3
(from Asahikawa in Ishikari)

In the *shine itokpa* group in the Satnai valley at ca. 1880-85, which consisted of 3 local groups with 16 households and formed a single river group itself, the proportion of the number of wives who married in from outside the *shine itokpa* group to the number of wives who were born and married inside the group seems to have been much greater than that in the *shine itokpa* group in the Tokapchi valley which was previously stated. The details will be given in Notes 23-24 on the following genealogical charts. [184]

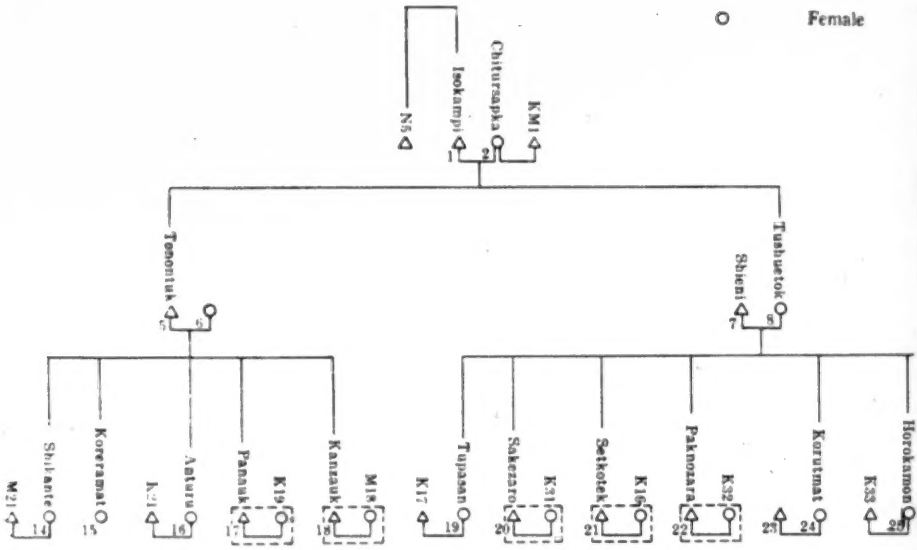
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p 18-A1]

601 Upper Tokapchi Valley[23]

Kuttarashi (K)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 1



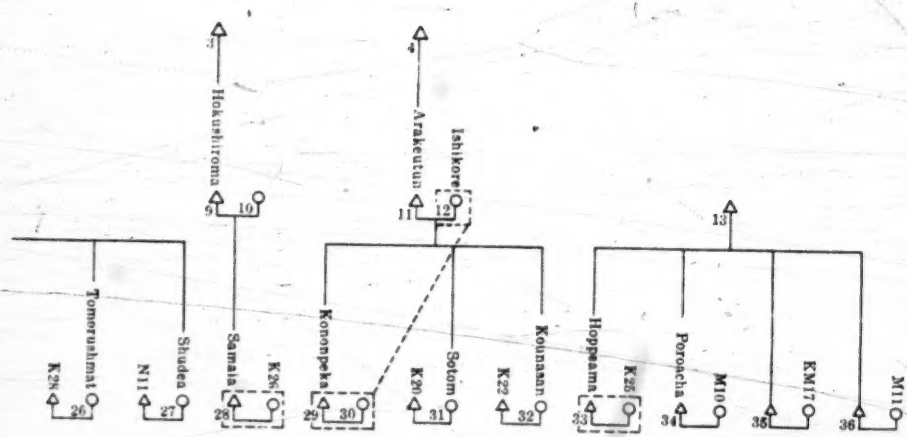
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-A2]

601

ıusehold

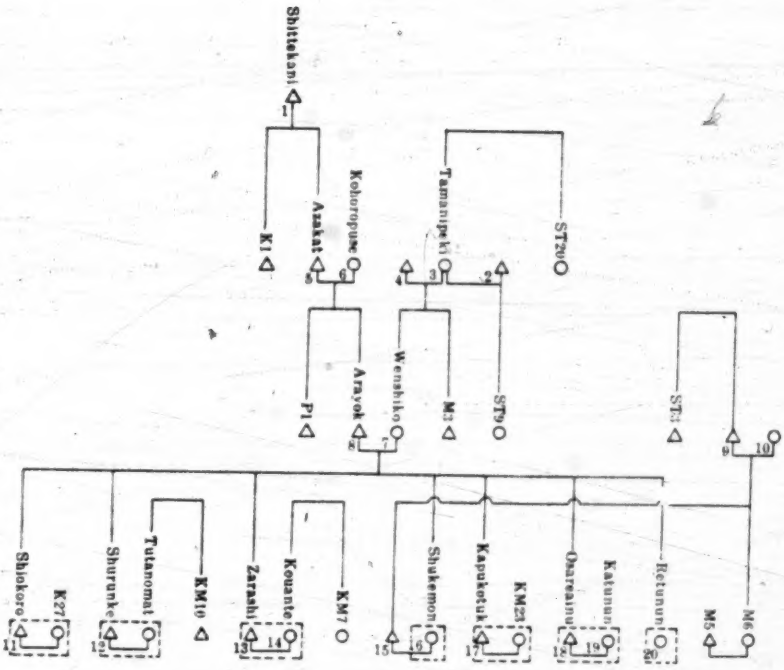
: Same Household



[p.18-B]

601 Nitmap (N)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 2

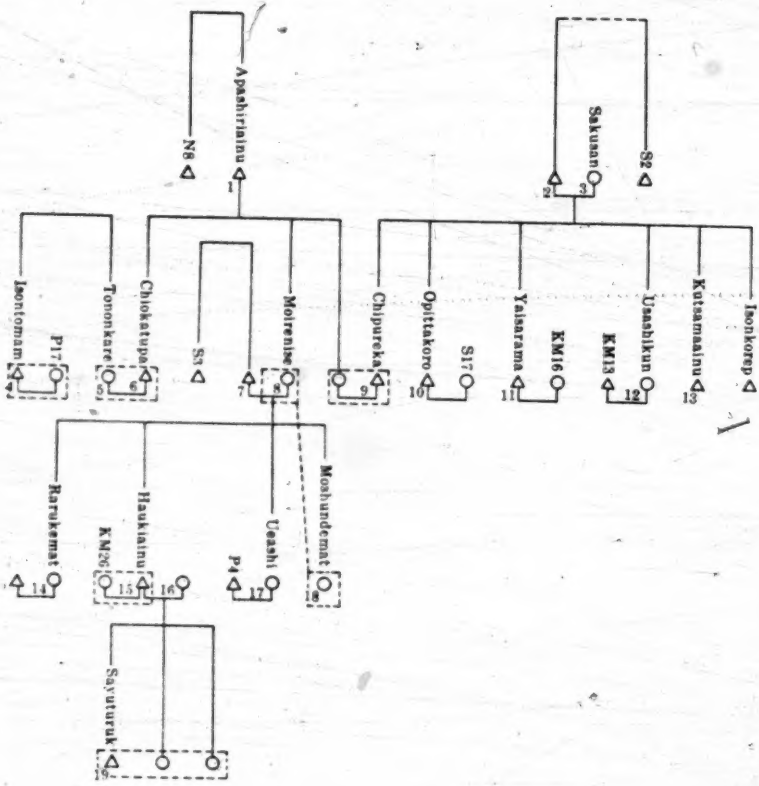


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[18-C]

601 Pipaushi (P)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 3

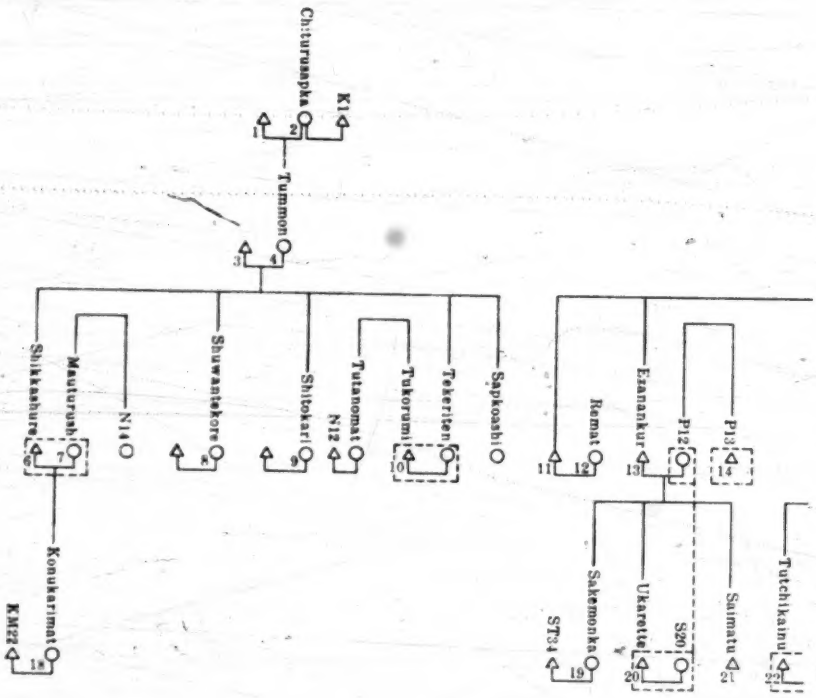


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-D1]

601 Kumaushi (KM)

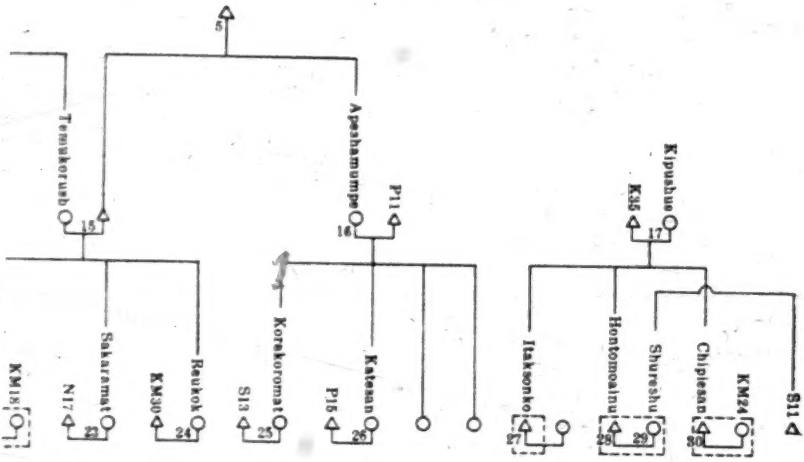
GENEALOGICAL CHART 4



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-D2]

601

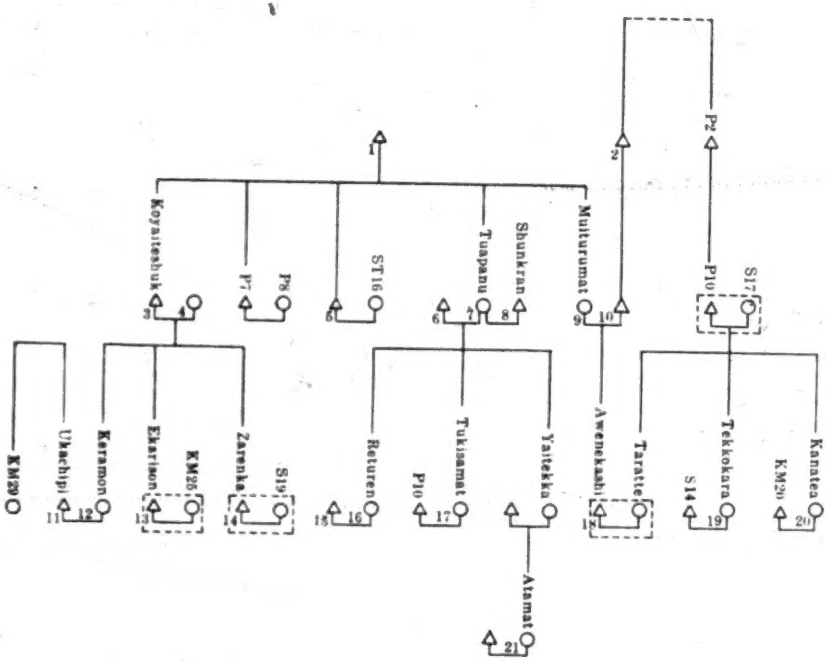


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-E]

601 Sanenkoro (S)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 5



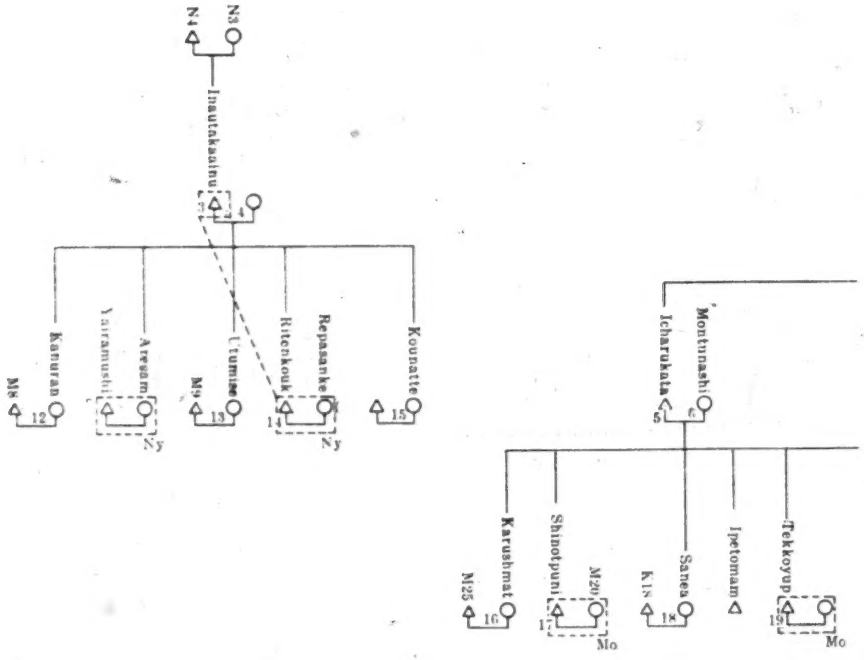
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-F1]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 6

601 Moseushi (M)

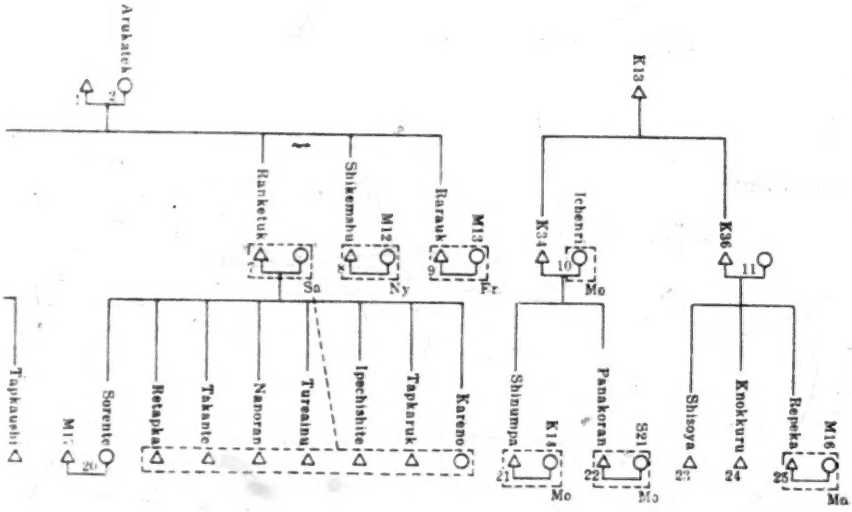
Settlements: Moseushi (Mo)
Nyashkesh (Ny)
Furuka (Fr)
Sarunnai (Sa)



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-F2]

601



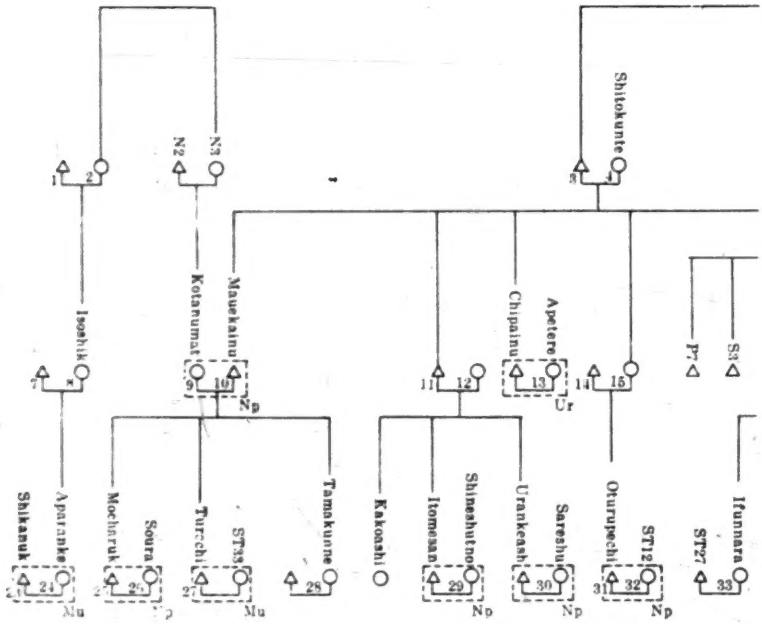
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-G1]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 7

601 Satnai Valley (ST)[24]

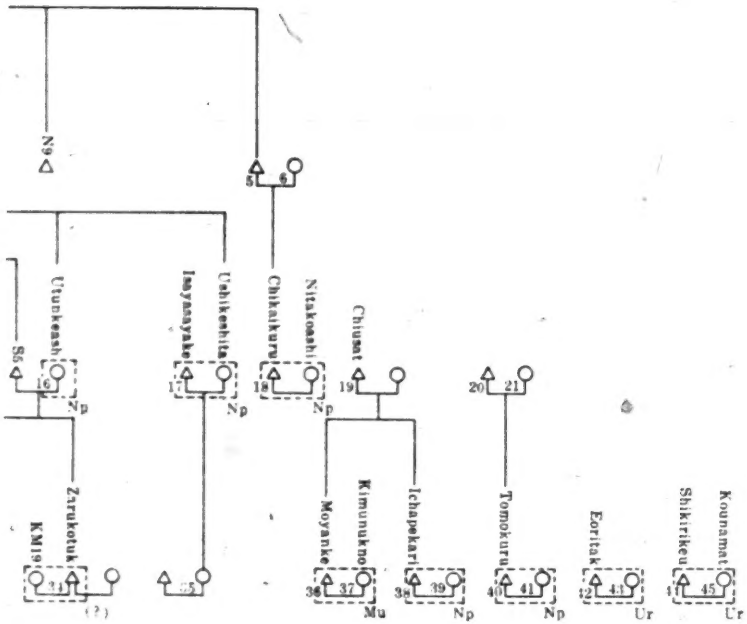
Settlements: Nupokomap (Np)
Munhunki (Mu)
Urekarip (Ur)



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-G2]

601



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such import-
121 ant items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.
121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[25]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

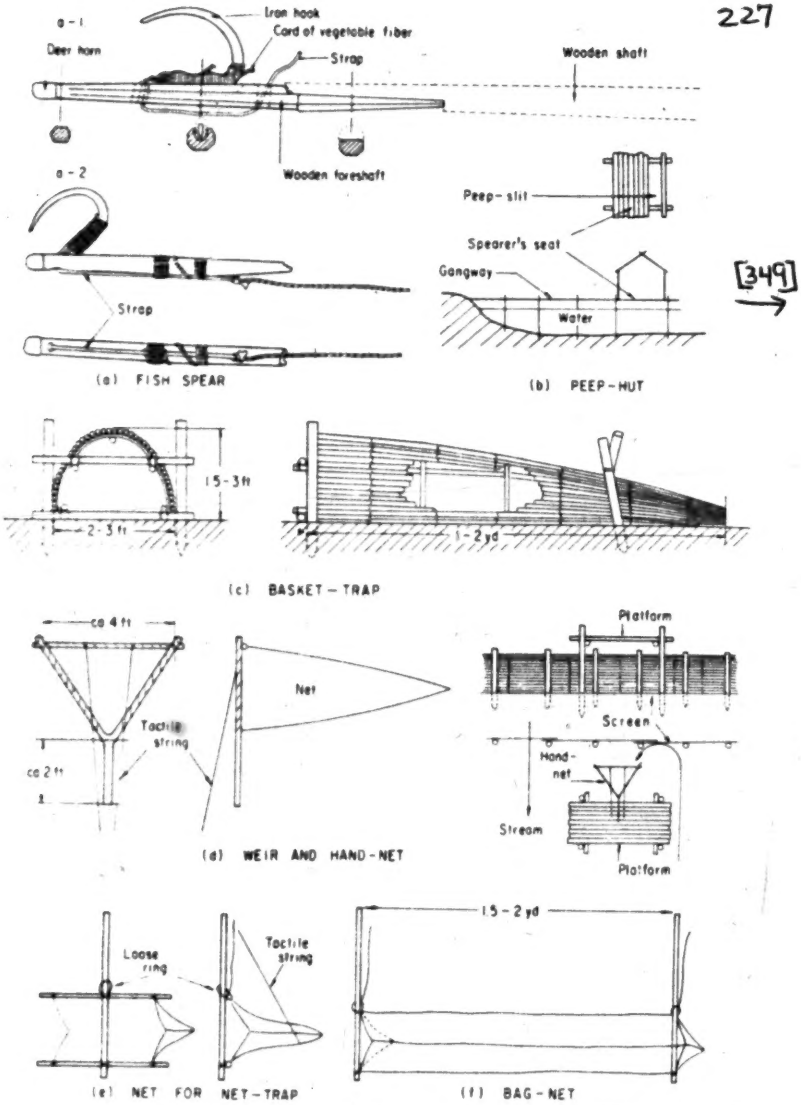
227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

227



[349]

Fig. 2. Fishing gears. (a), 1-2, Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (b) (f), reconstructed on the basis of the data from the Ainu informants.

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10–15 at the minimum to 40–50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[324] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [136]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader water- 512
courses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

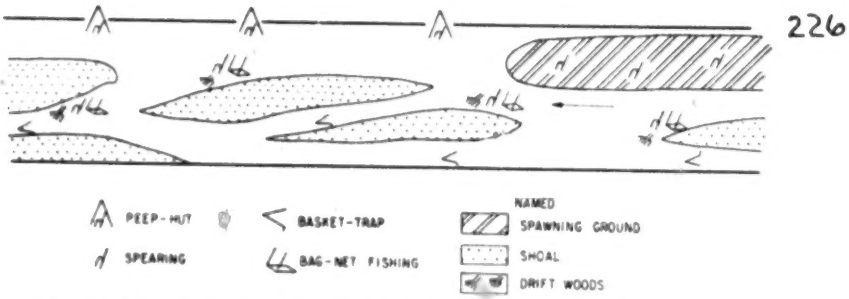


Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent [182] salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, 226 the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to December[29] (p. 53). 221 Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

226
221
512

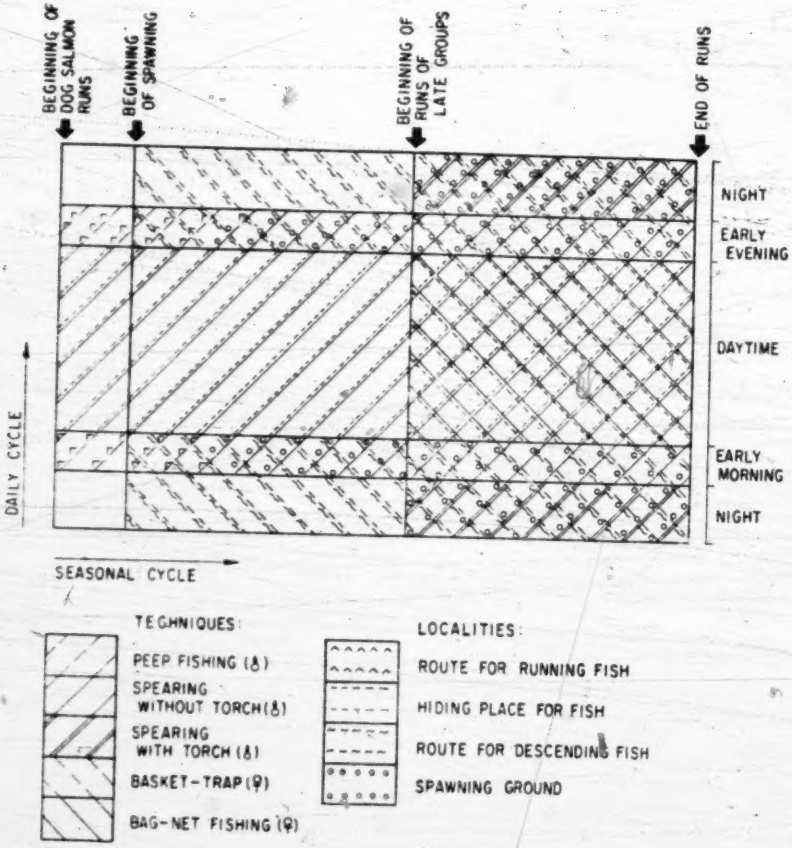


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices:

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [311]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

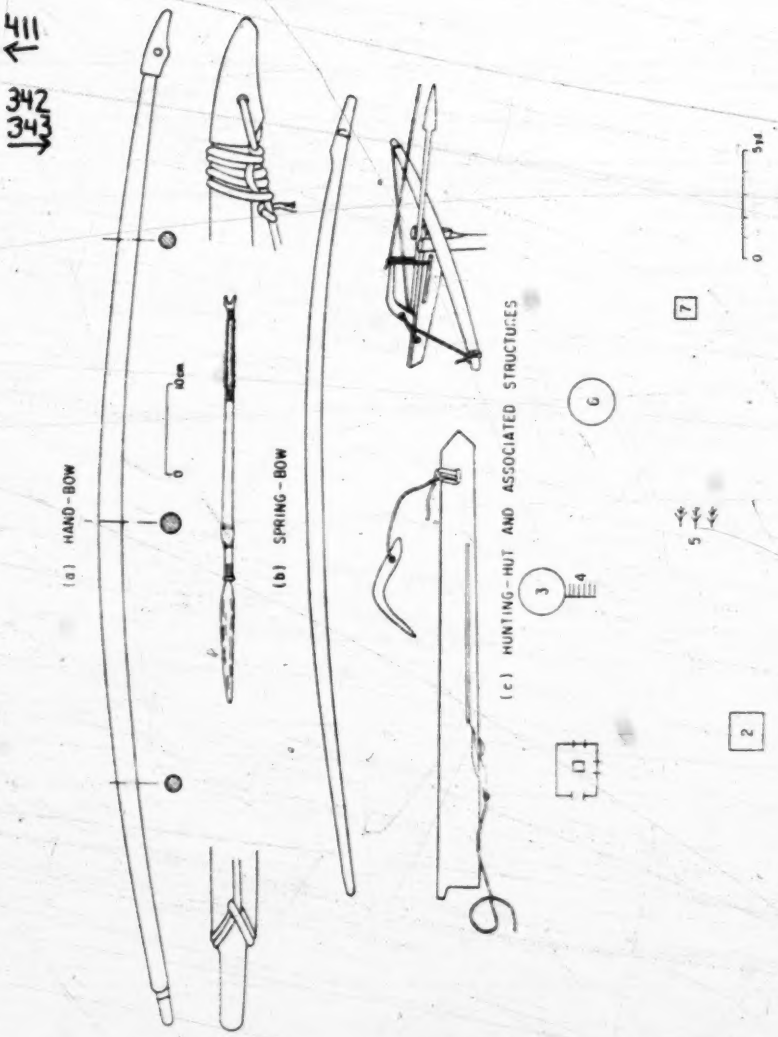


Fig. 5. (a) and (b), Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scence[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
136 for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
278 with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
231 bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
237 Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
439 anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
433 ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
137 could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

825 With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
342 in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417] wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231] which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[28]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was[1] believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[311] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
[134] no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet.

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[40].

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or 224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. [555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3-4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42. 621 476

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there (Fig. 8). And even the party that had gone after bears, if 224 476 [462] [561]

224
226
476
592

Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[11]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Deer Hunting				Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon)				Bag-Net Fishing Group
				Deer-Fence Hunting		Hunting in Winter Quarter		Main Stream		Tributary		
		Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Deer-Fence	Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Weir	Group	Location of Hut	
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin	—		II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

224 226 476 592

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch. 224 476

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups of the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work 226 476 [462]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
458 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4, [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

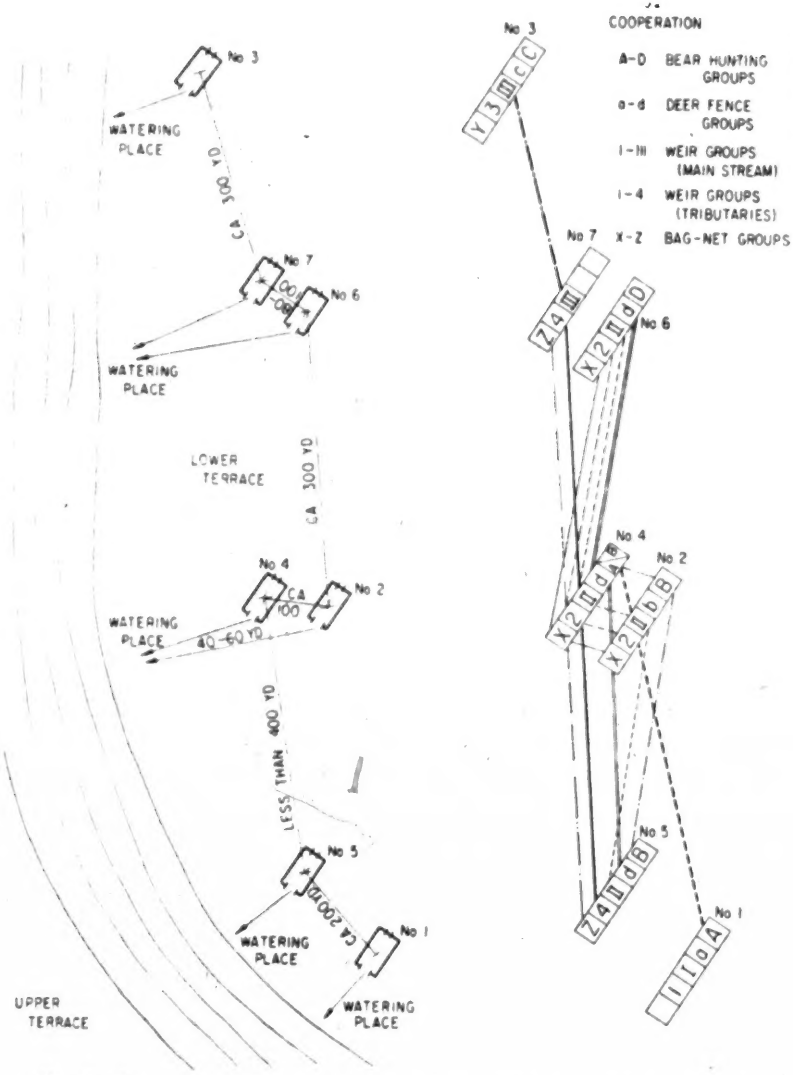


Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.	
Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male
Operation of the Devices.	
Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	Female (clibming tree, male)
Clibming[1] and cutting trees	Male

1. [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

462

Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male
Processing of Gathered Materials	
Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
idg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1, [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2, [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221

Phenology of the Activities of the Ainu

Ainu Month (cf. Note 25)	Phenomena in Ainu Habitat	Activities of the Ainu
Shunean chup	Middle part: repeating light snow falls; bears begin moving into deep mountains seeking dens for hibernation. Snow-ice lumps on rivers when it snows; first run of *meorun-chep*.	Middle or last part: bear hunting with spring-bows begins in the mountains. Torchlight fishing of dog salmon begins.
Kuekai chup	Early or middle part: most bears already in hibernation. Last part: some base snow on the fields; no more deer seen on the fields. End of salmon runs.	Early or middle part: bear hunting over; most hunters home from hunts. Last part: end of deer hunts on the fields; removing of spring-bows from deer fences. All bear hunters left behind return home. Dog salmon fishing over; post-run ceremony for the fish.
Zuurup chup	Early part: base snow deep on the fields; deer already gathering in winter quarters. Births of bear cubs during this month and the next.	Early part: deer hunting in the hills by part of hunters. Collective activities in bear ceremony between this month and the next.
Toetanne chup	Middle or last part: snow on the fields hardens.	
Haprap chup	Early part: mountain snow hardens.	Early part: bear hunters enter deep mountains, begin hunting bears and their cubs in hibernation. Middle part: deer hunters go near wintering quarters, begin hunting game by driving them out on hardened snow. Last part: most bear hunters back, the first having returned half a month earlier.
Kiuta chup	Middle part: no more base snow on the fields; deer scattered out of winter quarters. First note of Japanese bush-warbler[44]; first scattered bears out of hibernation dens. Last part: rivers swell with thaw; first appearance in the Sahorun, a tributary, of Hucho perryi.	Middle part: deer hunts in the mountains over; bear hunters go into mountains to set spring-bows; collecting of edible plants begins. Last part: beginning of river fishing with appearance of Hucho.
Shikiuta chup	Middle part: first note of Himalayan cuckoo[44]; most bears out of dens from hibernation.	Middle part: end of spring bear hunts: hunters all back home.
Momauta chup	Early part: first note of Japanese Cuckoo[44].	Early part: preparation of field and then collecting of roots (Cardiocrinum) begins.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221

Ainu Month (cf. Note 25)	Phenomena in Ainu Habitat	Activities of the Ainu
Shimauta chup	Early or middle part: run of cherry salmon in the main stream.	Early or middle part: cherry salmon fishing starts in the main stream; pre-fishing ritual and setting up of weirs.
Moniorap chup	Early part: flowers of *kuttaro* in full bloom; cherry salmon having run to the upper water course of the Sahorun.	Early part: cherry salmon fishing in the tributary starts; part of the local group move to fishing huts for the purpose.
Shiniorap chup	Last part: end of cherry salmon run to the Sahorun; Magnolia-tree shedding leaves indicates the approach of dog salmon runs.	Last part: end of cherry salmon fishing in the tributary; fishermen return home. Repairing and preparation of deer fences. Harvesting begins.
Urepok chup	Early part of this month or late last month: first run of dog salmon. Middle part: deer's coat begins turning into winter fur, and the meat gets greasy.	Early part of this month or late last month: dog salmon fishing starts; pre-fishing and first salmon rituals of the local group. Middle part: deer hunting on the fields starts; setting of deer fences. Harvesting ends.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221
462
311

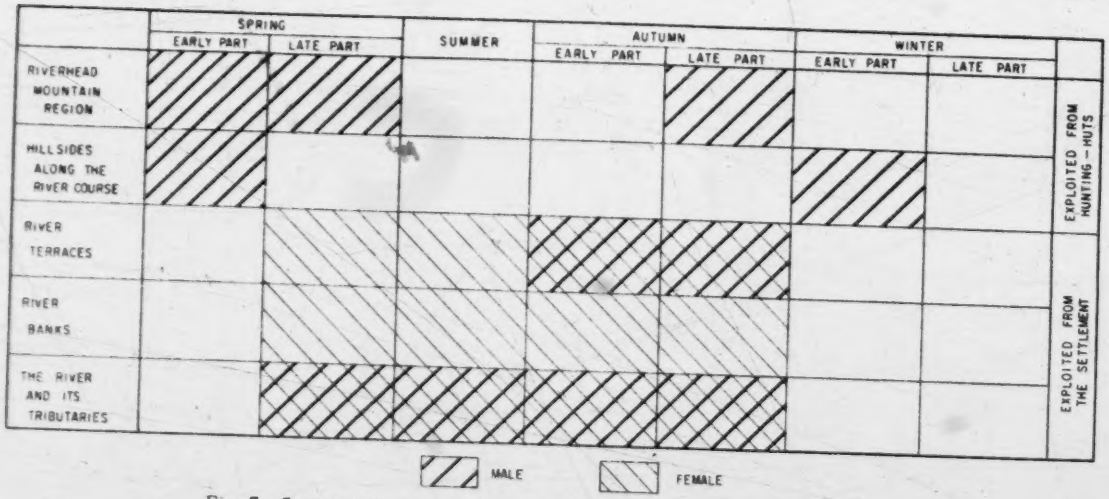


Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.56]

V

TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS

A territory here is defined simply as an area defended and protected by members of a group against intruding members of other groups. Though various types of territories were held by the Ainu, all were concerned with the exploitation of natural resources found thereon. Ainu territorialism was a part of the spatial structure of their community which had a direct relevance to their adaptation to habitat. The maintenance of a territory could be an important factor in relation to the distribution and spacing of groups and to group activities (cf. BARTHROMIW and BIRDSELL, 1953).

423 [182]

Territories as held by the Ainu fall into two categories: one, the territory inhabited and utilized exclusively by a river group as a whole (p. 16), and the other, inner-territories stewarded as gathering sites by individual groups within the river group, i.e. local groups, cooperative groups and simple families.

The Territory Held by the River Group.

The territory occupied by each river group formed itself on the basis of a *pet* or a river as prescribed by the Ainu themselves and its surrounding area (p. 16). So far as the territories surveyed by the present writer are concerned, this covered an area bounded in partly by mountain ridges forming watersheds for the adjoining rivers, *pet*, and partly by tributaries of the river or adjoining rivers, as seen in the case of Otopuke, Tokapchi, Tushipet, Azuma and Saru[45]. As regards the Shikot the actual line of demarcation is unknown except for that interior part which was bounded in by the crest lines forming the watersheds for the adjoining rivers. As far as the present writer has examined, the actual lines of demarcation of most of these territories, as shown on Map 2, present some difficulty in identification, especially in the lower regions, although it seems doubtful whether such ambiguity had actually existed or the memory has been lost to available informants.

423 619

Attention must be directed to the fact that a river group and its territory were not necessarily based on a geographically defined river system as a unit. Sometimes a single river group and its territory evolved around a river system, as with the Azuma; sometimes more than one river group and their territories developed around a single river system, as with the Tokapchi, each evolving around the main stream or one of the larger tributaries.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619
423

Geographically Defined River System	Component River around which a River Group Evolved	Number of River Groups & Their Territories
Azuma River	Azuma	1
Mukawa River	Mukawa	1
Ishikari River	Ishikari Shikot Others unidentified	2 (or more ?)
Saru River	Saru ?Nukapira[46]	1 (or 2?)
Tokapchi River	Tokapchi Tushipet Ashoro Otopuke Satnai	5

311
619
423

Each territory utilized exclusively by the residing river group can be divided according to Ainu's exploitation activity into the following five ecological zones (Fig. 8):

(1) the river and its tributaries,
(2) the river banks,
(3) the river terraces,
(4) the stretch of hillsides along the river course,
(5) the high mountain region around the source of the river.

In order to supply themselves with a set of biotic species needed for subsistence, the Ainu exploited these different areas in accordance with particular ecologies of species and particular techniques for their exploitation. In this manner the territory occupied by a river group formed a nearly or completely self-sufficient unit of Ainu habitat. Sometimes, a failing supply of a needed item within its own area or a finding of better sites without, induced some members of a river group to pass across its boundary. Two of such essential items were the bear and the aconite plant for preparing arrow poison. Except for these, all river groups were self-sufficing in necessary items (p. 85). In short, the Ainu had seldom to overstep their boundaries for gathering purposes. As regards the staple items in particular, such as deer, dog salmon, cherry salmon and edible plants, every river group was at ordinary times sufficiently supplied from resources found within its own territory.

619
423

When for gathering purposes any one was to step into a river group territory other than his own, no matter for what, where and how, the person was required to obtain from some one of the headmen of the river valley concerned a formal permission accompanied with a rigid ritual procedure. And there was possibility of such permit not granted by a headman who had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

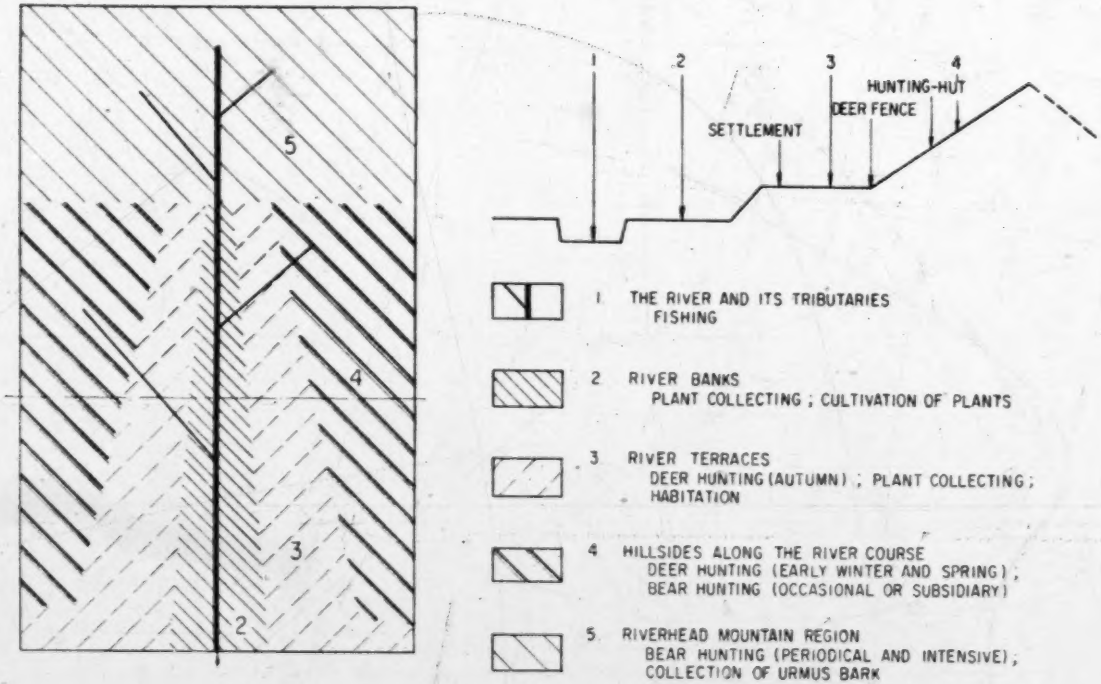


Fig. 8. Diagram representing a river valley as the territory of a river group and its ecological zones.

311
423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: 'places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)		
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanumi*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[48]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifuisam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423
311
103
621

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene-group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

621
423
311
[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources.
423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon
619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission
[628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, 226
a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon 311
in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there 628
was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sirunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the 224
foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the 311
groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 season to concentrate on one region of its territory, a favourite wintering
311 quarter of deer on the Appenai.

Deer hunting with the hand bow was conducted also on and around the same sites near each settlement as fence-grounds and wintering quarters. They were seldom carried out into the area customarily covered by neighbouring settlement members. This meant the absence of such necessity, although any hunter with hand bow, like spearing fishermen with their movable instrument, might with justification enter an area covered by members of a nearby settlement. An exceptional case may be cited with the members of the settlement of the upper local group in Otopuke who concentrated on the area near the Wop settlement, where, alongside with local members, they chased with hand bow the deer gathering on the marshy grounds for mating.

Organized bear hunting was conducted by every river group on the uppermost reaches of the river, that is, the inmost recesses of the mountainous region where were hibernation centres of the bear. It was customary with every river group to send out their hunters in seasonal migration concentrating on the area. This does not always mean that every local group of the river group sent some bear hunter or hunters to the area. Among the Azuma river group, bear hunting parties were sent from two interior local groups, Tonika and Azuma, to the Shoruma and its surrounding area on the uppermost reaches of the river, but there is no evidence for any bear hunting party from the coastal local group, Spun, who it is said had no bear hunters. Of the Otopuke river group, the upper local group periodically sent their bear hunters to the riverhead area but the lower one did not, though some members of the latter group occasionally hunted bears while engaging in deer hunts on the neighbouring hillsides. As for the Tokapchi river group, the upper local groups, at least the uppermost *shine itokpa* group, had a number of bear hunters whose activities covered the riverhead area every season, while the local groups in the middle course had less bear hunters, who to all appearances went out in search of bears to the interior territory of the Satnai river group or that of the Otopuke river group. A few of the bear hunters from Pipaushi and Sanenkoro, both the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, went out of their river group territory into the area around the Sohshupet in the interior territory of the Saru river group, and some bear hunters from Kuttarashi, another local group on the upper Tokapchi, to an area on the upper reaches of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari river. No information is available for the lower local groups on the Tokapchi. Information from Shikot, Mukawa and Saru shows that bear hunters of the generation before my informants, even those from some lower local groups, went to the areas on the uppermost reaches of their own river.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Collecting Areas.

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an srea[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited.

1. [Errata: the word "srea" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river 619
group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae 628
for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against 423
possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part 182
of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by 423
certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 824 825 776 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to religious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

1. [i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, *zaza*, a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet[54]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas 823
investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the 776
former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui*-spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu koru or amba kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and *koru* or *amba* means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning-spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai koru kamui*, which lived in streams flowing into the river[55].

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the 823
name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. 619
The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, includes fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix '*iworu*' to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in Chapter V and Note 45.

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also 823
inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among 776
them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 796
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[43]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari. 825 776

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apeuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65]. [778]

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing. 224 [231]

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in 231

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[66]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[67].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1. [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[628] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
[782] for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
[431] would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
[782] hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that
[685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[782] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[10]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 [361] Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement locall group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 614 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common malle ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 619 [186] River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

---

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The present study leaves much unexplored owing partly to methodological limitations. It suggests sufficiently, however, that the influence of habitat upon the group life of a primitive people should not only be analysed through their technology but also through their cosmological view of habitat and ritual reaction to it and that in such an analysis it is important to examine the spatio-temporal structure of group life in relation to the nature of habitat, especially the ecology and ethology of the surrounding biotic species. It is hoped that quantitative analysis will be attempted to inquire further into the problem. 121

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

NOTES

I

161
162
342

(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers. 127

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2 Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3 So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of 137

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [439] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [464] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers. [224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and [226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining 175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged 648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857–58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is 648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6–7).
177
[10]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The 000

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The
177 southwestern and coastal Ainu, who had been in long and frequent contact
411 with Japanese, were already in the initial stage of using firearms (matchlocks). The use, however, was still quite limited; on the upper Tokapchi, in particular, the native Ainu continued depending on their traditional hand- and spring-bows with accompanying poisoned arrows.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.90]

II

10 Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATSUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1:64 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 12 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under governmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigranta subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

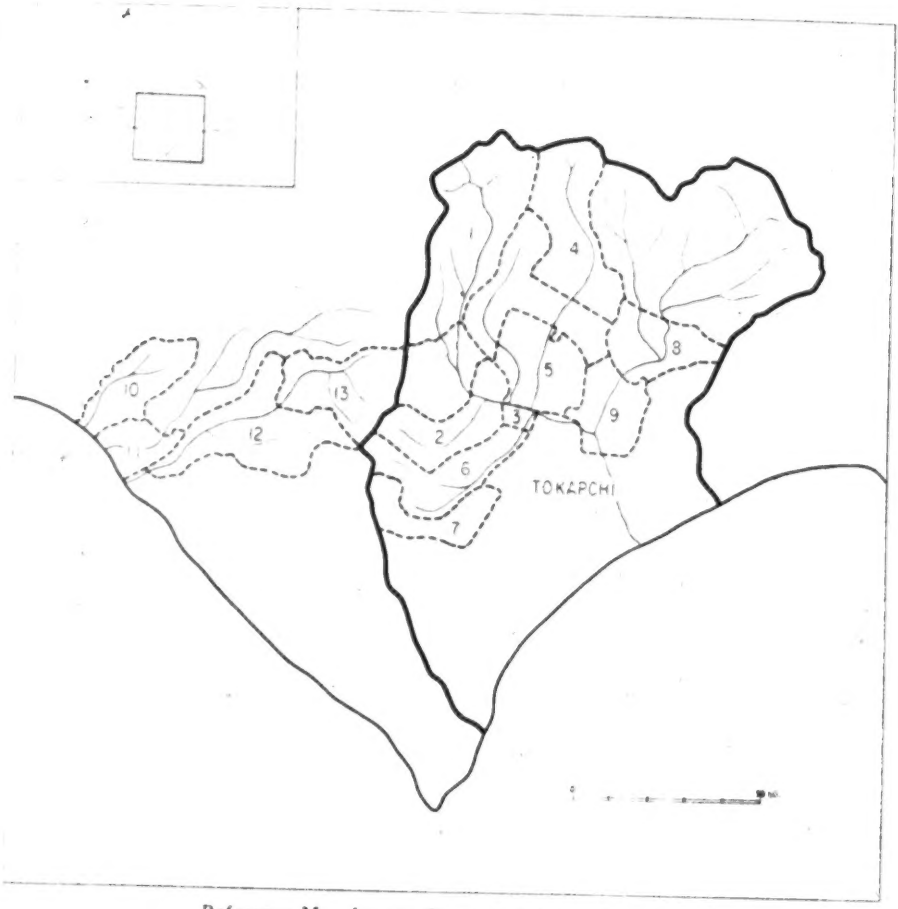
Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

175
361

For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas." HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102
175
648



Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six 175 361

[1] [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 361 "basho" districts on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATSUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937. The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175 361 342 103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Sevoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

(The river forked here into two streams)

Ajishumi	6	
Nitabetu	3	
Urahoropuki	2	
Obekkohashi	9	
Betumishiri	3	Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11	Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ottunai		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.

Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

16 houses in total

Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

21 houses in total

Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

27 houses in total

Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet

13 houses in total

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ottumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shunai	5	
Kimunkidan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Kunawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hebiyose	4	
(No name described)	6	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other: the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai
Kakuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kiriskachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Ishikari River

The main stream (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya"
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively

175
361
103

11 To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner structure and interrelationship of these two groups. 621 [622]

12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28 .... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* one and the same (*tokpa*). But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two (*ekashi ikiru*), yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan*) as social unit has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*, ... and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 531 13. A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934). Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown [779] and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 614 608 14. Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." Ibid. A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* and *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the 621
word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial 614
group. ibid. While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* 609
constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups." ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks: "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekashi ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The [623]
chief, after much deliberation, calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent. If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer or *ivor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *moru* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 5 of the *kotan*). As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant [464]
to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the [592]
master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his 621
itokpa (family mark) and *pase onkami kamuiromi* (ritual for some important 614
kamuy), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, 609
heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase* 608
onkami to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikirave*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikirave*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *ivor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikirave* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* if there are more
614 than one." IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35. So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikirave* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang[1] "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1,[Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621 622 614

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621 614 114

15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614 608 778

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) *1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

16 When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 home to Rucha with her husband, a Tokapchi man, and their children and,
602 after staying for about four years at a house of their building close by Kazari's, went back again to their area.

621 An ancestress five generations before Kazari, who came from Arumoisan,
609 or Kitami as it is now called, was turned out of home by her husband who was also of Arumoisan. Crossing the mountains with an infant boy, she came over to Otopuke seeking help. Here, after working for some time as *ussiu*, servant, to the then headman of Naitai, she was remarried to an Otopuke man; her son when grown up married a local daughter and settled down as a regular member of the local group.

A few more examples follow which are related to the *anun utari* that came to the Tokapchi river area from the Ishikari. An Ishikari married couple came across the mountains with two sons called Ukachipi and Kotumiseainu, a daughter called Shureshu and an unmarried young man. They came to Nitmap *kotan*, whose headman—by what process or circumstances no one now knows—arranged for them eventually to build a house at Penke Pipaushi, and lived there. Whether the man and woman went back to Ishikari or not is unknown; when Ushino, my informant from Nitmap, knew, they had both already died. Their children who had come to Tokapchi when very young grew up there. Ukachipi married an elder sister of Ekarison of Sanenkoro *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 5, S 11), Kotumiseainu married a woman of Shupusara *kotan* on the middle Tokapchi and Shureshu, the daughter, became wife of Hontomoainu of Kumaushi *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 4, KM 29). The young man brought with them from Ishikari afterwards went home, where he married a local woman; later he came again with his wife to live in Tokapchi and there begot a son. But later he again went back to Ishikari.

There were two families who had come to Tokapchi from Chikapuni in Ishikari where they were to return after a few years. They were Tamanipeki (Genealogical Chart 2, N3) and her husband and Tuapanu (Genealogical Chart 5, S7) and her husband with their young daughters Returen and Tukisamat and son Yaitekka. Little is known about what circumstances or relationship had brought them where they were; but at any rate Inautakaainu (Genealogical Chart 6, M3), who married a woman from Kuttarashi and lived at Moseushi, and his sister Wenshiko (Genealogical Chart 2, N7), wife of Arayok of Nitmap, were Tamenipeki's children by her first husband; Kotaumat (Genealogical Chart 7, ST9), wife of Mauekainu of the Satnai area, was her child by her second husband that came with her to Tokapchi. Tukisamat (Genealogical Chart 5, S17), first daughter of Tuapano, was also married to Opittakoro of Sanenkoro *kotan* in Tokapchi.

There is no doubt about these children of Tamanipeki and Tuapano having married before their parents went home to Ishikari, but little can be

known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki 621
and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another 609
man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down. Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was remarried to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

17 The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups 621
whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKA- 622
KURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between 614
settlement group and local group. He states: "This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life" (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms "ujizoku" (clan) (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the (patrilineal) 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and 614
the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1, [Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964. AB6 Ainu AB6

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one
292 and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21).
[831] Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *paseonkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601 20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
621 23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

very young. 601

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children. 621
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (P): 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male households P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8). [592]

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter (P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

601
621

13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

[592] *Kumaushi* (KM) 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their lifetime. The headman was (KM22); his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with (K35) for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
24. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (S) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. (S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father (S2) and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1) who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

601 6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.

621 7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.

8. Native of Kuttarashi.

10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.

11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.

12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.

13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.

16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.

17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.

18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (M) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband[1] (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 households (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

[1] [Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

is as follows. There was at Moseushi a native headman who died without 601
any brother or son to succeed him. Then M3, who had come from Asahikawa 621
and married here, was made *utaru sapaha*, head of the people on account of his wisdom and personality.

1. Either the man himself or his father was native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and came migrating to Tokapchi and married a Moseushi woman. He and N1 were patrilineally related.
2. Female; native of Moseushi.
3. Native of Asahikawa. The then headman. Came to Tokapchi, married a Kuttarashi woman and then became headman of Moseushi. His wife having already been dead, lived with his son (M14). Patrilineal relative of M5 and others. See N3.
4. Female; native of Kuttarashi.
5. An eldest son; native of Shikaripet; had lived from infancy at Asahikawa. Detailed circumstances not known.
6. Female; native of Satnai and grew up at Shikaripet. For more information see note on N15.
7, 8 and 9. All native residents of Shikaripet.
10. Female; native of Moseushi. Married to K34, a man from Kuttarashi. Widowed, she now lived alone in a separate house by her son's.
11. Female; native of Shikaripet. Married to a man from Kuttarashi (K36) and lived at Moseushi.
14. "Ottena" in charge of negotiation with Japanese authorities. See N9.
17. Went as bride to the neighbouring Otopuke river area.
18. Went from Shikaripet to be wife of a Kuttarashi man (K18). Her father (M5), as reported, had lived from infancy at Asahikawa; but it is not known whether he later came back to Shikaripet or not.
20. The only one of her siblings that married.
23 and 24. Both brothers married women of Memroput on the middle Tokapchi and lived there, 25 alone was at Moseushi.

24 Explanation of the genealogical chart concerning the Satnai river area.

Three local groups, each forming a single settlement group, made a corporate *shine ekashi ikiru* or *shine itokpa* group. Nupokomap contained 9 houses, Urekarip 3 and Munhunki 3. Four house-heads out of nine of Nupokomap (ST10, 18, 29's husband and 30's), one out of three of Urekarip (ST13's husband) and one out of three of Munhunki (ST27) were patrilineal kin descending from a common ancestor from Satnai. All the headmen in the Satnai river area were drawn from these particular kinsmen, those of Nukopomap, Urekarip and Munhunki being ST10, ST13's husband and ST27 respectively.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601 621

1. Male; native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari. A relative of N2, another Asahikawa man.
2. Female; native and resident of Asahikawa.
3. Male; native of Urekarip. Son of a man from the area of the Tottapet, tributary of the river Satnai.
4. Female; native of Satnai.
5. Son of a man from Tottapet in Satnai.
6. Came as bride from Fushiko.

7 and 8. Both natives of Asahikawa; the man and wife came originally with ST9 as escorts and helpers when she came as bride from 'far-off Shikaripet' to Satnai. They remained and settled down by the side of ST9's.

9. Came from Shikaripet as bride. For reasons not known, went back to Shikaripet, where she died.
10. Male; had always been in Satnai. Reported as the then first headman in all the Satnai area.
12. Came as bride from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi seacoast. She was first married to ST11, on whose death she went home to Perutnai taking her children. When she returned to Satnai, was wife of ST31.
13. Female; native of Satnai.
14. Male; probably from Pipairu.
16. Went to Pipaushi as bride. On her spouse's death at Pipaushi, came home to Satnai with her two children (ST33 and 34) and lived at Nupokomap. At the date was living by herself.
17. Male; had always been in Satnai; resident thereof.
19. Male, had always been in Satnai.

20 and 21. Probably native of Pipaushi, with homes there.

23. Male from Fushiko.
24. Native of Satnai.
25. Soon after marriage moved with his wife to her home, Otopuke, at about the time when Ushino, my informant, also moved from Nitmap to Kene, at the outset of the farming-land allotment programme for the Ainu.
26. Female; came as bride from the Otopuke river area.
28. Went to Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi as bride.
29. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
30. Came as bride from Perutnai near the coast of Tokapchi.
31. An only child.
34. Native of Pipaushi; his father having died in his infancy, grew up in Satnai which was his mother's home, and married there. Changed

wives. Several times came to Nitmap to join bear ceremonies but his *kotan* is not clearly identified. 601 621

35. Eldest of brothers and sisters. Went in marriage to the Otopuke area and died young. Was outlived by 3 brothers, Ikuchishi, Fushine and Irusanke, who were all unmarried at the date.
36. Had always been in Satnai.
37. Came as bride from Chirokto on the middle Tokapchi.
38. Male; had always been in Satnai. He and ST37 were brothers. Having lost one child, lived childless.
39. Came as bride from Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi.
40. Probably native of Pipaushi. Siblings unknown. Had 6 daughters and 1 son.
41. Female; native of Fushiko.
42. Male; native of Satnai.
43. Female from Fushiko.
44. Female; native of Satnai.
45. Came from Fushiko as bride.

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou; which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
[127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

in August (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17) or early September (SANO, 1950, p. 16) and ending around October (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17). After entering rivers, cherry salmon continue their runs feeding and growing until they become full spawners, so that they go scattering into all tributaries, large and small (IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13) and spawn in the upper reaches (ŌNO, 1933, p. 17; SANO, 1950, p. 16) or uppermost reaches of the streams (HANDA, 1933, p. 16). There is no running up into the glens in the upper reaches of the rivers until breeding begins (oral information from the Chitose Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, 1957). For the spawning behaviour of cherry salmon, which resembles that of O. keta (SANO, 1950, p. 19), see description in Note 28. 136

27) The importance of the dog salmon as food for the Ainu may be illustrated by a record of about 200 Ainus dying from starvation in Ishikari during the winter of 1725 and the following spring after disastrously short salmon runs in the river Ishikari during the autumn (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 301 and Vol. 7, p. 56). Another record shows that in 1884 salmon runs in the middle course of the Tokapchi were so small that the Ainu in that area were on the verge of starvation in February of the following year (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 171 and 188). 262 136

28) Concerning spawning behaviour, spawning-beds and spawning grounds. 136

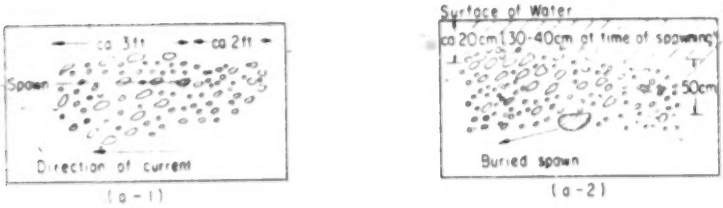
The spawning behaviour of the dog salmon as described by SANO and NAGASAWA (1958, p. 12) may be summarized as follows. When salmon running in shoals reach favourable spots, they disperse to mate for spawning. The female digs out a cavity in the river bed, while its mate goes round on patrol to keep off any invading males, at times going some distance in driving them off. In about an hour the spawning cavity is ready, and the pair nestle down in it and emit spawn and milt. This over, the female covers up the spawn laid with some gravel from the river bed and finishes the whole work. The covering takes about two hours, during which time the male stays by the bed to protect it from digging by any other individual. Spawning, however, seldom completes in one place; soon after one spawning many individuals begin preparing for another. A second spawning, if any, is performed by the same pair of fish in a place not far from their first spawning-bed. When everything is over, the female stays about its bed, becoming gradually emaciated until finally it dies.

Observations in the Shiraoi indicate that the parent fish lie in hiding in bank-side deeps during the daytime and come out for spawning between nightfall and daybreak. Unless when running in large shoals or pressed for immediate spawning, they generally spawn by night, most actively near day-

1 [Errata: the word "seme" should read "same". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

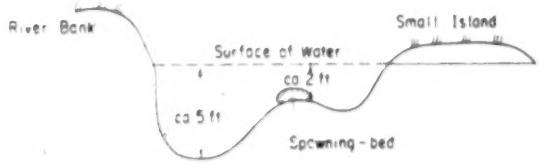
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

136



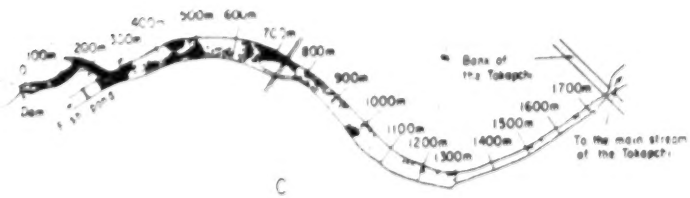
A

Fig. A. Spawning-bed. (a-1), ground plan; (a-2), cross section. (Shiraoi Jigy -jyō, 1956, p. 6).



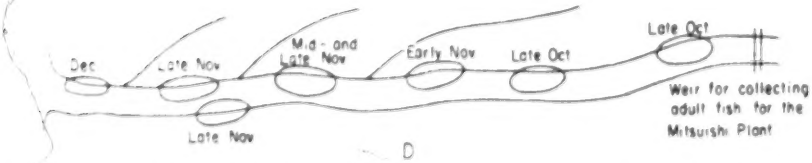
B

Fig. B. Cross section of a spawning-bed in Area B in the Shiraoi. (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1956, p. 4).



C

Fig. C. Distribution of natural spawning-beds and spawning grounds in a small tributary of the Tokapchi. (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 3).



D

Fig. D. Distribution of the spawning areas or grounds as related to the time of their occurence. (Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō, 1956).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

break. In fact, any species of fish, whether spawning or not, behave more actively by night than by day (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1956, p. 4; oral information obtained from Chitose Branch of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery in 1957). 136

An individual spawning-bed may be readily detected by the presence of a number of relatively large pebbles showing in one spot. An example of the form and size of the bed is shown in Fig. A (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō 1956, p. 6).

A markd tendency is that the dog salmon spawns generally in a relatively shallow place where gravel and underwater springs concur (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 4). The same tendency is reported from Shiraoi, as will be seen from Fig. B (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō 1956, p. 4). Accordingly, spawning-beds in any stream are distributed in some particular areas or grounds, in groups or concentrations of different sizes and densities. Fig. C illustrates the distribution of spawning-beds and spawning grounds observed and recorded in the Mem, a small tributary of the Tokapchi (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 3). Natural spawning grounds or concentrations of spawning-beds annually recur in practically the same sites (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1953, p. 3).

The time of spawning is influenced primarily by the temperature of the river water; the higher the temperature, the longer the period needed for the salmon to grow into full spawners in any particular stream. Shoals, therefore, running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn, while those running later as the water becomes colder have less to travel; the last spawning-beds of the season in Hitaka, for instance, occur at 2-3 km. from the river mouth (oral information obtained from the Chitose Branch of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery in 1957). The distribution of the spawning areas or grounds as related to the time of their occurence in the Mituishi in 1956 is shown in Fig. D (Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō, 1956).

Observation and recording of the actual conditions of natural spawning-beds in the Hokkaido rivers, however, began only in 1956 (Hokkaidō Sake Masu Fuka-jyō, 1956). As a matter of fact, every river ascended by the dog salmon in Hokkaido today has some governmental installations near its mouth and/or on its lower course for capturing parent fish to yield spawn for arificial incubation. As a result, only a small number of individuals now spawn naturally, while those running and spawning above the installations are few in the extreme (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 2; NISHINO, 1958, p. 51). Investigations by the present writer indicate that before the general opening up of the island by the Japanese dog salmon had always swarmed the upper reaches of the rivers, that large-scale spawning grounds had been distributed along the river courses and that they had great influence on the distribution of Ainu settlements. The distribution of spawning grounds as Ainu local group territories will be shown in the text (pp. 60-62) and their more detailed location is described elsewhere (WATANABE, 1962).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months: *urepok chup, shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioned and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific [825] variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho, occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery).

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 (31) The deer, Cervus nippon, drops its white spots in autumn and turns its coat into winter fur. The change completes itself, in Japan proper at least, between late September and mid-October, the older the individuals the earlier. The mating period extends from early October to late December with the height in mid-October to early November, at which time males bell most (IMAIZUMI, 1949, p. 139, cited from NAKAJIMA). In Hokkaido the mating time is said to cover the period from late September to October (INUKAI, 1952, p. 41).

(32) Seasonal migration of the deer.—It is noticed in a report by INUKAI, (1952), a zoologist, that, apart from and parallel to local migrations of deer between their wintering quarters on the hills and the lower plain within the same river valley, there occurred others on a larger scale extending over different river valleys, and that this habit (latter migrations) of the game was turned to account in some districts by Ainu hunters.

"The wild deer of Hokkaido fed on wild plants of almost every kind. ....Leaves of bamboo-grass, grazed in all seasons, were their chief winter food....

"Formerly (i.e. before the opening up by the Japanese Government got under way, that is, before the 1880's), while each summer lasted and food was plentiful everywhere, small herds of deer could be seen scattered all over the island. Late in autumn every year, before winter came with deep snow which buried all food plants, the deer of Teshio, Ishikari and Shiribeshi migrated in large flocks to Ifuri, Hitaka, Tokapchi, Kushiro and Nemuro. Far more flocked to Hitaka and Tokapchi than elsewhere, making these excellent hunting grounds for the Ainu.

"Before its opening up, the whole island was covered with dense forests; deer roamed about by trails known as 'deer paths,' reputed to have been so well beaten that they looked like human ways. These tracks they followed in their seasonal migrations in spring and again in autumn. When their way came to large rivers such as the Ishikari, they always swam across at the same points, thus affording ideal sites for Ainu hunters lying in wait, as has already been stated....A similar description is given by BATCHELER (of the deer of the west crossing rivers on their way to Ifuri in the east during Seotember and October)...."In spring when it thawed, deer went back by the same routes from their wintering in Hitaka and Tokapchi. And this they had repeated year after year until they became scarce. Then they ceased to move on any large scale but stayed the whole year in their winter quarters in Hitaka and Tokapchi. They no more had need to venture a long way from these wintering areas where they could find plenty of food plants to support their small herds" (INUKAI, 1952, pp. 14-16).

(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10). 136 224 [103]

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned. 136 224 103

(34) Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer 224

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 hunting was by use of arrows poisoned with aconite, whether for hand-bow or spring-bow, is confirmed by a study of INUKAI (INUKAI, 1952). He reports also of a mass technique employed by hunters working together, or driving a deer herd by using dogs down a precipice and then clubbing them to death, and another of capturing the game after driving them into a lake or the sea. Setting the noose on a trail was also practised in some areas, but this does not seem to have been common.

136 (35) The species Ursus arctos are distributed over Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands excluding the middle part, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, the Maritime Provinces, northern Manchuria, Siberia and even Europe. Some of the brown bears in Hokkaido reach as large as 2 ms. or more in length and 300 to 400 kgs. in weight (INUKAI, 1933, p. 57).

(36) Ursus arctos of Hokkaido.—Its ethology and ecology concerning Ainu hunting will be summarized from zoological descriptions given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933 and 1934) as follows.

a) When the snow on the lower damp places begins to melt and the surface of the ground begins to appear in spring, bears come out of their dens one after another even though the snow still remains on the mountains. There are some fluctuations in different areas and in different years; however, in any case, they begin to leave their hibernation dens in late March and are mostly out already by the end of May (HATTA, 1911, p. 34) or by mid-May (INUKAI, 1933, p. 63). At about the time their winter fur turns into summer fur (ibid.).

b) When the base snow reaches 2 or 3 inches deep, every bear retreats into a den. In most years and areas, the base snow forms in Hokkaido between mid-November and mid-December (HATTA, p. 35). It is also reported that most bears start hibernation in November and there is a tendency of bears with cubs or in pregnancy retreating earlier than others (INUKAI, 1933, p. 59). INUKAI states that their winter fur begins to turn into summer fur about mid-May and the summer fur back into winter fur in November (ibid., p. 63).

c) Bears, excluding cubs, usually hibernate each in a separate den (HATTA, 1911, p. 36; INUKAI, p. 63). The cubs are born in the dens in January (ibid., p. 37) or during the period from January to March (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64). In most cases, the number of cubs at one birth is 2 (HATTA, 1911, p. 37) or 1-2 (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64).

d) Usually the dens are natural caves. However, holes under the roots of big trees, or under rocks, or in the earth are also utilized (HATTA, p. 35). There is also contrary information that most bears dig the holes themselves though some make use of natural caves or holes of big trees (INUKAI, 1933,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63). 136 [423]

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953). 127

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduction from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

[177]

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Nor is

there any proof of nomadic wanderings without fixed habitation, although 361
they had the habit of seasonal migrations from fixed homes to fixed huts for 221
hunting or fishing. As regards seasonal migrations among the Ainu, an inference has been made of those between inland dwellings for summer and seaside dwellings for winter (ibid., pp. 112-113); a report has been made also of migrations of male members of each family in the home settlement to mountain huts in winter, to seaside huts in summer and to riverside fishing-huts in autumn (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 214 and 229). In either case, no attempt was made to analyze the mechanism of migrations or the relationship between them and the community activities in general.

In the earlier stage of his field survey the author made a report that, as 221
far as the inland Ainu were concerned, there is no trace of seasonal migrations ever taking place between the inland and the coasts except for labour migrations by some to Japanese-owned fishing grounds (Notes 6 and 9) and seasonal visitings for trading purposes; that, shortly after the land allotments, some male members of certain coastal settlement families migrated in spring and autumn to their seaside fishing huts in order to occupy themselves exclusively in stretch-rope fishing (WATANABE, 1955; Note 53). Later investigations have increasingly convinced the writer that, save for the labour migrations to Japanese fisheries, no seasonal migrations to the coasts were attempted by inland Ainus. As for the coastal Ainu, on the other hand, only fragmentary information has been obtained for the period subsequent to the land allotments. As regards the inland Ainu at least, their seasonal migrations to fishing huts on the inland waters were in no way a general phenomenon. In the upper Tokapchi area, for instance, a section of the family members of its settlements had a habit of migrating each summer to huts for cherry salmon fishing on one of the tribulets (p. 27); but no such group habits are observable among the neighbouring lower settlement group or any of the upper Otopuke or upper Azuma settlement groups. Again, in dog-salmon fishing, usually practised in the main streams near each settlement, there is no instance from any river valley of regular group migrations to such fishing sites and of erection there of fishing huts to pass the season in. Huts were sometimes built in relation to their fishing activities in main streams; however, those were usually for the purpose of taking rest or warming by turns on weir fishing or net-trap fishing which was usually done at night. In fact some members of certain individual families made fishing expeditions going a long distance from their settlement and staying the season out. But those are exceptional cases as far as dog salmon fishing is concerned (p. 64). It might be concluded that seasonal migrations common to all the inland Ainu groups investigated by the present writer were only those undertaken by certain members of families to their hunting huts in the hills and mountains.

[p.133]

IV

159 592 224 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both 159
superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also 592
hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They 224
formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer- 476
hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the winter-ing centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir- [226]
fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kap-kotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry sal- [226]
mon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapko-tuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families stay-ing with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk [226]
speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatùpa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
[226] shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

44 1 Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 the South to winter there (ibid., pp. 409-11).

3) Japanese cuckoo, Cuculus canorus telephonus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of May to the early part of June, migrating to Malay and New Guinea in winter (ibid., pp. 406-8). In Obihiro on the middle course of the Tokapchi the mean date of its first appearance is May 15th in 1958 it was May 21st (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, ed., 1959).

1. [Errata: "15th in 1958" should read "15th; in 1958". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p. 138]

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Meto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1. [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an (Otopue)*
619 *iworu* (*iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an (Otopuke) iworu* (*iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1. [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river 133
into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side 423
that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the 823
upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was 619
Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap, which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be 423
concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory rest- 823
ing upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

(46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old 173
Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a 619
brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, [823]
like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1, [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

621 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō
423 Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was appar-
[685] ently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both tne habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people) as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156). 423 621

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream. 423 621 226

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family. [431]

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 621 226 *un ichan* (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

(52) The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *komuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari*
[136] *karu kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

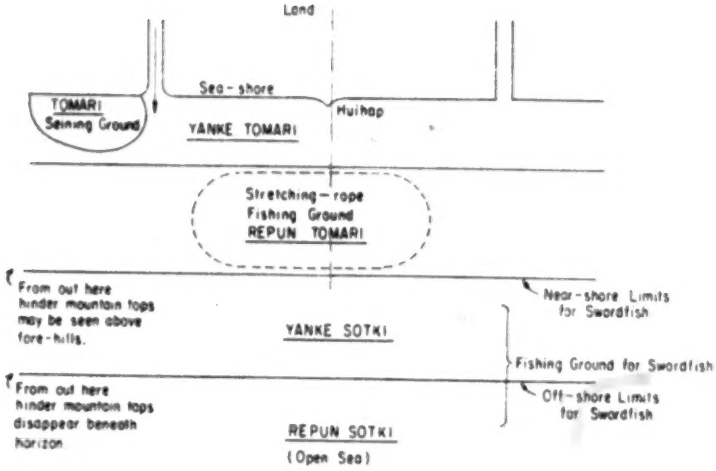
Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

kamui of water, 776
To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270). 823

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the [782] *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru* [539] *kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix 823
'*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of 193
a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature 776
spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru kamui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

(58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are
[825] *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [78] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement." [782] (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

(63) Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 (64) The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 (65) Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprenhended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 (70) The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.160]

REFERENCES CITED

BARTHOLOMEW, George A., Jr. and Joseph B. BIRDSELL. 1953. Ecology and Proto-hominids. American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, pp. 481-498. 113

BATCHELOR, John. 1901. The Ainu and Their Folklore. London.

BATCHELOR, John. 1926. An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary. Tokyo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1951. *Ainu Chimei Goi* (Ainu Topographical Terms). Kyōdo Kenkyū Sōsho, No. 1. Sapporo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1953. *Bunrui Ainu-go Jiten: Shokubutsu-hen* (A Classificatory Ainu Dictionary: Plants). Nihon Jōmin Bunka Kenkyū-sho Ihō, No. 64. Tokyo.

CHIRI, Mashiho. 1959. *Ainu no Sake-ryō: Horobetsu ni okeru Chōsa* (Dog Salmon Fishing of the Ainu: An Investigation in Horobetsu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 14, pp. 245-265. Sapporo.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1950. Northwest Coast. University of California Anthropological Records 9:3, Culture Element Distributions: XXVI.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1951. The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 144.

DRUCKER, Philip. 1955. Sources of Northwest Coast Culture. 75th Anniversary Volume of the Anthropological Society of Washington, pp. 59-81.

ELTON, Charles. 1953. Animal Ecology. London.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1950. The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People. London.

FORDE, Daryll. 1947. The Integration of Anthropological Studies.' Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 78, pp. 1-10.

FORDE, Daryll. 1954. Introduction to 'African Worlds. Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples,' Daryll Forde (ed.), pp. viii-xvii. London.

GUNTHER, Erna. 1927. Klallam Enthography. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 171-314.

GUNTHER, Erna. 1928. A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 129-173.

HABARA, Matakichi. 1939. *Ainu Shakai-keizai-shi* (A Socio-economic History of the Ainu). Tokyo.

HAGIHARA, Minoru (ed.). 1937. *Tokachi Kaihatsu-shi* (A History of Land Development in Tokapchi). Tokyo.

HALLOWELL, I. 1928. Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere. American Anthropologist, Vol. 28, No. 1.

HANDA, Yoshio. 1933. *Sake- Masu-no Hanashi* (On the Salmon). Keison Iho, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 14-17. Sapporo.

HATTA, Saburo. 1911. *Muma* (The Bear). Tokyo.

HAYASHI, Yoshishige. 1958. *Ainu no Kōun Gijutsu* (Cultivation Techniques of the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 13, pp. 175-203. Sapporo.

HIKITA, Hirochika. 1956. *Hokkaido-Engan oyobi Kasen de torareru Taiheiyō Keison-rui* (Pacific Salmon, Genus: Oncorhynchus, known to occur in Coasts and Rivers of Hokkaido). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, No. 11, 25-44. Sapporo.

HITCHCOCK, Romyn. 1891. The Ainus of Yezo, Japan. Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1890, pp. 429-502.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 Hokkaido-chō (Hokkaido Government) (ed.). 1917. *Nopporo Kokuyū-rin Yasei Shokubutu Chōsa Hōkoku-sho* (Scientific Report on Wild Plants in the Nopporo National Forest). Sapporo.

Hokkaido-chō (ed.). 1937. *Hokkaido-shi* (A History of Hokkaido). 7 vols. Sapporo.

Hokkaido Nōji Shiken-jyō (Experimental Farm of Hokkaido) (ed.). 1931. *Hokkaido ni okeru Shokuryō Yasei Shokubutsu* (Edible Wild Plants in Hokkaido). Hokkaido Nōji Shiken-jyō Ihō, No. 52. Sapporo.

Hokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō (Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. *Sake Masu Tennen Sanran Jyōkyō Chōsa Keikaku-sho* (Scheme for Survey of Natural Spawning-beds of Salmon). Official Circular.

Igarashi, Shin'ichi. 1946. *Sakura-masu no Chikuyō Saiyaku* (Short-Term Rearing for Maturation of Cherry Salmon). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 13-18. Sapporo.

Imaizumi, Yoshinori. 1949. *Nihon Honyū-dōbutsu Zusetsu. Bunrui to Seitai* (Illutrated Manual of Mammals in Japan. Taxonomy and Ecology). Tokyo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1933. *Higuma no Shūsei ni tsuite* (On the Habits of the Brown Bear). Shokubutsu oyobi Dōbutsu, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 57-64. Tokyo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1931. *Akan Kokuritsu Kōen Chitai no Dōbutsu* (Fauna in the Area of the Akan National Park). Hokkaido Keishō-chi Kyōkai. Sapporo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1942. *Tensai ni okeru Ainu no Taido* (Ainus' Attitudes towards Natural Disasters). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 6, pp. 141-162. Sapporo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1943. *Hoppō no Fūdo to Dōbutsu* (Land and Aimals in the North.) Sapporo and Tokyo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1952. *Hokkaido no Shika to sono Kōbō* (On the Deer in Hokkaido, its Decrease and Coming Back). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 7, pp. 1-45. Sapporo.

Inukai, Tetsuo. 1954. *Ainu no Sake-ryō ni okeru Matsuri-goto* (The Salmon Ceremonialism among the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 9, pp. 79-90. Sapporo.

Inukai, Tetsuo and Takemitsu Nayori. 1939. *Iomante* (Ainu no Kuma-matsuri) no Bunka-shiteki Igi to sono Keishiki, I (On the Significance of the Bear Festival, *iomante*, in Ainu Culture and its Local Forms, I). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 2, pp. 247-271. Sapporo.

Inukai, Tetsuo and Takemitsu Nayori. 1940. *Iomante* (Ainu no Kuma-matsuri) no Bunka-shiteki Igi to sono Keishiki, II (On the Significance of the Bear Festival, *iomante*, in Ainu Culture and its Local Forms, II). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 3, pp. 79-157. Sapporo.

Izumi, Seichi. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Chien Shūdan ni okeru Iuoru* (The *Iuoru* and the Territorial Group of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 29-47. Tokyo.

Kindaichi, Kyōsuke. 1947. *Saihō Zuihitsu* (Miscellanies on Field Studies). Kyoto.

Kindaichi, Kyōsuke. 1948. *Ainu no Shinten* (A Collection of Ainu Myths). Tokyo.

Kindaichi, Kyōsuke. 1941. *Ainu no Kenkyū* (Studies on the Ainu). 3rd ed. Tokyo.

Kishida, Hisakichi. 1950. *Nippon Hokutai no Mammal Fauna ni tsuite* (On the Mammal Fauna in the Northern Zone of Japan). Dōbutsugaku Zasshi, Vol. 42, pp. 372-373. Tokyo.

Kuroda, Yukiyasu. 1952. *Genshoku Nippon Chōrui Dai-zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Birds in Japan). 3 vols. Tokyo.

Kyōto, Hiromichi. 1941. *Ainu no Shita-obi* (The Waist Girdle of the Ainu). Hoppō Jida, Vol. 2, No. 7, pp. 1-6. (An offprint.)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

KONO, Hiromichi. 1934. *Ainu no Inau Shiroshi* (*Inau Shiroshi* of the Ainu). Jinruigaku Zasshi, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 12-24. Tokyo. 113

KONO, Hiromichi. 1936. *Ainu to Totem-teki Ifū* (The Ainu and a Totemism-like Custom). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 2, pp. 45-53. Tokyo.

KUBODERA, Itsuhiko. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Sorei Saishi* (Ancestor Cult of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 46-61. Tokyo.

KUBODERA, Itsuhiko. 1956. *Hokkaido Ainu no Sō-sei—Saru Ainu wo Chūsin to shite* (The Antiquated Funeral Customs of the Hokkaido Ainu with special reference to the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 20, No. 1/2, pp. 1-35. Tokyo.

KURODA, Nagamichi. 1937. *Sekitsui-dōbutsu Taikei. Ho'nyu-rui* (An Outline of Vertebrates. Mammals). Tokyo.

MAKINO, Tomitaro. 1951. *Nippon Shokubutsu Zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Flora in Japan). Tokyo.

MASAMUNE, Atsuo (ed). 1937. *Takeshiro Ezo-nisshi-shū* (A Collection of Takeshiro's Diaries in Yezo). 2 vols. Tokyo.

MIHARA, Tateo, Shigeru ITO, Toshio HACHIYA and Miyoe ICHIKAWA. 1951. *Hokkaido ni okeru Keison Gyokyō no Hendō ni kansuru Kenkyū* (Studies on the Change of Fishing Conditions of Salmon in Hokkaido), I. Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 6, No. 1/2, pp. 27-133.

Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō (Mitsuishi Plant, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. Official Report submitted to the Chitose Branch of the Hatchery.

MITSUOKA, Shin-ichi. 1941. *Ainu no Sokuseki* (Footsteps of the Ainu). 6th ed. Shiraoi, Hokkaido.

MIURA, Ihachiro. 1933. Ringyō (Forestry). Chiri Kōza, Nihon-hen, Vol. 1 (*Karafuto oyobi Hokkaido*), pp. 275-290. Tokyo.

MIYAJI, Denzaburo and Shuichi MORI. 1953. *Dōbutsu no Seitai* (Ecology of Animals). Tokyo.

MONTANDON, George. 1937. La Civilization Ainou. Paris.

MUNRO, Gordon N. 1962. The Ainu. Creed and Cult. London.

MURAKOSHI, Michio and Tomitaro MAKINO. 1956. *Genshoku Shokubutu Zukan* (Illustrated Manual of Flora in Japan). Vol. 2. Tokyo.

NAGANE, Sukehachi. 1925. *Karafuto Dojin no Seikatsu* (Life of the Saghalin Aborigines). Tokyo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1940. *Kezuri-bashi Soin Sokei Sogen oyobi Shushin yori mitaru Saru Kawasuji no Ainu* (The Genealogy of the Ainu in the Saru Valley). Jinruigaku Zasshi, Vol. 55, pp. 203-229. Tokyo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1941. *Saru Ainu no Kuma-okuri ni okeru Kamigami no Yurai to Nusa* (The Origin of Gods and the *nusa*, cluster of *inau*, in the Bear Festival of the Saru Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 4, pp. 35-112. Sapporo.

NATORI, Takemitsu. 1945. *Funka-wan Ainu no Hogei* (Whale Hunting among the Funka-wan Ainu). Sapporo.

NISHINO, Kazuhiko. 1958. *Hokkaido no Sake Sanran Kasen ni okeru Hyōshiki Hōryū Shiken* (Chum Salmon Tagging Experiments in Spawning Streams in Hokkaido). Hokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 51-61. Sapporo.

Obihiro Sokkō-sho (Meteological Station of Obihiro) (ed.). 1959. *Tokachi Kishō Yōran* (Manual of Climate in Tokapchi). Obihiro.

ŌNO, Isokichi. 1933. *Hokkaido-san Sakura-masu no Seikatsu-shi* (Life History of Cherry Salmon in Hokkaido), I., Keison Ihō, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 15-26. Sapporo.

ŌSHIMA, Masamitsu. 1940. *Sekitsui-dōbutsu Taikei. Sakana.* (An Outline of Vertebrates. Fishes). Tokyo.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

113 OYA, Yoshinobu. 1951. *Kasen-kan no Sake Sojyō Keitai no Ruijisei ni tsuite* (The Affinity of the Spawning Type of Salmon, O. keta Walbaum, which are found in the Rivers of Hokkaido). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, No. 9, pp. 113-126. Sapporo.

PIESIOSKI, Blonislaw. 1912. Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folk lore. Crakow.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R. 1952. Structure and Function in Primitive Society. London.

SANO, Seizo. 1946. *Soka Sake ohū Tsūshō Ginke-sake ni kansuru Chōsa. Yohō* I. (Investigations on the So-called Silvery Salmon among the Run Salmon. Preliminary Report I). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 39-43. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo. 1947. *Soka Sake chū Tsūshō Ginke Sake ni kansuru Chōsa. Yohō* II. (Investigations on the So-called Silvery Salmon among the Run Salmon, II). Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō Shiken Hōkoku, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 11-15. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo. 1950. *Sakura-masu no Seikatsu-shi* (Life History of Cherry Salmon, O. masou). Sakana to Tamago, No. 2 (February), pp. 51-22. Hokkaido Suisan Fuka-jyō. Sapporo.

SANO, Seizo and Ariaki NAGASAWA. 1958. *Tokachi-gawa Shiryū Memugawa ni okeru Sake no Tennen Hanshoku* (Natural Propagation of Chum Salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, in the Mem River, Tokapchi). Hokkaido Sake Masu Fuka-jyō Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 1-19. Sapporo.

SARASHINA, Genzo. 1942. *Kotan Seibutsu Ki* (Ethnobiological Notes on an Ainu Settlement). Sapporo.

SASAKI, Chozaemon. 1927. *Ainu no Hanashi* (A Lecture on the Ainu). Asahikawa.

SEGAWA, Kiyoko. 1951. *Saru Ainu Fujin no Upshoru ni tsuite* (On the Waist Girdle, *upshoru kutu*, of Ainu Women in the Saru Valley). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 62-70. Tokyo.

Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō (Shiraoi Plant, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). 1956. *Shiraoi-gawa ni okeru Sake Shingyo Tennen Sanran-shō Chōsa* (The Survey of Natural Spawning-beds of Dog Salmon in the Shiraoi). Official Report submitted to the Chitose Branch of the Hatchery.

STEWARD, Julian H. 1938. Basin Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 137.

SUGIURA, Ken'ichi. 1951. *Saru Ainu no Shinzoku Soshiki* (Kinship System of the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 3-28. Tokyo.

TAKABEYA, Fukuhei. 1939. *Ainu Jyūkyo no Kenkyū* (Studies on Ainu Dwellings). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 2, pp. 1-124. Sapporo.

TAKABEYA, Fukuhei. 1941. *Ainu Minzoku no shiyō-shitaru Keiryō no Tan-i* (Studies on Units of Measures used by the Ainu). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 4, pp. 113-200. Sapporo.

TAKAKURA, Shin'ichiro. 1942. *Ainu Seisaku-shi* (A History of Ainu Policies). Tokyo.

TAKAKURA, Shin'ichiro. 1957. *Meiji-izen no Hokkaido ni okeru Nō-koku-gyō* (Agricultural History of Hokkaido before the Introduction of European Techniques). Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku, No. 12, pp. 13-11. Sapporo.

Teikoku Gakushi-in (Imperial Academy of Japan) (ed.). 1944a. *Tōa Minzoku Mei* (Names of Eastern Asian Peoples). Tokyo.

Teikoku Gakushi-in (ed.). 1944b. *Ainu* (The Ainu). Tōa Minzoku Yoshi Shiryō, No. 2. Tokyo.

TOKACHI Shiyō (Tokachi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery). Official Catch Register for 1933-1956.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokyo Temmon-dai (Astronomical Observatory of Tokyo) (ed.). 1954. *Rika Nempyō* 1955 (Science Tables for 1955). Tokyo. 113

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1951. *Saru Ainu ni okeru Tennen-shigen no Riyō* (Utilization of Natural Resources by the Saru Ainu). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 71-82.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1953. *Ainu ni okeru Yumi* (Bows among the Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 6th Session, pp. 129-132. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1954. *Ifuri Ainu ni okeru Suisan Shigen no Riyō* (Utilization of Aquatic Resources by the Ifuri Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 7th Session, pp. 43-48. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1955. *Kisetsuteki Iyū Gijutsu Shigen. Ainu ni okeru Seitaiteki Ichi-sokumen* (Seasonal Migration, Technology and Natural Resources. An Ecological Aspect of the Ainu). Jinruigaku-kai Minzokugaku-kyōkai Rengō Taikai Kiji, 8th Session, pp. 62-63. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1963. *Ainu no Nawabari to shiteno Sake no Sanran-kuiki* (Spawning Grounds of Dog Salmon as the Territory of the Ainu Local Group). Minzokugaku Note (Oka Kyōju Kanreki Kinen Ronbun-shū), pp. 278-297. Tokyo.

WATANABE, Hitoshi. 1964, *Ningen to Shizen no Shakai-teki Ketsugo Kankei. Ainu Nihon-minzoku Tungus no Kyōtsūsei* (Social Solidarity between Man and Nature. Features common to the Ainu, the Japanese and the Tungus). Nihon Minzokugaku-kyōkai Kenkyū Taikai, 2nd Session (1963), Proceedings (in print).

YAMAMOTO, Yūkō. 1943. *Karafuto Ainu no Jyūkyo* (The Dwellings of the Saghalin Ainu). Kenchiku Shinsho 10. Tokyo.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1955. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 1. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1956a. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 2. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1956b. *Tsue no Mitama: Tokachi-Ainu Korō Danwa Kiroku* (Ainu Ethnography as told by Six Old Tokapchi Ainus). Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 19, No. 3/4, pp. 135-156. Tokyo.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1957. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 3. Obihiro.

YOSHIDA, Iwao. 1958. *Higashi Hokkaido Ainu Koji Fudoki Shiryō* (Ethnographical Materials on the Ainu in Eastern Hokkaido). Obihiro-shi Shakai Kyōiku Sōsho, No. 4. Obihiro.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[P.164-A]

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
4	11 from bottom	data	date
14	12 from top	ihherited	inherited
36	1 "	acence	acene
40	22 "	vegitation	vegetation
41	3 from bottom	of sustain	to sustain
41	1 "	from	form
43	17 from top	food-gatherang	food-gathering
47	7 "	colleted	collected
66	11 "	area	area
103	23 "	meang	meaning
104	19 "	instiutions	institutions
108	4 "	attaked	attacked
122	7 from bottom	seme	same
137	6 from top	15th in 1958	15th; in 1953
139	4 from bottom	rising at it	rising as it
140	3 "	point	points
154	10 from top	approach or	approach of
154	16 "	constitued	constituted

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

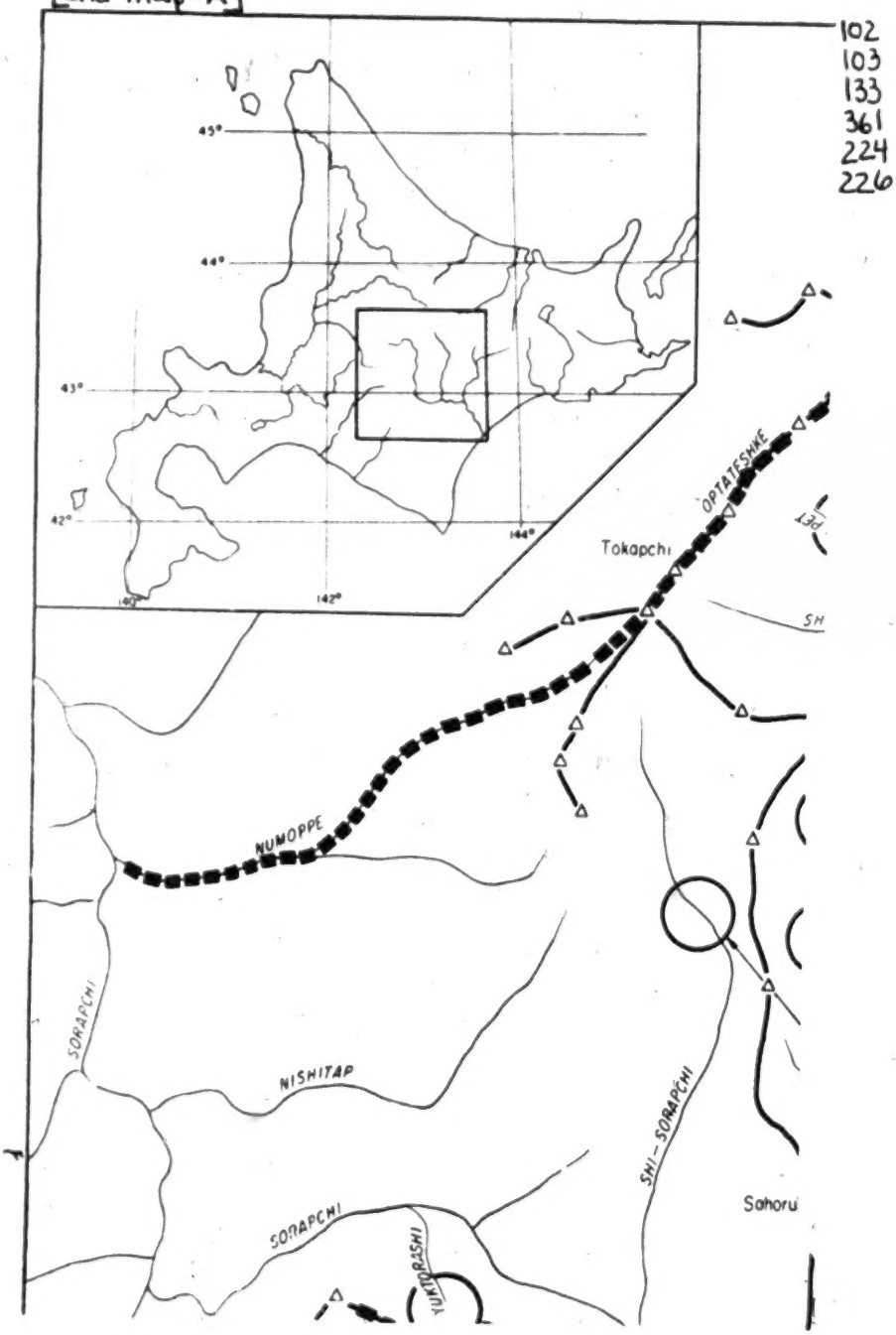
102
103
133
361
224
226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

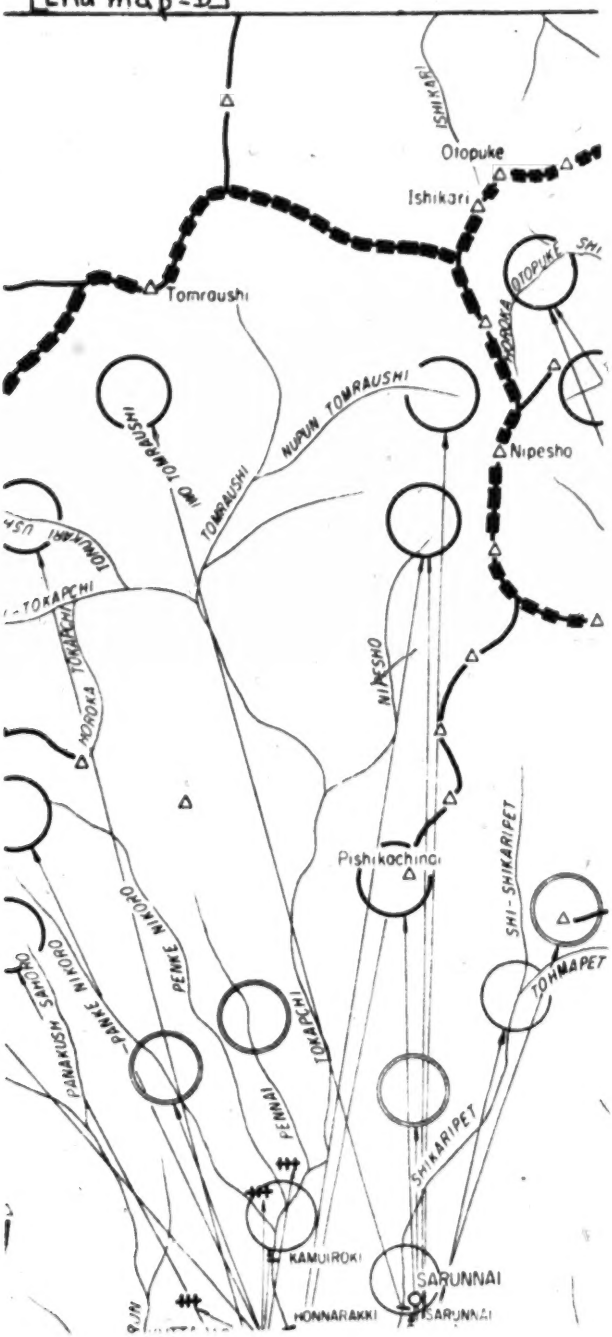
[End map-A]



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

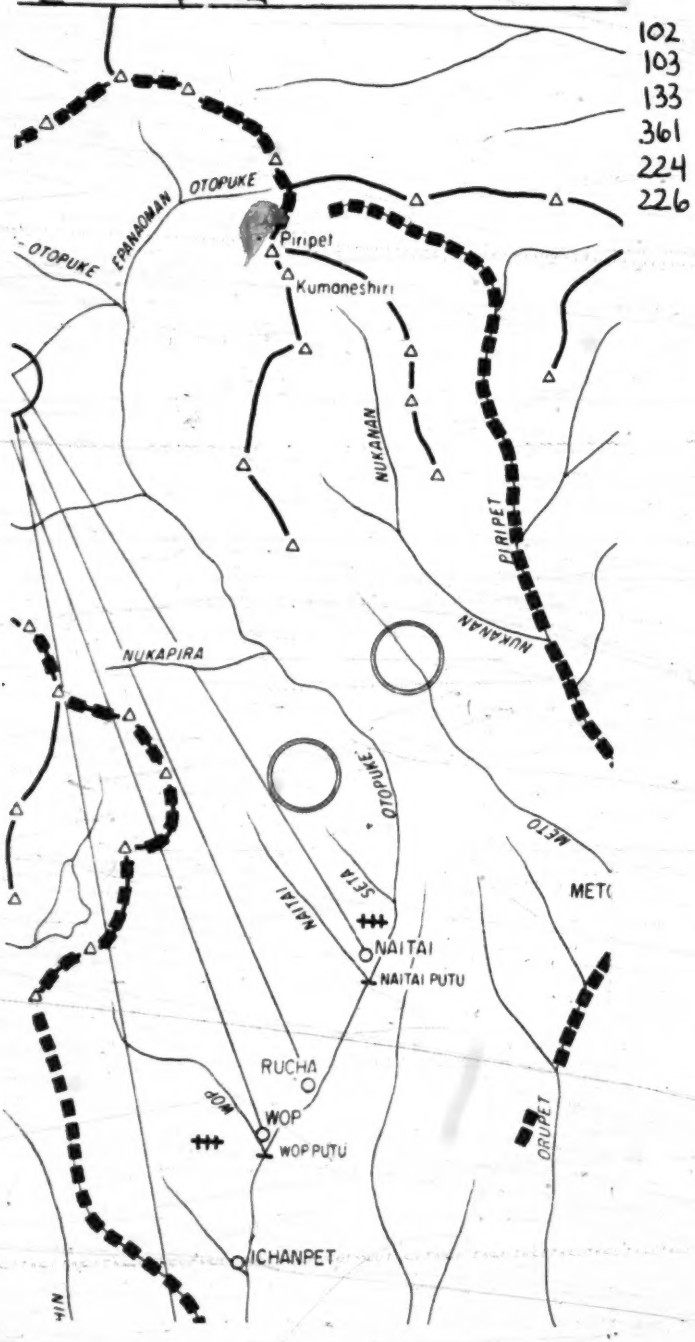
[End map-B]

102
103
133
361
224
226



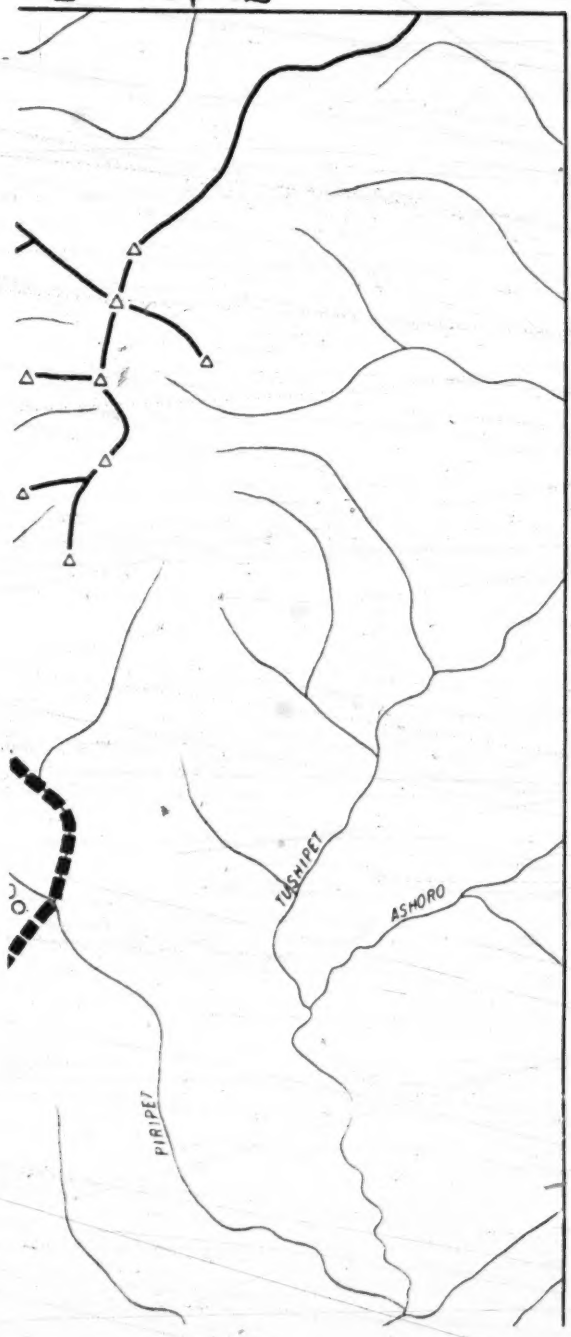
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map - C]



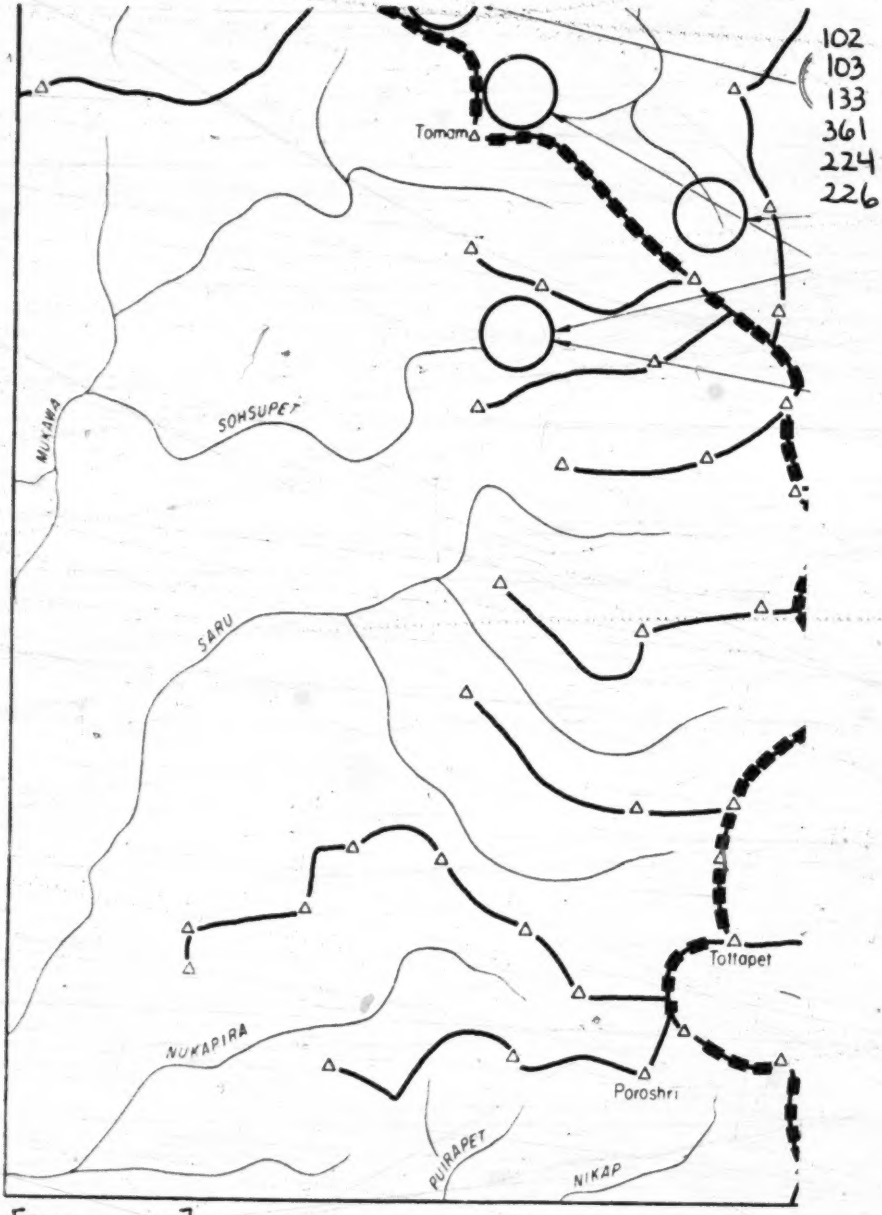
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133
361
224
226

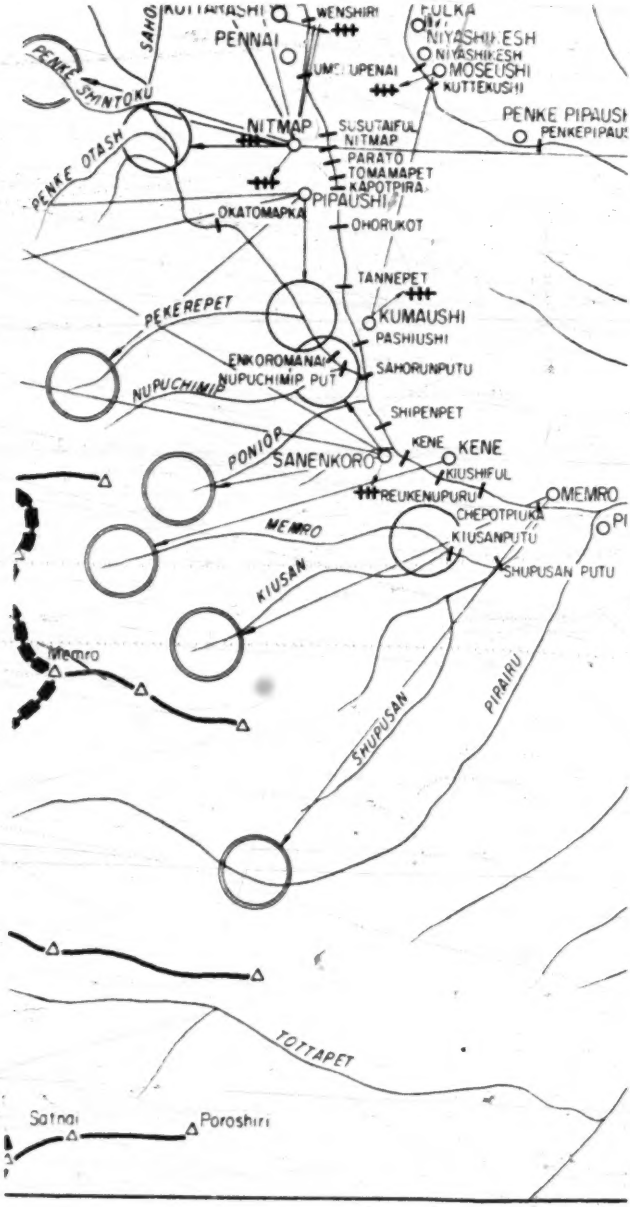
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

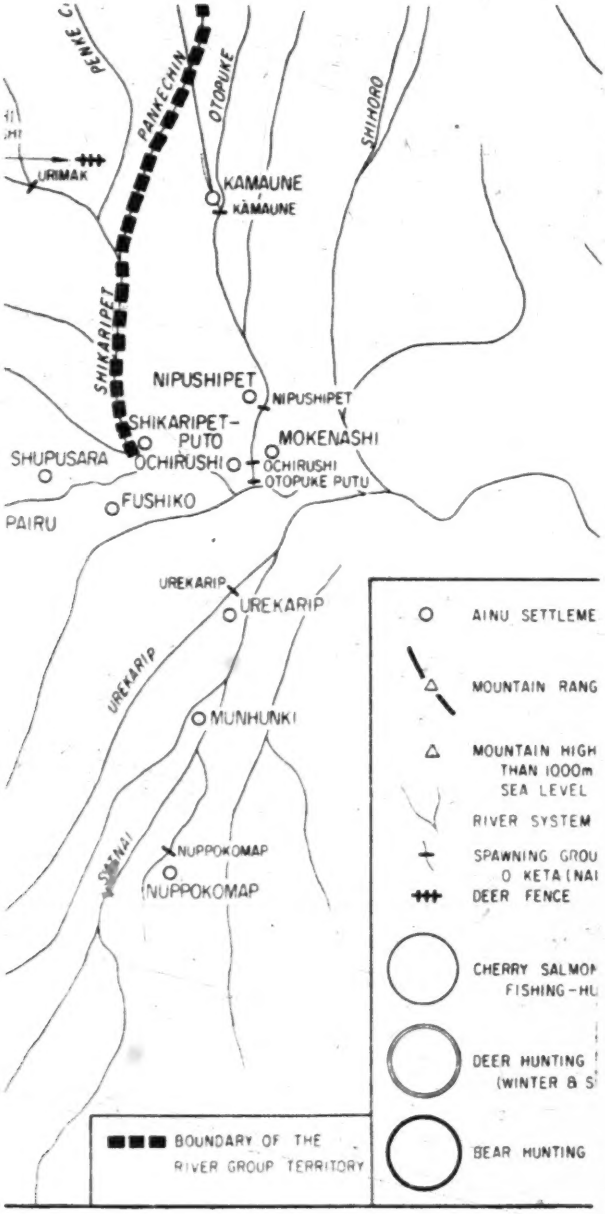
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



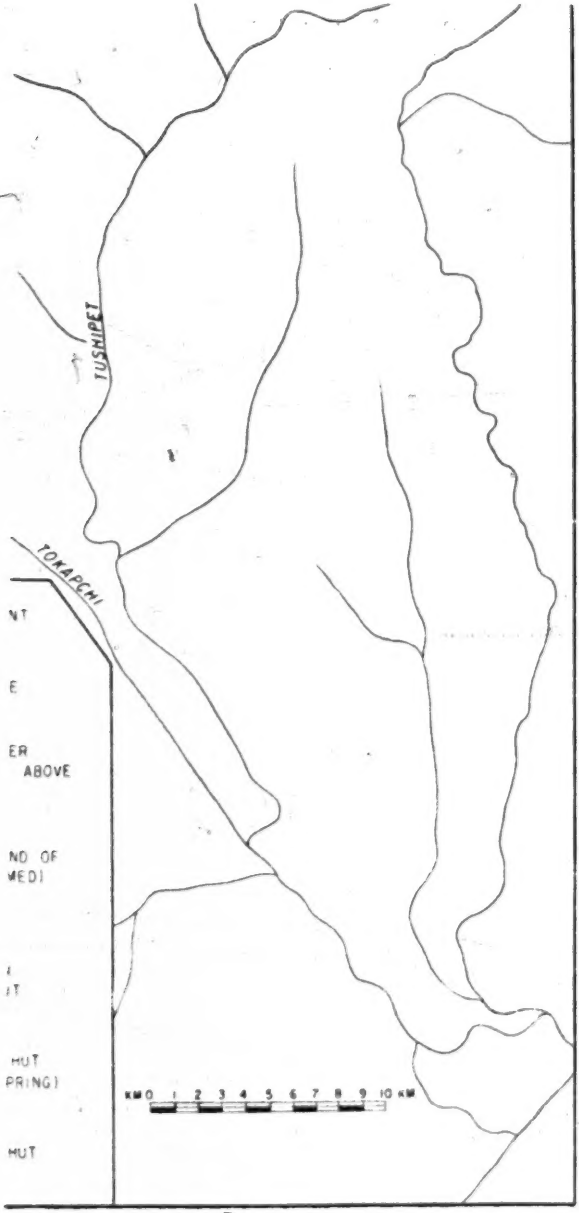
102
103
361
133
224
226

or gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
133
361
224
226



[End map-H]

614

[For information on female descent groups (Huchi Ikiru), see category 611.]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117 ●
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sion nearly thirty Hokkaidō ponies, a fishing boat or two, and a goodly supply of fishing nets. A more cheery and lovable person I have never met anywhere. He was one of "Nature's gentlemen," and was the recognized champion controversialist and most successful advocate for miles around his village. His services were much sought after and his fame had spread abroad to districts far away. I was by his side two days before his death, and we then had some very interesting and confidential conversation together. He actually went so far as to ask me to keep an eye on his family and see that no harm came to any of them after his decease.

Not far from Mr. Mo's house, and about midway between his village and the next, there is a stone still *in situ* which goes by the name of "Stone of Contention." This used to be the rendezvous where controversies were held and judicial cases settled. It was to this stone my friend used to go as advocate. Many times, I was told, did he go there and contend for the right. He was a wise and upright man and as honest as honest could be. He was indeed and in truth a bringer in of peace and harmony, sometimes pleading with the contending parties even with tears. This "Stone of Contention" was supposed to stand
[78] there as a witness to what was said and done. Fetishes were made and offered to it, libations presented and drunk before it, and it was a special object of veneration and worship on particular occasions, such as those now mentioned. Free speech also was allowed on these occasions.

A year or two before his death, Mr. Mo one day took me for a walk and showed me first of all a flat rock on the top of a hill, which was called the "Watch Stone." From it a good view was to be obtained, both inland and out at sea. He explained the name by telling me that the ancient Ainu, in their days, used to stand or sit on this stone, keeping watch against

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

352 All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was
744 just one empty whisky (*saké*) barrel which I used for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

744 A long time after this, when I was talking to
825 another friend about these creatures, he told me they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[825] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

● 117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very 1170
uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it 776
had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, 593
and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her [592]
she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

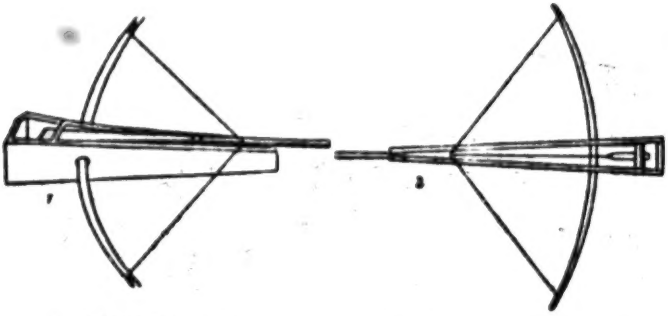
593 finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy [762] family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

●117 I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a play-[136] ground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A favourite way of catching rats among this people was by a trap such as the following. It consisted of a sort of oblong box having a bow so placed as to close a slide firmly to the end as soon as the animal pulled at a bait placed inside near the bottom. The slide catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside and the hind quarters outside. There is no noise made by the animal. I have taken as many as seven, one after the other, in the course of an evening, and found another caught fast in the morning. But it is a bad plan to allow other rats to see one thus caught. They seem to take the hint and seek healthier quarters at once. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap ready set, and Fig. 2 reveals the string inside to which the bait is tied. 417 224



RAT TRAP, SET RAT TRAP, UNDERVIEW

Once about midnight Penri gave a most fearful yell, jumped up very suddenly, and rushed across to my sleeping place. Arrived there, he pushed open my sliding door and asked me why I had slipped across to his place and given his hair a pull! I was greatly astonished at this and asked what he meant. But he stuck to it that I had got up a short time ago and had come and 117

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER X

THAT WICKED MISSIONARY

Not very long ago I had the honour of attending a lecture in Sapporo, at which I heard a very fine, lively and interesting speech delivered by a learned and eloquent Japanese pastor from the Capital. He was speaking to a large gathering of Sunday school delegates, among whom were one or two Christian Ainu women. All present listened with keen attention and full appreciation to the remarks of the speaker, and appeared to be thoroughly enjoying his eloquence; I among the rest. In order to make a point more clear, entertaining and readily acceptable to his audience, the lecturer very aptly cited the following story. 7

"Some years ago a foreign missionary went to a certain land to try to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. He found the people altogether uncivilized and given over to polygamy and cannibalism. He was exceedingly sorry for them and mourned over them not a little. Strive as he might to convert them to the better way, he could make no headway. Their ideas and general customs were so very different from what he had been used to all his life. After some little time had elapsed, however, he was greatly encouraged by a native coming and telling him that his people were assured that much of what he was teaching them was noble and excellent and said they would accept that; indeed, they would follow out most of his precepts. 'But,' said they, 'we must certainly be allowed to retain our wives, for they are so useful in many ways. There is much for them to do both indoors and out. So we do not see our way clear to become monogamists.' It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 appeared to them that polygamy was not only good and useful, but a quite proper institution, so why make such a change? It would be an injustice to the women were they to be got rid of! The poor man was much distressed upon hearing this, but there was no help for it.

"Later on, the missionary left that country for a season of rest at home. But he was shouldering a heavy burden and his heart was sore within him, because he had won no converts. Upon his return the following year to the scene of his labours, he was much rejoiced to be met by a native friend who told him that he had, after much wrestling with his conscience, made up his mind to make a sacrifice and have only one wife, and had, therefore, now become a monogamist! This was great good news and the missionary was highly delighted with such a wonderful victory, 'What has become of your discarded wife?' he asked. 'I ate her up,' he replied." And so amid laughter the story ended.

However, one of the Ainu women who heard it was not at all pleased and spoke to me about it afterwards, when I found that she took quite an unexpected yet perhaps, for an Ainu, a natural view of the matter. Said she: "But, Sir, what a wicked missionary that foreigner was!" "Why, whatever do you mean?" I asked. To this she made quite a long answer. "Oh, don't you see, Sir? Was he not the direct cause first of a murder and then of surprising that poor man into an act of cannibalism. I consider him to have been a very wicked missionary. And, why? my own people [595] do not, some of them, think it wrong to have a plurality of wives. Has not Mr. So and So four of them? His first two Ainu and the other two Japanese? And does he not sometimes walk out with them all together, he first and they reverentially following after in order?" I must confess that this was news to me. But do not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But do not

let it be supposed for a moment that the Ainu are cannibals, for they are not so now, whatever they may have been in the past. Then the lady added, "Supposing a polygamist gets rid of any of his wives, ought he not to make them handsome presents, and should it not be by mutual consent?" I left the question unanswered. And so this case which the young lady quoted is but an echo of the Ainu past. I will add, however, before leaving this subject, that in the mind and reasoning of this lady there was a certain twist, for she said, "Surely it would have been better for that missionary, had a millstone been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea! For he caused a little one to stumble, did he not?" 117 [266]

It has been my great privilege to spend quite a long time among this peculiar and enigmatical people, and we have had a number of them educated. It has been a most interesting thing to watch how the old ideas of an uncivilized people come into contact with and then are partially abolished by modern thought. I am well acquainted with an Ainu woman who has been given a good Japanese education, who can play the organ nicely, and who has even been to England. For some time past she has been reading books on what is called "New Thought," of which, by the by, the present generation of Japanese are very fond. We have had much discussion on many points raised, for some of them are not in line with what is termed orthodox Christianity. She is a young lady who does not by any means always take things on trust and so we are at times unable to see eye to eye. One day after a long discussion she said to me; "Sir, I perceive that you are one of the *Genrō-in*" (i.e. Elder Statesmen). 178

I thought this rather strong. Nevertheless it is the spirit of the age. What a change! And to come as it did from an Ainu woman! It shows progress. However, I let it pass and at once replied: "Yes, yes, just so. Have it so if you wish. But remember this at all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
● 117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117 ● my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512 haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221 take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562 tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462 facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242 ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243 pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244 reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 122 used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262 About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251 *Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252 root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242 speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829 once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop. 576 171

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible. [778 342]

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did 117

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

354 778 372

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

But sometimes the people, some of them at least, used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a 117 ●
good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has 777
heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they 777
perform any function or ceremony of importance, the 293
men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those 527
the younger of them wear are called *inauru*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752
before I became aware that he had lost the points of
two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he
informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a
fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a
narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in
my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off
into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the
bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore
quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the
ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In
this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Never-
theless, both members festered and would not heal for
a long time. But in the end, although they got better,
I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong
feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added,
"The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of cour- 117
age and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut
his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could
no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake
kind. Whenever we were travelling together along
narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114
wished me to walk in front to scare away these ver- 784
min. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore
thick boots through which no snake could bite. At
night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of
smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he
waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117 ● when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775 lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it 776] would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783]
all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

● 117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of 776] the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, 342
where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace 273
there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming 731
feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal 342
of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. 273
Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, 117 ●
no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol 273
in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *nusa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inau*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inau-sak-guru*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.

NUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *nusa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

117 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVII

MY FRIENDS TEE AND ARIMAKNA

Among my very early friends was Tee. This Ainu 115
was a very silent man and of a meek disposition, and, except when hunting bears, was quite gentle in all his ways. I often think of him as one of nature's gentlemen. Both he and his wife were most courteous and kind, and I enjoyed staying with them. They lived in the very last house of the village farthest up the Saru River. There were no Japanese among the Ainu up there at that time, so their customs and language were pure Ainu. Whenever I think of the quiet, free, unanxious life they lived up there and compare that time with the present I cannot help sighing. But those halcyon days departed when the tax collector and modern civilization came in. I quite enjoyed seeing their life of quiet security and simplicity, alas, now gone for ever. It was only a very short time ago that I was asked by an old man whether I thought the old free-from-care times would ever return. He said he was very tired of the present state of things and thought there was something wrong somewhere! And surely he was right.

One day I told Chief Penri that I wished to go up 117
the track by the river and visit the other villages, but he greatly surprised me by saying that he could not take me up. "In that case, I suppose I must go alone, then," I said. But he begged me not to go. "Why don't you wish me to go up?" I asked. After a good deal of talk, he told me that he had received instructions from an official that he was to take me no higher up the river along the track. "The Japanese were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he re-
turned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my dis- 753
trict, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." "How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVII

SOME SHOOTING INCIDENTS

In our very early days in Hokkaidô there were times when we could get no animal food to eat. We found this very trying in the winter. I therefore determined to buy a gun and try to better matters in this respect. After the gun came, I was able to keep our larder well stocked with such things as wild duck, snipe, wood-cock, tree-grouse, hares, and now and then wild geese. But as the years passed, times so changed that now one can only think of those early days and smack his lips. 117 [136]

One day an English gentleman and his wife came to visit us at Sapporo. They were supporters of Missions and it was my pleasure to take the gentleman with me to some of the rougher places of the interior. Just before starting, my friend saw me cleaning my gun, when he informed me that he was very sorry to see that I shot, and that he did not consider it right for a missionary to shoot birds and animals. So, in order not to offend one of our supporters, I put my gun out of sight. His dear good wife also, being of like opinion, had the grace to tell my spouse, who had a couple of very pretty duck wings in her hat, that she did not think ladies ought to wear feathers!

My friend and well-wisher soon started off with me on our tour, and in a few days we arrived at a hamlet in the interior, where an old Ainu friend had put up two nice rooms in his house, in which I always stayed. As it happened, I had not brought a very big supply of tinned provisions with me, so it was not long before we ran out of animal food.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 One morning we found the cupboard was as bare as that of the famous Mother Hubbard. In alarm, my friend asked what we were going to do about breakfast and dinner. "Ah," I returned, "that's the question. What shall we do? There is a little rice, but plenty of millet and vegetables to be got." The gentleman was not too well pleased. So I went into my room and fished my gun out from among my clothes, where I had hidden it, and passed out before him. He was, in fact, busy writing at a table. "Surely," thought I, "I have you on toast this time."

Within forty yards of our rooms, a quail got up at my feet. He rose with a startling whirl from under my very nose. "Bang"! went my gun and I forthwith picked up my breakfast. I had no sooner secured my bird than I heard a loud voice coming from the window, "There goes another! Look! Quick!" The poor man saw his breakfast flying away and was evidently afraid of losing it! "Bang"! sounded my gun again and down came my friend's breakfast also. And he was very much pleased. Out he rushed and said, "Ah, I think it is all right to shoot for food, but I do not like shooting for mere sport." "Come along," said I, "let us go and pick up a few dinners if we can." Away we went and returned with a bag of seven or eight fine, fat tree-grouse and a few quails. These lasted us for some time, and when they were eaten up we went and got more, and a few duck as well. So my companion saw that whether clergy or laymen, "a man's a man for a' that," and must be fed.

[825] It is supposed among ourselves that the fox is the most wily animal of the forests, but the Ainu say "No, not so. The bear is the most artful of all." That may be true, but I think all animals have their little tricks, which they play when hard pressed. One day an Ainu friend and I went out to try and shoot something to eat, for I was very tired of nothing but millet and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "if you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news. 117 [224 825]

Another incident happened very near our home in Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwen kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people. 117 ●

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night." [744]

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIV

POSSESSION BY FOXES

The village of Usu, which is situated upon the southern coast of Hokkaidō in Volcano Bay, is a very beautiful place. As its name implies, it has "many bays," and such are always pleasing to the eye. Half a century ago we knew all the inhabitants, and from that time to the present we have always had many good friends among them. The Ainu were all fishing folk and had a full amount of superstition. I can never forget a little incident which happened there once and which seemed to give much amusement to the people present, particularly to the younger ones among them. 117 ●

I was giving an address to a large assembly in one of the houses. As there was no chair to be had and it was very painful for me to sit cross-legged upon the floor, and as, moreover, I could not stand up to speak on account of the smoke from burning wood upon the hearth, the good house-wife fished out a Japanese foot-warmer frame (*kotatsu*) for me to sit on and so speak to the people. About the middle of my speech, when I had warmed up a little, the top of my improvised seat gave way with a snap and thus let me down. I landed with my feet sticking up in the air at one end, and my head level with them at the other. None of my addresses to the Ainu have ever produced such a profound impression as that one did. The hut was filled with roars of laughter, in which I could not but join. We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves. The incident is not yet forgotten, for I heard of it again but a few days ago; indeed, it was one who was then pre- [516]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 754 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not ? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho, Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121 ●

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then 101
became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 804

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver): 804 436

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of 121 ●
colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value. [804] [436]

[P. 6(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Japan AB)

A

●121 Colonial policy. The purpose of this research is to present some data concerning the study of native policy within the frame of colonial policy.[1]

J 175 648 From one standpoint, the history of Japan is that of the continuous expansion by colonization of the Yamato race. Japan's colonial activities had been especially vigorous in recent years. Formosa and the Pescadores Islands were taken in 1896; southern Saghalien was added in 1906 and Korea was absorbed in 1910. Now, comparing Japan's situation prior to the acquisition of Formosa with its situation after the inclusion of Korea, we find an increase in land area of approximately 300,000 sq.km., or 76.6 per cent and a population increase of some 17,200,000 Koreans, 3,700,000 Formosan Chinese and Formosan tribes and 1,520 Saghalien natives. Japan's policy towards these people has not only a significant bearing on their lives but will determine whether or not our colonial management is successful. The sudden development of our nation in recent years has made it inevitable then that there be frequent contiguity with natives and the success of our native policies affects the success of our continental venture and therefore the existence of the Japanese nation. Now, as systematic study is needed to rationalize a colonial policy, so is scientific study needed in order to form an ideal native policy. However, since the systematic study of colonization is a recent development and still in the process of establishing itself as an independent discipline, the study of native policy, which is a division of colonial policy, is only occasionally referred to and then merely in individual cases and, as yet, no consistent principles have been established by the processes of gathering materials and conducting comparative studies.[2] The natural procedure ought to be

J 121

J [114] [648]

[1] Colonial studies cannot be said to have achieved sufficient progress even in Germany where they are most advanced. In 1909 C. Ballod in his essay, Die wissenschaftlichen Ansichten uber Kolonialpolitik, in Schmoller, *Die Entwicklung der Deutschenvolkwirtschatslehre in neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1909, stated that colonial study is a product of the nineteenth century. Later G. Zoepfel, who contributed to the establishment of colonial study as a discipline in his *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (section on "Kolonien and Kolonialpolitik"), says that today there does not exist any scientific explanation of colonial policy which pays equal attention to all colonies and he notes these studies. In the fourth edition of Zoepfel edited by P. Leutwein it cannot be said that the earlier weaknesses of the book are supplemented.

[2] A scientific basis for native policy was established by the English scholars Sir G. C. Lewis, H. Merivale, and E. G. Wakefield. But in Germany where the study of colonization first emerged the consideration of administrative policy, economic policy, and native policy were confined to A. Zimmerman's book, *Kolonialpolitik* (Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1905). In Japan native policy has been discussed as a part of native administrative policy and colonial labor policy. Professor Yanaihara's study of political interference in native social life as a native policy to the exclusion of other factors was an appropriate but unique piece of work. See his *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku* (Colonization and Colonial policy), 363 ff. My own so-called "native policy" involved broad fields including those of political, economic and social interference and although it

J [121]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
AJ
121

basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

EF
175
648
636

The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

EF
121
636
JA
[10]
[119]

---

realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso, Hayato, Ezo,* and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

[P. 8(B)]

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E 175 [171]

The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

F E A 121

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

A 114 A 194 A [192]

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest 121 of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man 301 who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have 301 pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I 888 am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In 301 no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record —an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public. 121

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear. 114

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself 123

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

carried away by its more fortunate rival, Hakodate. The population of Matsumai decreases considerably every year, as the inhabitants leave this poetical but dead-alive and decaying spot for the more exciting life to be found in newly-opened districts further east or north.

Between Fukuyama and Hakodate, a distance of over sixty miles, the road is extremely bad, and there is nothing whatever to see. Shirakami Cape is interesting as being the most southern point of Yezo, and from here the coast turns slightly towards the north-east.

Fukushima is an old village. The other headlands, and the Cape of Yagoshi, have no special features calling for attention. Near the latter cape the coast is volcanic, which renders it very rugged in shape and warmly tinted in colour. There are many villages along the coast, as Yoshioka, Shiriuchi, Kikonai, Idzumizawa, Mohechi, and Kamiiro, and the inhabitants seem well off and well-to-do people.

A great quantity of coal and firewood is carried on pony-back from these mountains to Hakodate. Rows of ten, twelve, or fifteen ponies one after the other, loaded with as much as they can carry, can be seen slowly travelling, under the care of one man, down to the principal port of Yezo, especially at the beginning of the winter season; and here and there stacks of split wood are piled ready for transportation.

Rounding the Hakodate Bay, I was again at the point whence I had first started, and happy that, notwithstanding all the ill-luck I had had, notwithstanding the strain on my physique, which is not by any means herculean, and notwithstanding all the obstacles which had come in my way, I had finally succeeded in doing what no European had ever done before, namely, in completing the whole circuit of Yezo at one time, exploring all its most important rivers and lakes, studying the habits, customs, and manners of that strange race of people, the Hairy Ainu, and visiting the Kuriles besides.

Many parts which I travelled over had never been trodden by European foot, and this made my journey all the more interesting to me. As the book stands I have related but the principal adventures which I had during my long peregrinations in Hokkaido, most of which are intended to illustrate Ainu customs and traits by my own personal experience rather

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●121 than to excite sympathy for my hardships. Really, though the journey nearly cost me my life, I have never, in my extensive wanderings, enjoyed a trip more than that to Ainuland.

I have touched but slightly, and not more than was absolutely necessary, on subjects relating to the Japanese; for this is intended as a work on the Ainu.

114 I was happy yet sorry to be at the end of my journey! This was the 146th day since I first left Hakodate, and the distance I had travelled was about 4,200 miles, out of which 3,800 were ridden on horseback, or an average of twenty-five miles a day. The remaining 400 miles were either by steamer or canoe travelling.

From the day I broke the bone in my foot I travelled fifty-eight days, mostly on horseback, and the first time it was attended to and properly bandaged up was sixty days after it occurred, or two days after my arrival in Hakodate, by Mr. Pooley, chief engineer on board the ss. *Satsuma Maru.*

Mr. Henson was again extremely kind, and pressed me to leave the tea-house and go and stay at his place, and after five months of "hard planks" I slept again in a comfortable bed. What a treat it was! What a curious sensation to sleep in a bed again, and actually have sheets and blankets! But this was not all, for surprise followed surprise.

The pompous Consul, who for the sake of saving himself the trouble of looking into his desk, had made my last portion of the journey wretched and sorrowful, found that after all he was mistaken, and on the breakfast-table in my place I found a packet of about 100 letters and newspapers, which the Consul sent to me with a message saying that when I called last time he had forgotten who I was, and therefore had forgotten to give me my correspondence!

Now that we have travelled round and through the country in every direction; now that we have seen where the different tribes of Ainu are, I shall attempt to give my readers some insight into the Ainu themselves, and their mode of living.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 114
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

●121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types. 141 121

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes." 551 192
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT. 141

MEN.			WOMEN.		
	inches.			inches.	
1.	61	Med. $62\frac{18}{19}$	1.	$58\frac{3}{4}$	Med. $58\frac{3}{8}$.
2.	65		2.	$59\frac{7}{8}$	
3.	$60\frac{1}{4}$		3.	$59\frac{1}{2}$	
4.	$64\frac{7}{8}$		4.	$54\frac{5}{8}$	
5.	61		5.	$59\frac{1}{2}$	

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

St. Petersburg.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327.

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
114
[13]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A
G
114
121
532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i. e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,
127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from the Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.19]

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such import-
121 ant items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[25]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shuipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 *(or ichanui) koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the terri-
423 tory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within
619 this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techni-
182 ques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was estab-
619 lished on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river
771 valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its
[776] component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local
[614] basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The present study leaves much unexplored owing partly to methodological limitations. It suggests sufficiently, however, that the influence of habitat upon the group life of a primitive people should not only be analysed through their technology but also through their cosmological view of habitat and ritual reaction to it and that in such an analysis it is important to examine the spatio-temporal structure of group life in relation to the nature of habitat, especially the ecology and ethology of the surrounding biotic species. It is hoped that quantitative analysis will be attempted to inquire further into the problem. 121

1: Shternberg--38 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology. 114

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is at hand, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan. [175]

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion. 000 [122]

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance 114

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

pretty *kimonos* (gowns) and with oil-paper umbrellas, were toddling along on their wooden clogs, and a crowd of loafers stood gazing at the ship as she came to anchor. The Peak, more than 1000 feet high, was towering on our south side, forming a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, and the large bay swept round us, forming nearly a circle. The place has a striking resemblance to Gibraltar.

I landed, and put up at a tea-house, where I was in hopes of learning something regarding the island from the Japanese settlers, but no one knew anything. The reports that there were no roads extending beyond a few miles; that there was but very poor and scarce accommodation along the coast; that the Ainu, who lived further north, were dirty people; and that the country was full of bears, were certainly not encouraging to an intending traveller.

I must confess that my first day in Yezo was a dull one; but the second day I had the pleasure of meeting a Mr. H., a resident, who kindly offered me his hospitality, and the next two were pleasantly spent at his house. In conversation with a friend of his, I heard the remark that no man alone could possibly complete the circuit of the island of Yezo, owing to the difficulties of travel; and my readers can imagine the astonishment of my interlocutors when I meekly said, that if no one had ever done it, I was going to do it; and, indeed, that I intended to set out alone the next morning.

"Impossible!" said one, "you are too young and too delicate."

"Absurd!" said my kind host, "it would take a very strong man to do it—a man who could stand any amount of hardships and roughing." At the same time he gave me a pitiful look, which undoubtedly meant, "You are a mere bag of skin and bones."

However, the bag of skin and bones kept his word, notwithstanding the poor opinion that his new friends had formed of him.

The preparations for my journey were simple. In two large Japanese baskets I packed three hundred small wooden panels for oil-painting, a large supply of oil colours and brushes, a dozen small sketch-books, my diary, three pairs of boots, three shirts, an equal number of pairs of woollen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

stockings, a revolver, and a hundred cartridges. The remainder of my luggage was left in charge of Mr. H. till my return. I did not burden myself with either provisions or a tent.

I rose early the following morning and bade good-bye to my kind host. "Good-bye," said he, "I expect we shall see you back to-night to dinner." The word "dinner" was the last English word I heard from the mouth of an Englishman, and it was five long months before I heard another.

The first thirty miles of my journey were ridden in a *basha*, a covered cart built on four wheels that ought to have been round, but were not. There were no springs for the comfort of the traveller, and no cushions on the seats. The conveyance was public, and was drawn by two sturdy ponies. The driver, a Japanese, carried a brass trumpet, on which he continually played.

I might have begun my story by the usual "One fine day," if, unfortunately, the day on which I started the rain had not poured in torrents. A Japanese policeman and a girl were my only fellow-passengers. Travelling at full gallop, on a rough road, in a trap with unsymmetrical wheels and with no springs, during a heavy storm, is scarcely what one would call a pleasant mode of progression; but after some hours of "being knocked about," we went zig-zag fashion, first up a steep hill, then down on the other side, giving the horses a rest at a roadside tea-house by the famous lakes of Zenzai. The larger of these two lakes—the Ko-numa—is extremely picturesque, with its numerous little islands wooded with deciduous trees. In shape it is very irregular, and many points, which project into the lake, add to the loveliness of the scene, while the high ridge over which I had come, on the one side, and the rugged volcano of Komagatake on the other, form a beautiful background to the limpid sheet of water. The outlet of this lake empties itself into Volcano Bay, S.E. of the Komagatake Volcano. The other lake, though smaller, is quite as striking, and possesses the same characteristics of its larger brother. It goes by the name of Ono-numa. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they abound in a smallish fish—the *funa*—which is greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

I sat down in the tea-house on the soft mats, and my *bento*

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is a kind of a jungle, in fact," said they, "in which yellow and black bears are plentiful. The rivers, which are numerous, are swollen by the heavy rains that have fallen lately. The natives up the river are unsociable and bad, and they will kill you. Then in the high grass horse-flies, black-flies, and mosquitoes abound."

"If you attempt it alone," said the wise man of the party, "you will not come back alive."

These reports were not encouraging, but, anyhow, I determined that, Irish as it may sound, *dead* or *alive*, if there were any Ainu up the stream I would see them. Owing to the difficulty of taking even my usual baggage, and not wishing to burden my ponies with more than was necessary, I decided to carry with me only a paint-box, many wooden sketching panels, my diary, and my revolver. I left all my other things at Otsu to wait for my return.

"Should you not come back again, can I keep all your belongings as my property?" kindly enquired the landlord of the tea-house, when I bade good-bye to him and to all the villagers who had collected round early in the morning to see me start.

I took two ponies, as usual. I left Otsu at dawn, and followed as well as I could the winding course of the river. Not far from Otsu I came to the thick jungle of high reeds and tall grass of which I had already heard. I made my way through the first obstructions; but I had not been in the jungle more than a few minutes when I was simply devoured by horse-flies, mosquitoes, and black-flies. My ponies were kicking, bucking, and trying to bolt, as they also were literally covered with horse-flies, sucking their blood and stinging them to madness. The reeds and grass were about ten or twelve feet high, so that, being higher than myself on my horse, I could not see where I was going. I kept along the river bank as much as I could; but in many places it was difficult to get through the ravines which one invariably finds along rivers, so I kept a little way off on the west side, and had the noise of the running river to guide me. For many wearisome hours I rode through this jungle, the dividing reeds continually rubbing against my face, arms, and legs, sometimes making pretty deep cuts with their razor-edged long leaves. The huge

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 137 *shirau*—the horse-flies—grew more and more tiresome as the sun got warmer, and my head and hands were swollen and bleeding. The sun was by this time high in the sky, but there were no signs of the jungle coming to an end, no indications of huts anywhere near—no other noise but the sound of the crashing reeds and the running water of the river. My ponies were feeding well, as grass was plentiful; but I was faring badly. What with the exertion of keeping the ponies in order, while the densely-entangled reeds nearly dragged me off the saddle—what with the plague of mosquitoes and horse-flies, added to the sense of weakness caused by fatigue and hunger—it was really a terrible time for me—one of the worst episodes in my life. Nevertheless, I persevered, and went on and on, determined to reach my destination. I came upon two very large swamps, which forced me to make a wide *détour*. The ponies were very tired, and so was I. When darkness set in I halted, took the heavy pack-saddles off the ponies, and tied the animals to them, so that they could not bolt during the night; and wearied, disheartened, and discouraged as I was, I began to think how stupid I had been to start on such an expedition without carrying any provisions with me—without having provided myself with even a tent or a covering of any kind.

Circumstances made me a philosopher. What is the use of worrying about things that cannot be helped? After all, when you get accustomed to it, starving is really not so bad as people think. One of my ponies was of a sentimental disposition, and he seemed to understand my troubles. He came close and rubbed himself against me, placing his head near mine. It was touching, and in the solitude in which I was the sympathy of the dumb beast was as precious as that of a human being. Had he been able to speak, he might have been taken for a Christian, and a good one, too! He had been fearfully stung by horse-flies, and my petting him seemed to alleviate his pain. There is nothing like sympathy and a little personal kindness if one wants to make friends with animals. The last few rays of light were spent in putting together the notes which I had taken during the day, and which enabled me to draw a sketch-map of the river. At [122] Horoizumi some days previously I was able to buy myself

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

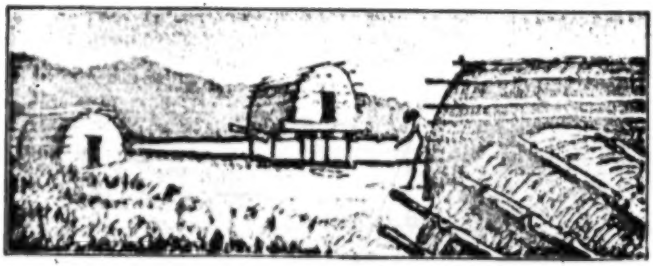
a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it was extremely useful to me. [122]

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for Ainu doorways have no doors. 576 [342]

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned



342
343

AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in Yezo. My coat and trousers were showing signs of rapid decay, and I thought with vain desire of needle and thread, buttons and hooks. My boots were falling to pieces owing to their continual immersion in salt water. The impossibility of cleaning or greasing them added to the original damage; and, worse luck of all, they could not be replaced. Altogether, what with frayed garments, leaky boots, a battered hat, and a general out-at-elbows air, I was scarcely presentable in any society a grade above that of the hairy Ainu.

A road has been cut between Kushiro and Shibetcha, a distance of thirty miles; but though quite new, it is already out of repair, and it will not be long before it is washed away entirely. The Japanese Government does its best to open roads near the largest settlements, but Japanese officials do not seem to understand that after a road has been made it has to be kept in repair.

The country all along is good, and the soil seems rich and fertile. Nearly half-way up, on the east side of the Kutcharo River, are three lakes,—the Takkobe, the Tori Lake, and the Shirin. The Tori is the largest. Its length is five miles, its width about one mile. On the southern shore of this lake is a picturesque Ainu village, with its old tumble-down huts, and close to it is a group of Japanese houses. The contrast between the dirty and neglected old hovels of the Ainu and the clean, spruce, and somewhat finikin houses of the Japanese is very striking. In this difference we read an epitome of the way in which civilisation has travelled from primitive barbarism. The road runs through dense forests; but in several places, especially on its highest level, we come to lovely views of mountain scenery, towering over the shimmering water of the underlying lakes.

In the evening I reached Shibetcha, a nice little place, constructed on each side of a large road which rises considerably as it goes through the village. The village lies in a small valley surrounded by moderately high mountains, and is on the western side of the Kutcharo River, which intersects the valley. A wooden bridge and a three-storied Japanese tea-house are the two main structures in the place. There are sixty-eight houses in the village, and nearly half of them are houses of ill-fame, the three-storied tea-house being the principal.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manu-
[122] script. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro
292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret
114 girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because
789 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934
[611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese*
[582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru
115 River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(1947) and his suggestions personally given me in the course of my study at the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, as well as through implications revealed in his lectures and seminar. Without their influence and encouragement this paper would never have been written. I should acknowledge this with gratitude.

Five major field surveys in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 were carried out by me as a member of the Joint Research Committee on the Ainu and were financed by the Scientific Research Grant from the Ministry of Education, Japan. I gratefully acknowledge also my indebtedness to the Ministry of Education and the members of the Committee, particulary to Professor Masao Oka, Chairman of the Committee. Two other field trips were partly financed by Mr. Hiroshi Misumi, to whom I make grateful acknowledgement.

While at the University College, London, I received valuable help from many other persons. Of these special thanks are due to Drs. Phyllis Kaberry, M. Mary Douglas and D. J. Stenning, all of whom influenced greatly my way of thinking, to Dr. Farnham, M. Rehfisch, Miss Katherine, E. A. Attwood and Miss Jean Baker for each kindly reading through part of the manuscripts which formed the basis of the present paper, for their valuable suggestions and for their kind help in improving the English text. I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. M. Douglas who read through the whole manuscript and gave me very constructive advice.

I wish to express my thanks to many persons for their kind help in the preparation of this paper, especially to Professor Tetsuo Inukai, of University of Hokkaido, Professor Akiyoshi Suda and Dr. Sugao Yamanouchi, of the Anthropological Institute, University of Tokyo, Dr. Seizo Sano and Mr. Kohichiro Shibata, of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, and Dr. Shizuo Yoshino and Mr. Eiji Iwai, of Faculty of Agriculture, University of Tokyo, who brought to my attention some of the important literature and gave various facilities to utilize them along with much valuable information.

I am grateful to Professor Hisashi Suzuki, Chairman of the Anthropological Institute, Faculty of Science, University of Tokyo, and other members of the staff, and the late Professor Kenichi Sugiura, formerly of the Institute, for their interest shown in my work and their generous backing.

I thank also my Ainu informants, particularly the late Ushintasan, Ushino and Kazari, for their devoted cooperation in the field work.

Finally, I should note that those persons mentioned above have no responsibility to any statements made and views expressed in this paper.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yeso and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again. 123

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese." 175

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows: 162

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,354	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found. 114

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record —an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public. 121

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear. 114

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself 123

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 102 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

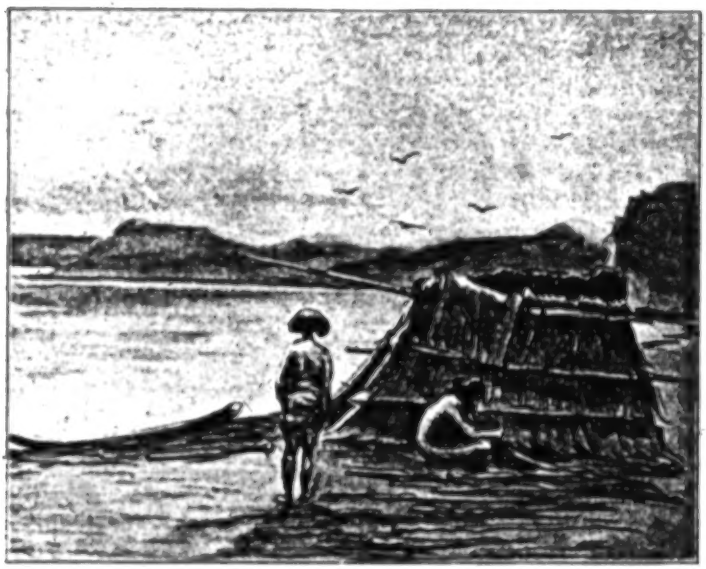
same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[550] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

knives. They did not pay much attention to me, and this disregard of what would be to others a cause of curiosity and interruption I afterwards found to be a characteristic of the Ainu. They are seldom distracted from any particular idea that occupies their mind at a certain moment. In fact, they are so little accustomed to reflect at all, that it seems almost impossible for them to think of two things at the same time. Of all the existing races of mankind they may be said to be the most purely one-idea'd.

Stark naked, with their long hair streaming in the wind, they formed a picturesque group. What a chance for a sketch! I sat down on the sand, opened my paint-box, and dashed off a picture, when a young lad, who had taken his share of the fish, came over to see what I was doing. "What is it?" he asked me in broken Japanese, to which question I answered that I was painting the group of them. The news seemed to give him a shock. He rejoined the others, excitedly muttered some words, and apparently told them that I had painted the whole group, fish and all. Had anyone among them been struck by lightning, they could certainly not have looked more dismayed. I never knew until then that painting could have such an overpowering effect on people, except, perhaps, when one has sat to an amateur artist for one's own likeness, the result of which is often one of dumb and blank amazement. Anger and disgust naturally followed. The fish was thrown aside, but not the knives, armed with which they all rushed at my back. The sudden change of ideas had evidently made them exceedingly angry. The grumbling became very loud, and louder still when they saw me complacently giving the finishing touches to the fish, which was now left alone, and not as before shifted about every second. They grew wilder and wilder, until one of the crowd shouted in my ears some words which sounded remarkably like swearing. Nevertheless it takes more than that to stop me from sketching; but . . . "By Jove!" I exclaimed, when, all of a sudden, a rush was made on me. My paint-box, picture, palette and brushes were snatched out of my hands and smashed or flung away, and I found myself stretched on the sand, my late involuntary sitters holding me down fast by the legs and arms. A big knife was kept well over my head, so that I should not attempt

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

to move, while the painting, on a heavy wooden panel, was being mercilessly destroyed by others. "If these are Christians, well I am . . ." were, I must confess, the first words that rose to my lips.

It is, indeed, difficult to describe how and what one feels when, to all appearance, one is going to be murdered—for painting a fish! My first thought, of course, went to my parents. My next was, what a nuisance it was to be murdered with the sun shining in my eyes, so that I could not even see who would give me the "finishing touch." All the events of my life, the bad ones first, flashed across my mind in those few seconds, and then I almost began to feel as if I had made my first steps into the other world, and I could see angels and devils disputing for my company—the devils, of course, having by far the largest claims. The bitterness of death had in some sense passed, when, to my great astonishment, and with a few, but very sound, kicks I was made to understand that I could get up and go.

The sensation of being brought back to life, when one has made up one's mind to be dead, notwithstanding the abrupt manner in which it was produced, was indeed a pleasant one. I did get up, and pretty quick, I can tell you; but only to see my poor wooden paint-box floating half-smashed in the sea, my brushes stuck here and there in the sand, and the sketch utterly destroyed.

My assailants were about fifteen or twenty, and I was alone. Stupidly enough, and relying on the Christianity of the people, I had not burdened myself with the extra weight of my revolver; I had left it with my heavy luggage in the small Japanese tea-house where I had put up, nearly a mile away. The Japanese police-station was at Washibets, another village some miles off. Nothing was left for me but to pick up the few unbroken brushes which were within easy reach and retire; but I was neither frightened nor conquered, and I swore to myself that I would have my revenge. I hurried to the tea-house, took my revolver, and filled my pocket with cartridges, then I ran back to the spot where I had sketched and been assaulted. There they all were as I had left them, one of them mimicking me with the broken palette, which he had fished out of the sea. I had kept well behind

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

some thick brushwood, so that they should not see me, and for some time watched them unobserved. The imitation was perfect. The impromptu Raphael's hair was long enough to give him the look of an artist, and he was sufficiently brave to carry on his imitation sketching under a shower of missiles and sand thrown at him by his friends and companions. As he turned his head I recognised in my brother-artist the man who had been holding the knife over my head about an hour before, and also the very person who had given me the soundest kick. Just like a brother-artist! If my sketching had not lasted long, his parody was even shorter. I sprang out from the brushwood screen and caught him by the throat, pointing my revolver at his head, and telling him in Japanese to follow me to the police-station. Another man, attacking me from behind, stabbed me in my left arm, but not very severely, as I saw him just in time to avoid his blow. The sight of my revolver had a salutary effect on my hairy friends, and they were done out of their fun when, keeping them at bay, I told them that if they did not follow me they would all be dead men before they knew where they were. They had seen guns of the Japanese, and they knew the effects of them, so the saucy gentlemen stroked their hair and beard and made signs of submission and obedience. However, I was not to be easily appeased, as it was necessary to give them a lesson to prevent the same thing happening to future travellers; so I made them march in front of me, not caring to have them at my back, and thus took them all to the Japanese police-station, where they were duly arrested. The Japanese are very severe with recalcitrant Ainu, and my assailants would have been unmercifully dealt with had it not been for their wives and children, who came to me begging me to forgive their husbands and fathers for what they had done. I willingly did so, on condition that they should all come and prostrate themselves at my feet, imploring pardon and forgiveness and offering submission, as well as confessing their sorrow. This penitential function was reluctantly fixed by the Japanese policeman—the only one in the place—at a late hour in the afternoon. During the interval, as I fortunately had a large supply of painting materials, I managed to re-paint from memory the scene represented in the sketch

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, [789] and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life [753] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

pitiously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semicircular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife—three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu—was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a 126 trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

595 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very 123 talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

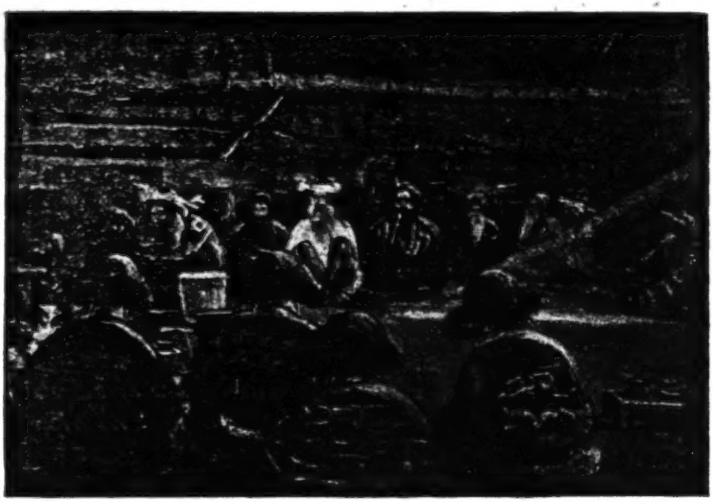
This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527
516



AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

527
123
576

The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [292] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men.

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque.

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process.

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than [157] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, 123 609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of 136 crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we 224 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and [136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *U'parpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the four brave men, who had suffered agonies for days, and had almost miraculously escaped death in the treacherous currents of the Otkoshk Sea, were certainly not to be outwitted by a handful of hard-hearted Japanese or by a pack of hairy Ainu. They begged for food and could not obtain it, so they stole it, and ill-treated some of the natives who interfered. They then disappeared towards the south. When I put in an appearance, all alone and almost in rags, leading and dragging my tired pony, it is not astonishing that the first thing that struck them was that I must be another escaped Russian, "or bad man from Krafto,"[1] as the Ainu called me.

The reception I received was pretty stormy; but when I understood what the matter was which caused the rioting, I set their minds at rest, and, speaking in their own language, told them that the "bad men of Krafto" were my enemies as well as theirs, and that, should I find them, I would punish them. Not only that, but, to make them perfectly at ease, I gave them some little present of money, which turned them at once into friends. As to the Russian convicts, there was no possibility of my finding them, for they were travelling towards the south from this point, and I was moving towards the north, so I was perfectly safe in passing myself off as a kind of supreme judge.

Shari Mombets is a miserable place. In the house where I put up I was received by a young man, but the owner of the house did not show himself. The next morning, however, as I gave much more money than they expected, the landlord was brought to my room to thank me. The poor man suffered from elephantiasis—the wretched disease by which the head and all the limbs of the body assume gigantic proportions. His head was swollen to more than twice its normal size, and had lost its shape; his body was piteously deformed and inflated, his eyes nearly buried in flesh. The weight of his head was such that the cervical vertebræ were scarcely strong enough to support it erect; and when he bowed down in Japanese fashion to thank me and bid me

[1] *Krafto*, Ainu word for Sakhalin.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

some sort, and apparently he regarded himself as a "bruin." 158
I never heard him speak or utter words, but whether he was actually dumb or not I was not able to ascertain, as every time I tried to examine his mouth he attempted to bite me. His biting, however, was of a different nature from that of the sweet girl on the Saruma shores, and when he did bite he bit well. One day in a struggle I came off nearly minus two joints of the third finger of my right hand.

I several times attempted to take measurements of his 123
skull and bones, but with no success. Once, as I had got 158
hold of him and was feeling the "bumps" on his skull, he managed to disentangle himself, and grabbed me by the hair, which led to a conflict, and caused me a "très mauvais quart d'heure." We fought desperately, and I was thoroughly "licked"; not, however, before having found out that he had no bump of sensitiveness and none of philoprogenitiveness. He was pleased with his victory, and the hostilities ended. He hopped away cautiously, and I saw him climb on his hands and feet over the cliff near his hut, where he disappeared.

Some hours later I saw the monomaniac stealthily creeping back among the rocks. I was some way from the hut, in a place where he could not see me. He came slowly forward, watching the hut suspiciously, as he evidently thought I was still inside. When he got near he stopped to pick up a large stone, and with it in his right hand he sneaked along towards the hut. He listened, and crept in. I followed immediately after. He was furious when I entered, and tried to escape, but I barred his way. He retreated into a corner, crouched down groaning, and showed signs of impatience. I could see that he was frightened, and I went to him and endeavoured to soothe him; not without success, for he became quieter, and I once more noticed the great power that a stronger will can exercise over a weaker one. As long as I was staring at him he never dared to move, and I could "will" him to do almost anything I wanted by thinking hard that he should do it; but when once I turned my eyes away I had no more control over him.

This is just what happened that day. Thinking that he would keep quiet for some minutes, I got out my palette and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

923
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

[142]
[291]
[802]
[136]

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

He was restless while I was painting him, and hundreds of half-starved crows, which seemed to be on good terms with my sitter, gathered round him, chatting in their incomprehensible and noisy language. Some of them even flew on to his back and shoulders, and he touched them without their flying away. 123 158 136

I was astounded at the familiarity which existed between the madman and the birds. They seemed to understand each other, and had I only been sufficiently imaginative I might have asserted that I even saw them kissing him. Unfortunately, when the first astonishment was over I understood the reason of the affection on the part of the scavengers, and the whole mystery was unveiled to me. Like all mysteries, the apparently extraordinary friendship between the madman and the black birds turned out to be a plain bit of literal prose, and, I must add, a very disgusting bit. The maniac was covered with vermin, and the affectionate kisses of the crows were not kisses of love or sympathy, but only mouthfuls of parasites, which they found among the thick hair of his body.

Two or three times the maniac crawled up to me, and seemed anxious to touch the colours on my palette, and also to put his fingers on the sketch. He saw that he gained nothing by being a foe, so he became a friend. He even became a great friend when I presented him with a shiny silver coin. 123 158

Though Omangus was undoubtedly insane, he was a very practical person. As will be seen by the illustration, his attire was simple, and no allowance was made for pockets. He looked at the coin, turned it over in his hands several times, and grinned ; then he placed it in his mouth for safe keeping. His mouth was apparently his purse. As I saw that he was fond of silver coins, I gave him one or two more, and all of them were religiously kept in the same natural pocket, except at night, when he hid them under a large stone. At sunrise they were collected again and placed back under his tongue or in one of his cheeks.

I cannot say that my host was by any means brilliant, but, like most lunatics, he was a good soul apart from his little peculiarities. It was unfortunate that he had lost the power of speech, or I might have learnt some strange things from him.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

158 Omangus was generally restless at night, and while asleep he seemed to suffer from awful nightmares. Most Ainu as a rule do not. One morning at dawn, as the first rays of light penetrated the hut, I watched him. He had been groaning frightfully all night, and I had not been able to sleep. He was lying flat on his back breathing heavily, and now and then he had a kind of spasm, during which he ground his teeth together with violence. It was during these spasms, or nervous contractions, that he groaned most fiercely. As he was so stretched I noticed how extraordinarily long his femur was compared to his tibia. I gently placed my hand over his heart, and found it was beating rapidly and irregularly. His forehead also was feverish and abnormally warm. He did not wake up, but as soon as the nervous strain was over he fell into a lethargic state. He appeared to have lost all strength, and it took me some time to awake him ; but he finally opened his eyes, and, drowsily getting up, yawned to his heart's content, and went to fetch the hidden coins.

The more I saw of Omangus, the more he puzzled me. His faculties were defective ; still, he seemed to possess a fairly good memory. If not, how could he remember the concealed treasure ? Although he was not able to form ideas of his own, he could retain those which he had grasped. His hearing was extremely acute, and his inability to speak must have undoubtedly been caused by paralysis of the tongue and vocal organs. Several times he made violent attempts to utter words, which he would not have done had he been born dumb.

158 ●123 After the second day of my pleasant stay in Omangus' ten feet square sea-side residence my host became more genial and even affectionate. Instead of constantly running away from me he sat opposite me, attentively watching all my movements ; and if I happened to be whistling, he slowly crept nearer, grinning with delight. Occasionally he crouched himself by my side, even resting against me. I did not approve of the latter proof of affection, not so much for his own sake as on account of the "large company" which he carried with him ; but I had to put up with it until I found a counter-action in loud singing, which frightened him away.

Omangus had a quantity of last year's salmon, which he had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

dried in the sun, and which was now hanging from the roof of the little hut. The first day or two of my stay there I had but little to eat, owing to his belligerent behaviour. He rebelled every time that I attempted to touch his provisions, and what I had to eat was generally appropriated while my host was out. Afterwards, however, he became generous, and gave me more than I wanted. He took good care to draw the three coins out of his mouth while he was eating, but once, during a nervous fit, to which he was often subject, he swallowed one of them.

One morning, weary of my lunatic friend's company, I packed all my traps and went to fetch my pony. Omangus seemed aghast, suspecting that I was about to leave. He was restless, and followed me, moaning, from the hut to the pony and back, and, with a forlorn look in his eyes, watched me bring the baggage outside and lash it to the pack-saddle. I gave him a couple more silver coins, which I thought would make him happy; but he dropped them in the sand. I bade good-bye to him and left; and there poor Omangus stood motionless, gazing at me until the winding shore took me round the cliff. He was out of sight for some minutes, but he soon reappeared on the summit of the cliff itself, on to which he rapidly climbed, and from this point of vantage he could see the coast for several miles. There standing, a black figure against the rising sun, the hairy Ainu became smaller and smaller as I moved away from him, until nothing but a black spot could be seen against the sky; then even that spot disappeared. It was the last I saw of my host the madman.

The rivers were troublesome all along this part of my journey, and as most of them had quicksands, the safest plan was to cross them in a boat, when this was obtainable. However, as I went further north the boats became scarce and more scarce, and the small villages, few and very far between. I seldom came across a human being with whom I could exchange a word, and the constant solitude induced in me the bad habit of talking to myself, to animals, or to inanimate objects. My unfortunate pony was often lectured on different subjects, and the millions of seagulls and penguins all along the coast were asked questions of all sorts, which, however, they invariably left unanswered. It was strange to see the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the skin dried? I should be moving day after day, and it would not be possible to pack it in that condition among my sketches; I had no arsenical soap, and unless I dried it in the sun it would certainly rot, and get spoiled.

I resorted to a trick. I fastened two sticks crossways, and having stuck one up the eagle's neck, I fastened the two opened wings to the two side branches of the cross. The skin was thus kept well opened, and with two additional strings, one at each wing, the frame was fastened on to my back, the feathered side against my coat, while the inside was exposed to the sun and the wind. In wading a river I saw my own image reflected in the water, and I must confess the appearance was strange. A few hours after a group of Ainu were able to certify to this. I was riding slowly along the shore, when I saw a few of them not very far ahead. Two men were the first to notice me, and they seemed terror-stricken. As I approached they stood still for a minute, shading their eyes with their hands so as to make out what kind of winged animal it was they saw riding on horseback. When they [123] discovered that the black wings were on a human being, the two brave Ainu fled, crying out, "*Wooi, wooi!*" the hairy [201] people's cry of distress.

123 As I got nearer the village, dozens of wild dogs came to meet me, and, barking furiously, followed my pony, while the few inhabitants, frightened out of their wits at such an unusual sight, hid themselves inside their huts. Two or three hurriedly launched their "dug-outs" and put out to sea. When I passed the first hut some large salmon were thrown at me from inside, probably with the idea that I might satisfy my appetite on them, and spare the lives of the trembling donors. Food was not over-plentiful along that coast, so I dismounted and picked up the provisions so munificently provided by the scared natives. I tied them on each side of my pack-saddle, not sorry to be thus saved from the danger of dying of starvation—at least for the next two or three days.

As I was so occupied, a little child about four years old, evading the vigilance of his parents, ran out of one of the huts. I took him in my arms; whereat he cried bitterly, and when the people inside heard it there were screams of indignation and despair.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Maternal love is occasionally strong even among Ainu women, and while I tried hard to quiet the shrieking baby, his mother, as pale as the dirt on her face allowed her to be, came out trembling, and, offering me another large salmon, begged me to accept it in exchange for her child, who, she said, was not good to eat! It is needless to say that I was magnanimous enough to accept her offer, and thereupon handed the child over to his mother, who fled with him back into the hut. Then I took off my wings and went in after her, explaining to the frightened natives what I really was. It took them some minutes, however, to overcome their first impression, and then the men were pretty hard on the women for having given all the salmon away. The same scene was more or less vividly repeated when I came across any other natives during all the time that I wore the eagle-skin on my back. I have related this small anecdote, as, a few years hence, when some worthy missionary or imaginative traveller visits that barren coast of Yezo, it is not improbable that he may hear of some additional Ainu legend, which, the good missionaries will say, proves that the Ainu are fully aware of the existence of heaven and hell.

"A heathen child," the legend will very likely run, "whose parents had not embraced our Christian faith, was one day plainly seen by his mother in the arms of a black-winged devil. The devil was seen by many, and he came from the lower regions on an unknown animal with huge side paunches, in which he kept the heathen children he had eaten. The mother, who, through her wickedness, saw herself deprived of her child, gave offerings to the gods, some through the eastern window for the sun-god, and some through the door for the other gods. The offerings were accepted, but none of the gods came to her help, and the child was nearly lost. Her guiding star appeared to her in that supreme moment, and inspired her to reach down from the roof the largest salmon in store. She walked out of the hut and offered it to another god, whom she knew not before. Instantly the child was restored to his mother. (That the god took the salmon would probably be omitted in the legend.) The black-winged demon vanished, and the hut was visited by a white being (freely translated, "the guardian angel"), with a halo (my

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
[190] tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
350 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
[490] are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

●123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 119
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries. 128 127

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of 292 789 [582] [123]

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience. [688]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
[113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 114 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The [115]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so [124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained [177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is [177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i.e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,
127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the
free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese govern-
ment. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido,
the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the
Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma
valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled
by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home
to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the
Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new
farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making
event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate
data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the
groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply
information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions
were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese
family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in
1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap
on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by
Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and
resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view
to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date,
interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities
of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means
indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to
some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descrip-
tive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the in-
formant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours.
From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract
relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from the Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad. 147 [291]

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

125 not worth recording. Most of my observations are based on experiments made while the men were unaware that they were observed at all. Often, when asleep, I have touched them on the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands without causing them to awake, while when touched on the lower lip or in the lumbar region they invariably woke up startled. One day I tried this experiment on an Ainu who
151 was sleeping on his back, with his mouth wide open. I
125 touched his tongue with a well-sharpened lead-pencil, and the effect was subitaneous; more so than on either the lips or the lumbar region. The skin directly over the spine was dull, but the ears showed a certain amount of sensibility. The
151 sense of "taste," which is a mere modification of the sense of touch, is also dull, although naturally, when stimulated by very acid or bitter substances, it produced distinct impressions. Even with ourselves, though more perfected than the sense of smell—which, however, often comes to its assistance—few can boast of having the sense of taste very acute. In our lower classes an extraordinary amount of salt, mustard, pepper, or sugar is needed before they can call their food "tasty," whereas a person of more refined education will detect the lack or excess of even the smallest portion. Over-stimulation of the lingual nerves and extremes of heat or cold deaden the sensibility of the tongue, palate, and fauces, and destroy the power of distinguishing flavours; bad digestion also frequently affects the organs of taste. From this we may argue, then, that the sense of taste, though born in one, has to be cultivated before it is brought to any degree of refinement. The Ainu not only do not possess this acquired refinement, but, through monotony of food, learn only one kind of flavour, and cannot distinguish differences. Thus, as many labourers in our country would not find any difference between a beef-steak slightly underdone and one over-cooked, so an Ainu finds no difference whatever between a piece of salmon properly dried and one perfectly rotten. In this respect the Ainu are far below beasts.

In tribes of natives like the Ainu, who have lived an adventurous life, mostly in the open air, it is but natural that the two senses of "sight" and "hearing" should be more developed than those of "touch," "smell" and "taste;"

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 microscopical investigations. He found that the hair of the head was coarse, slightly curved, and of a pure black color. The hairs are not so numerous over a given area of the head as on Japanese or Europeans. On 1 square centimetre 214 hairs were counted. On a Japanese with rather fine hair he found 286; on another with coarser hair, 253; on a fine-haired German, 280; on another with coarser hair, 272.*

Nevertheless, the volume of hair on the Ainos is not small, since this depends both upon the number and the size of the hairs. The Aino hair is oval in section, and the greatest diameter is from 0.1 to 0.125 millimetres. The measurements were made by securing single hairs in a cylinder of wood and by turning this about, measuring the diameters with a microscope. The following measurements are given:

Aino No. 1	One large hair	0.078	0.125
Aino No. 2	One hair	0.069	0.106
Aino No. 3	do	0.065	0.127
Aino No. 4	do	0.065	0.127
	do	0.093	0.128
	do	0.060	0.140
Aino No. 5	do	0.067	0.106
	do	0.079	0.111
	do	0.079	0.111

The flattening is in proportion of 2 to 3. According to the same authority the hair of the upper body is principally about the middle of the breast and on the line below. The breast hairs were 6 millimetres in length, about twenty-four on a square centimetre. They measured 0.106 by 0.069 millimetres in diameter.

In addition to these observations, Mr. John Aspinwall has examined several specimens of hair which I obtained—not without evident misgivings on the part of the people—from the Ainos at Piratori. Mr. Aspinwall's measurements have been numerous, and his results are given here in considerable detail.

[126]

REPORT OF MR. JOHN ASPINWALL.

In accordance with your request, I have made a microscopical examination of the five samples of Aino hair collected by you. Two objects were kept in mind in this examination: First, I wished to obtain a true cross-section; second, To discover the true relation of the plane of natural curvature of the hair to the figure of the cross-section.

To obtain the first, it seemed necessary that no more pressure should be given to the hair than that exerted by the knife of the microtome in cutting. This was accomplished by splitting a cork, placing the hair upon it with its plane of natural curvature parallel to the cut, partially embedding it in a gelatine-glycerine mass, and then laying the other half of the cork gently on the hairs without disturbing them. The cork with the inclosed hairs was immersed in alcohol as soon as the imbedding mass had set, and there allowed to remain until the mass was hardened

* It has been found by Dr. Wilson that the number of hairs per square inch upon the head of a fairly healthy person is 1,066, which gives for the entire head the number 127,920. Some persons have as many as 150,000 hairs on the head.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Ainu was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Ainu into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quirer and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150338.

Quirer and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1886. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684 [245]

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411 415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¾ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2½ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¾ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig.85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

[534] *Bark dishes.*—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726 [281]

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [42]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [30]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikwibibina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ⅞ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 262

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150638.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150638.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

411 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [441]

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150788

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plates.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416 [445]

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745 [342]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
[342]

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—This house has a thatched chimney in front of the smoke-hole under the ridge, but no opening in the roof. The smoke-hole is larger in houses of this kind than in those like 745. The entrance is through a passage way in front of the door, which affords protection from cold winds. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 746

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Showing the characteristic strong growth of hair on the legs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 749

Aino house, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the method of construction. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 750

Two Aino girls, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the ordinary dress and the rough sandals. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 751

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Leaning on his staff at the door of his hut. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 752

Aged Aino woman, Tokoro, Yezo.—The wife of the man shown in 752. Showing the tattoo marks on lips and arm. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 753

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Nude figure, showing growth of hair on body and limbs. The hair about the breast and shoulders is very long, but the color is not dark enough to show distinctly in the photograph. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 754

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Back view of the man shown in 754. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 755

Aino canoes, Tokoro, Yezo.—Boats used in river fishing, rudely dug out of a single log. The form varies in different parts of the island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 756

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—One holding a child. Good faces, long unkempt hair. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 757

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Good types of Yezo Ainos in ordinary dress. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 758

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—One an old, patriarchal Aino, such as may often be found in Yezo. Dressed in good clothes, he would appear a dignified and wise old gentleman. The hairiness of the lower limbs well shown. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 759

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—Excellent types. They are both tattooed, but the blue marking does not show distinctly in photographs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 760

Aino man, Abashiri, Yezo.—A large and powerful man, chief of the Aino village. A sleeping dog on the ground. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 761

Main street, Abashiri, Yezo.—A Japanese town on the northeast coast. The low houses, with roofs weighted down with stones, being characteristic of the whole island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 763

Aino man carrying a water tub, Abashiri, Yezo.—The usual manner of carrying a load on the back. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 767

Aino Village, Yezo.—The village adjoining the Japanese town Abashiri. View along the beach, the houses all facing the sea, only far enough back to be beyond the reach of the waves in stormy weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 768

Beach, and fishing boats, Abashiri, Yezo.—View of the beach within the bar and boats, from behind the houses shown in No. 763. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 769

House on Shikotan.—Occupied by Kurile islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 770

Shikotan village.—General view of village from the hill-side on the west. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 771

Street scene, Shikotan.—General view of the street from the south. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 772

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Aino girl, Urap, Yeso.—Seated in Japanese fashion. Lips tattooed. Wearing large silver earrings. Embroidered garment. Print from a Japanese negative. 789

Aino man, Hakodate, Japan.—Back view, showing embroidered pattern on coat. Print from a Japanese negative. 788

Aino in canoe, Urap, Yeso.—Showing the form of canoe used in the locality. A bridge ferry, common on rapid streams. Print from a Japanese negative. 789

Aino bear cage and hedge.—A view at Urap, showing the square cage built of logs and the sacred hedge with bear skulls on the tops of the poles. Print from a Japanese negative. 790

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ANUTSCHIN. Materalien zur Anthropologie Ostasiens. Russische Revue.

ASTON, W. G. Russian Descents in Saghalien and Itorup in the years 1806 and 1807. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, I (1882), 78–86.

BAELZ, E. Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner. Mittheil. d. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Nat.- und Völkerk. Ostasiens. Feb., 1883, 330–350.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Grammar. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. An Ainu Vocabulary. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, X (1882), 229–251.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. On the Ainu Term "Kamui." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 17–32.

BATCHELOR, JOHN. Specimens of Ainu Folklore. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 111–150.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Yesso. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 353–361.

BICKMORE, ALBERT S. The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Saghalien and the Kurile Islands. Amer. Journ. Science, XLV (1868), 361–377.

BIRD, ISABELLA L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. London, 1880.

BLACKISTON, T. W. Japan in Yezo. Yokohama, 1881. Office of Japan Gazette.

BRIDGFORD, Capt. R. M. A. A Journey in Yezo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, II (1882), 76–100.

CACHON, MERMET DE. Les Ainos, Paris, 1863. Pamphlet.

CAPRON, HORACE, commissioner and adviser, and his foreign assistants. Reports and official letters to the Kaitakushi. Tokyo, 1875.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. A catalogue of books relating to Yezo and the Ainos. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. An Aino Bear Hunt. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XV, (1887), 126–129.

CHAMBERLAIN, B. H. Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the words "Kamui" and "Aino." Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, XVI (1888), 33–38.

CHAMBERLAIN, BASIL HALL. The Language, Mythology and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies. Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan. No. 1.

DAVIDOW (A. J. VON KRUSENSTERN). Wörtersammlung aus der Sprache der Ainos, der Bewohner der Halbinsel Sachalin, der Insel Jesso und der südlichen Kurilen. St. Petersburg, 1813.

DAVIS, J. B. Description of the skeleton of an Aino woman. Anthropological Society of London, III (1870).

DAY, Lieut. M. S., U. S. Navy. Trigonometrical Survey Map of the Island of Hokkaido, 1875.

DEBROTVORSKY'S DICTIONARY. Ueber den Bau der Aino-Sprache.

DENING, WALTER. A Vocabulary of Aino Words and Phrases. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1881.

DIXON, J. M., M. A. The Aino Language. Chrysanthemum Magazine, 1883.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

515 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S.

127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i. e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi, 127 Otopuke and Azuma areas.[1] Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory 127 an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

(2) Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

(3) So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a 137 large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[462] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[63] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup;* however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
• [127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63). 136 [423]

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953). 127

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

2/4 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

G SS 276 177 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

G [554] [321]

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese —while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a 126 trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

595 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very 123 talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course. 114

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference. 114 128

Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I. 114

My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation 128

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 128 of Ainu and Japanese words; and especially to Lord Raglan, who, in a revision and rearrangement of this work, did much to render it more concise. He has also prepared the index.

I must thank Mr W. H. Gilbert of the Library of Congress, Washington, for an up-to-date bibliography on the Ainu. Miss Kirkpatrick, Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has kindly helped me check this list, and we have decided only to include those works directly bearing on the subject matter of this book. Unfortunately, we have been unable to include works in Japanese and Russian which have neither titles nor summaries in English.

B. Z. S.

London, 1962

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries. 128 127

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of 292 789 [582] [123]

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience. [688]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the
free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

A
G
SS. /91 cont./
114
128
101

Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

000 /92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

SS.
101
121

If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i. e. Dutch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [140] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

113

101

102

103

● 131

133

Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6 ●
Tungus RU5
- Birar
- Orochon
- Daur
- Solon
- Manegir

Goldi RX3
- Orok
- Orochi
- Olcha
- Negidal
- Kile
- Samagir

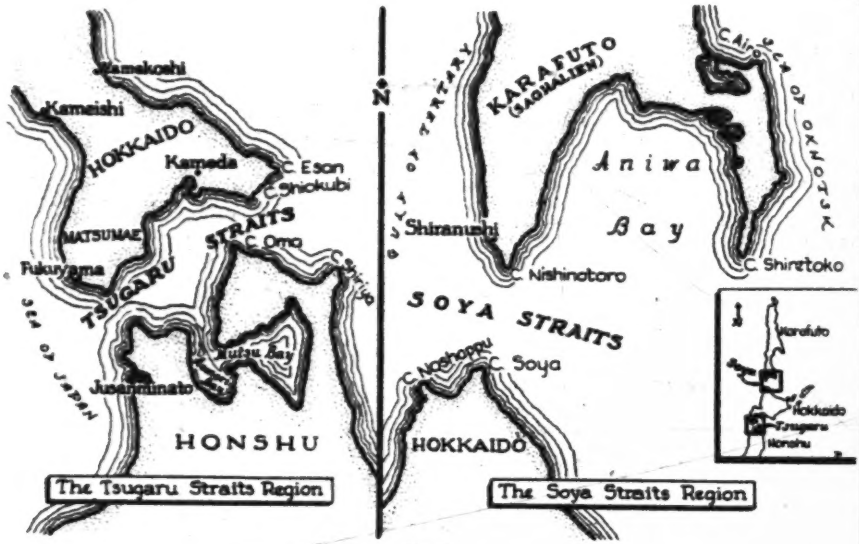
/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

102
131

MAP 2

[P. 4(A)]

102
103
131



MAP 3

[p.24 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175

tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

F
[177]

> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

A
[131]
[132]
[171]

> The latitude of Matsumae is 40° *North and it has the* same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, 131
stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri 608
is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Iturup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 33° 45′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nautical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo [132 134] as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The 600
total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 85,000

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174
103

Place-names.	Japanese.	Aino.
Jan	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Inumo	Issuing clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Nano tree	Stream.
Nakori	Nano fist	The cliff by the stream.
Saho	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	do	The grassy plain.
Tanabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Horse in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows [131] them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic 174 period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of [551] the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166] ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
172 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from
[197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515 low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions. The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

131 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Russian Islands R21
AINU A86

RI
208
212
177
798
[165]
177
[191]
[204]
871
362
A
101
131
161
208

brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.[40] Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half-Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.[41] Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'[42]

In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools – only two schools had existed before the war – and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.[43]

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 186

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

538

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

167 578 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Shternberg--38 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

A /17 cont./
G
Gi dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
101 lationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A
[131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A
[113]
[114]
[103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

36| [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

36| 13| leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 13| 167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 13| who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--34 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABG

/18 cont./ 3. (cont.)

131
167
113

Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J.B.S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the area of distribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

F.J. 175 G 131 175 [361] [563]

/122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]

A
G /122 cont./
131 began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for
175
[178]
[563]

4. See above, p. 154.

A
[648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G In summarizing everything that has been said about the
131 Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
175 far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable
G change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
[174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going
175 back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
131 Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
184 particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
A millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
175 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan
131
E.J.
175
167

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

A
[113]

Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

A
175
13
[113]
EJ.
175
101

/123 cont./

1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

A
131
175
648
EJ.
648
175

2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

A
EJ.
175
648

in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/."-- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1642, more than two

[131]

/126 cont./

175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
● 131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

[113] 1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
174 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
648 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
● 131 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move
103 farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

Ainu A8C
Golbi RX3
Orok
Fenugi Japan A82
Sakhalin Island

A 174 184 433 ●131 /130 cont./ where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

Gi 175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after Gi [231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J. Gi 175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them. [101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, [103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

Gi 131 175 F.J. 125 [126]

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. [114] dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K
823
A
439
823
186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A
439
435

G
A
K
439
17
325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Aimu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A
[131]
[114]
[113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G
A
K
174
325

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*C48
*175

tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

F
[177]

> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

A
[131]
[132]
[171]

> The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

[P. 53(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, 131
stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri 668
is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Itarup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 33° 45′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nau- 133
tical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo 132 134
as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not too generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 8,000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

which can hardly claim to be classed under that heading. The inhabitants of the place themselves seem to feel the ill-effects of constantly living in that corrupted atmosphere and on a fish and seaweed diet; for, indeed, it is revolting to see the amount of horrible cutaneous diseases which affect them. One hardly sees one creature out of ten that is not covered with a repulsive eruption of some sort. Leprosy, too, has found its way among the fishermen; and my readers can easily imagine how pleasant it was for me, when I was sketching, to be surrounded by a crowd of these loathsome people, who all wished to touch my clothes and all my belongings, and who would even lean on my back and rub their heads against mine, when trying to get a better view of the sketch.

Poor things! I never had the courage to scold and send them away. It was enough that they were afflicted, and I did not like to add humiliation to their other sorrows by showing them my disgust.

[32] I rode on to Erimo-zaki, or Rat Cape. Thick fogs are prevalent during the summer months along the whole of the south-east coast, of which Erimo-zaki is the most southern cape. It is the terminating point of the backbone of the main portion of Yezo, which extends from Cape Soya to Cape Erimo from N.NW. to S.SE. A lighthouse has lately been erected on the cliffs by the Japanese Maritime Department, and a steam fog-horn has also been provided for the greater safety of navigation, as a reef of rocks and a stretch of shallow water extend out in the sea for about two and a half miles from the coast.

The foghorn, I was informed, was only blown when the lighthouse-keeper suspected some ship was likely to make for the rocks! A likely thing, indeed!

"But how are you to know, especially when there is a thick fog on?" I asked.

"So few ships pass near here," was the reply; "and it would not be much use keeping steam up all the time to blow the horn, considering that we have fog during nearly four months in the year."

"Then," I could not help remarking, "I expect you only light the lighthouse when there is going to be a wreck?"

"Oh, no; we show the light every night."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are as abundant here as on the south-west coast, and maintain the staple industries of the inhabitants. The sea-weed is of great length but small width. Fourteen more miles over the cliffs brought me to Perohune.[1] There were four large deltas to cross, that of the Toyoi-pets[2] being the largest. The current in all these rivers is extremely swift.

Perohune enjoys a big name, but there is only one house in the place. I was, however, fortunate enough to get two good ponies there. The fog was settling down thicker and thicker, and I could not see more than a yard or two in front of me; but at times it lifted up for a few moments, and showed me either the dangers I was nearing or the landscape I was losing. I passed two lakes, the Tobuts,[3] otherwise called Oputs, and the Yuto. Both are divided from the sea by a narrow sand-ridge. There is but little of human interest along this deserted coast. There are no houses and no people, but many small rivers, and now and then high cliffs. My ponies, driven mad by the *abus*, the terrible horseflies of Yezo, constantly threw themselves down and rolled on the sand.

From Perohune to Yuto Lake the distance is about eleven miles, and from Yuto to Otsu it is eleven more miles, on a very easy track. I saw some large sea-birds and penguins, and I was struck by the great number of drift logs which had been washed on shore by the sea. The last thirty-eight miles of the coast was literally covered with this drift wood. During the summer months the fog is always dense along this coast, greatly owing to a cold current which comes from the Otkoshk Sea, passes through the strait between Kunashiri and Etorofu, in the Kuriles, and then turns south, following a great part of the south-east coast of Yezo. Not far from Erimo Cape it meets a warm current from the China Sea, which passes through the Tsugaru Strait, and which in all probability is the Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current. This Japan current parts from the main stream near the south-western

[1] *Pero* or *Pira*, cliff; *Hune*, *Hun*, a particle indicating the existence of something at a place.

[2] *Toy*, earth; *o*, (?) *i*, a place; *pets*, river.

[3] *To*, lake, swamp; *buts*, mouth of a river. *O*, a meaningless prefix; *puts*, mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-
[132] looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
221 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[134] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[135] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
●132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492

AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

● 132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

[826]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

have sat near a fire even for some hours, I have felt as if my skin were soaking with wet—as if I had been too long in a bath—and neither rubbing with cotton towels nor the warmth of the fire seemed thoroughly to dry it; and perhaps such an extraordinary dampness, constantly saturating the pores of the skin, may have an injurious effect upon the hair, and cause it to decay and fall off. It was in a thick fog like this that I had to find my way to Riruran, the next horse station, about eight miles further east. The road soon became a mere track, running through an undulating country, chiefly pasture land. As luck would have it, I had hired a pony which belonged to the Riruran station, and the beast was as anxious to get there as I was. He knew the way and I did not, so I let him guide me. Now and then, when the wind blew with increased strength, the fog lifted for a few minutes, and disclosed some pretty bits of landscape. The country all around was grassy, with the familiar densely-wooded hills in the background. It somewhat resembled the slopes and high lands of Cornwall, without, however, the herds of sheep and cattle, which in our country are connected with green fields; without the trim fences and stiles, the ploughed fields and meadows, the trim hedges and park-like trees, the bye-lanes and well-kept roads.

Hill after hill was ascended and descended, the sturdy little pony going well towards his former home; but as yet I had come on no signs of any living creature. No labourers are here to work and plough the dark rich soil. Potato fields; cottages with their plots of vegetable grounds; cows and sheep scattered over the green pastures—all signs of vigorous and successful husbandry—are things that an intending traveller to Yezo will miss. Everywhere are solitude and monotony. Still, even solitude and monotony are not always to be abhorred, and if they have their drawbacks they also have their advantages. You can go undisturbed for mile after mile; you can think; you can dream; you can sing; you can keep to the track or go across country; you can go fast or slow, and there is no one to object, to obstruct, or to comment. You breathe air that no one has breathed before, and you quench your thirst in a limpid stream unpolluted by sewage, chemical refuse, or poisonous dye-stuffs. You lead a simple life, and, what is more, an independent life. Many a time,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

151 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scence[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, these activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory 127 an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2 Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3 So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a 137 large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

113

101

102

103

131

● 133

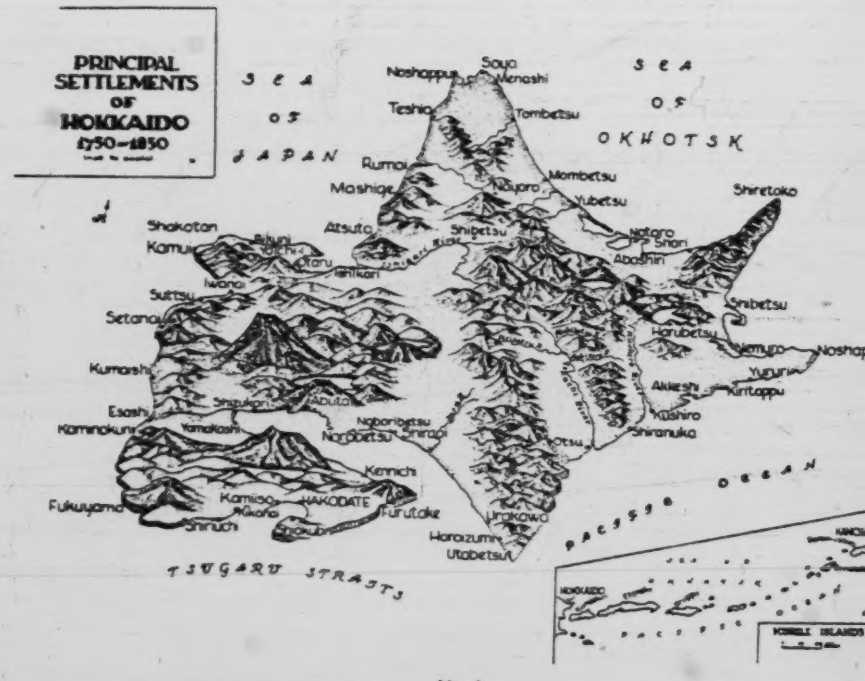
Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6 ●
Tungus RU5
- Birar
- Orochon
- Daur
- Solon
- Manegir

Goldi RX3
- Orok
- Orochi
- Olcha
- Negidal
- Kile
- Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
●133



MAP 1

[Frontispiece, facing P.1]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

1. The development of Russian colonization 48
2. The development of Japanese national interests in the Ezo area 49

II. The growth of a government policy in Ezo 51
1. The importance of a native policy 51
2. The attitudes of the government toward Ezo 55
3. Government organization in Ezo 56
4. Appendix 57

III. The colonial policy of the Japanese Government 58
1. Improvements in the trade 59
2. Encouragement of industry 62
3. The management of the Kuriles 63
4. The management of Karafuto 64

IV. The native policy of the Japanese Government 67
1. Ceremonial arrangements and protocol 67
2. Relief measures and policy 69
3. Medical treatment 70
4. Guidance 71
5. Education 72
6. Law 76
7. The alteration of customs 77
8. Summary 80

Bibliography 82

101

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

101
133

then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

175

In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.4(B)--(Analyst)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVII

ABOUT EARTHQUAKES

We have just had a slight earthquake and though 133
they are neither so strong nor frequent as in the 171
South of Japan they are by no means unknown in Hokkaidō. I have experienced several rather severe ones here, but none big enough to shake houses down, and I have only had to run out of doors twice in fifty years. But one never knows when a really bad one may happen upon us.

Many years ago we got a good shaking when I was 133
in Piratori with the chief of that village. Penri was a fine, brave man, but could not stand snakes and earthquakes. Snakes, because one had bitten him when younger, earthquakes because he could not hold them or punish them. When our shake-up came, I saw him lift his head and look quite scared. The hut was rocking to and fro at a great rate, and the floor was heaving up and down as though the waves of the sea were chasing one another under the ground. "What is it?" I asked. "A mighty earthquake," answered he. We both thought the hut would come down. But fortunately it did not do so. But even had it fallen, it would not have mattered much. Huts are so light, made of simple posts and thatch as they are, that unless the posts are rotten there can be no danger of falling. Even if they did fall, it would only mean the roof dropping bodily down to the ground and settling there. Unless a person came into contact with a rafter or one of the beams as it fell, he would be in no danger. All the harm that could possibly come

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant
825 Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
●133
501

A FISHERMAN IN HIS SEA-GOING FISHING-BOAT

[P.298(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
411
133

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

501
133

A RIVER-BOAT

[P. 386]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

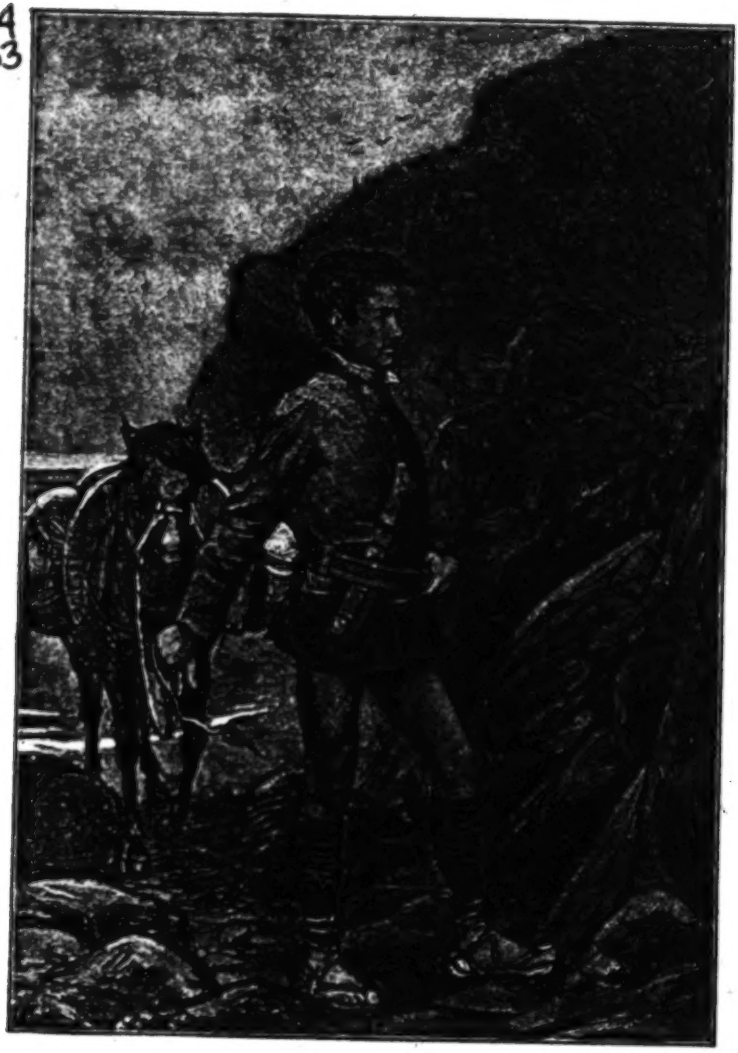
The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, 131
stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Iturup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 33° 45′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nau- 133
tical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo [132 134]
as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not too generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 85,000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

114
133



PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR. (*Frontispiece.*

"When my clothes came to an end I did without them."

[Frontispiece]

[Facing Title page] [p. iv]

[p. i – iii are blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

stockings, a revolver, and a hundred cartridges. The remainder of my luggage was left in charge of Mr. H. till my return. I did not burden myself with either provisions or a tent.

I rose early the following morning and bade good-bye to my kind host. "Good-bye," said he, "I expect we shall see you back to-night to dinner." The word "dinner" was the last English word I heard from the mouth of an Englishman, and it was five long months before I heard another.

The first thirty miles of my journey were ridden in a *basha*, a covered cart built on four wheels that ought to have been round, but were not. There were no springs for the comfort of the traveller, and no cushions on the seats. The conveyance was public, and was drawn by two sturdy ponies. The driver, a Japanese, carried a brass trumpet, on which he continually played.

I might have begun my story by the usual "One fine day," if, unfortunately, the day on which I started the rain had not poured in torrents. A Japanese policeman and a girl were my only fellow-passengers. Travelling at full gallop, on a rough road, in a trap with unsymmetrical wheels and with no springs, during a heavy storm, is scarcely what one would call a pleasant mode of progression; but after some hours of "being knocked about," we went zig-zag fashion, first up a steep hill, then down on the other side, giving the horses a rest at a roadside tea-house by the famous lakes of Zenzai. The larger of these two lakes—the Ko-numa—is extremely picturesque, with its numerous little islands wooded with deciduous trees. In shape it is very irregular, and many points, which project into the lake, add to the loveliness of the scene, while the high ridge over which I had come, on the one side, and the rugged volcano of Komagatake on the other, form a beautiful background to the limpid sheet of water. The outlet of this lake empties itself into Volcano Bay, S.E. of the Komagatake Volcano. The other lake, though smaller, is quite as striking, and possesses the same characteristics of its larger brother. It goes by the name of Ono-numa. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they abound in a smallish fish—the *funa*—which is greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

I sat down in the tea-house on the soft mats, and my *bento*

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—Japanese lunch—was served to me on a tiny table. There was water soup; there was sea-weed; there was a bowl of rice, and raw fish. The fish—a small *funa*—was in a diminutive dish and its back was covered by a leaf; the head projected over the side of the plate. On the leaf were placed several neatly-cut pieces of the raw flesh, which had apparently been removed from the back of the underlying animal. As I had been long accustomed to Japanese food of this kind I ate to my heart's content, when, to my great horror, the *funa*, which had been staring at me with its round eyes, relieved of the weight that had passed from its back into my digestive organs, leaped up, leaf and all, from the dish and fell on the mat. All the vital parts had carefully been left in the fish, and the wretched creature was still alive!

"Horrible!" I cried, violently pushing away the table and walking out disgusted, to the great surprise of the people present, who expected me to revel in the deliciousness of the dish.

For days and days after I could see in my mind the staring eyes of the *funa*, watching each movement of my chopsticks, and its own back being eaten piecemeal! Wherever I went this big eye stood before me, and increased or diminished in size according to my being more or less lonely, more or less hungry. I had often eaten raw fish before, but never had I eaten live fish!

133 The journey in the *basha* was resumed that afternoon, and, more dead than alive, I alighted in the evening at Mori, a small Japanese village at the foot of the Komagatake Volcano. The peak of this mountain is 4000 feet above the level of the sea, but its basin-like crater is at a somewhat lower altitude. Up to a certain height it is thickly wooded with deciduous trees and firs, thence its slopes are bare of vegetation, rugged in form, and very rich in colour. It makes part of a volcanic mass which extends from the Esan Volcano, further south, to the limit of the Shiribeshi province, crossing straight through the province of Oshima as far as the Yurapdake Mountain. Komagatake is one of the most majestic and picturesque mountains I have ever seen, as it possesses lovely lines on nearly every side. Its isolation and sudden sharp elevation, rising as it does directly from the sea, gives, of course,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are 133
covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava.

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in 114
the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can [251]
smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me 511
most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature.

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as 199
this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners.

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single 361
line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The 340
huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, [574]
and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and [609]
raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough.

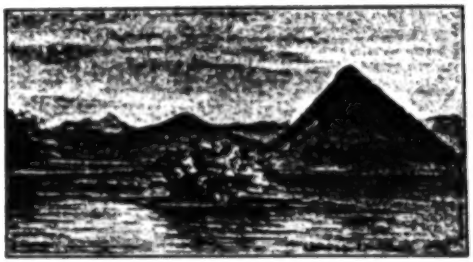
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake, with its three pretty islands in the centre and the magnificent Uso Volcano on its southern shores. The walk there and back was hardly fifteen miles, over a mountain track and through forests of pine-trees and oaks. The lake is about 250 feet above the level of the sea, and is about five miles in diameter. Its shores are surrounded with thickly-wooded hills, which have grassy terraces at a certain altitude, extending especially towards the north-western shores of the lake. The barren Uso Volcano, with its sterile slopes, is a great contrast to the beautiful green of the comparatively luxuriant vegetation of the lower altitudes. The lake finds an outlet into the Osaru River by means of a high waterfall.

The following day I rode back to Mombets, and the next on to Shin-Mororran (the *new* Mororran, distinguished by this affix from Kiu-Mororran, the *old* settlement on the northern shore).

Mororran has a well-protected harbour, and it would be the best future port in Hokkaido if the anchorage were of a larger capacity. In more speculative hands than the Japanese this port would be a great rival to Hakodate. It consists of a thickly-wooded peninsula, which forms a well-sheltered bay, at the entrance of which the picturesque island of Daikuku stands high above the sea-level. In the harbour itself, smaller islets and huge rocks contribute to its beauty.

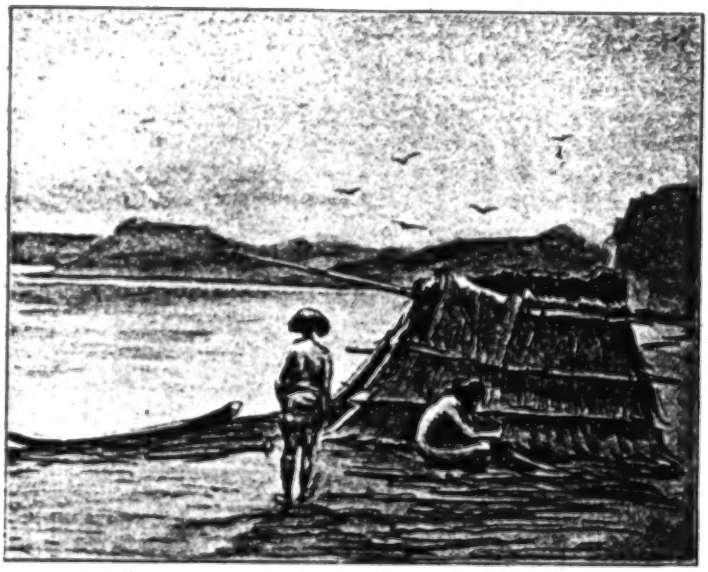
The village of Mororran is a mere streak of fourth-rate tea-houses along the road by the side of the cliffs. Apart from the natural loveliness of the harbour, it has, indeed, no claims to consideration at present. In former days it was called by the Ainu, Tokri-moi, "the home of the seals," for these valuable [136] amphibious animals were said to be then plentiful in the bay.



TOYA LAKE, NEAR APUTA.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

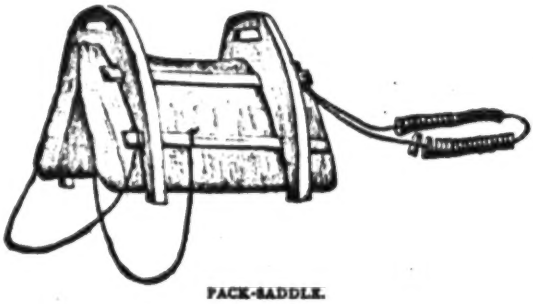
361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[550] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [940] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123 609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492 mat cushions or pads, which are somehow supposed to fit the pony's back; and by means of three ropes, one of which is passed under the pony's body and fastened on each side of the saddle, while the others hang loose across its chest and



PACK-SADDLE.

under its tail respectively, the pack-saddle is made to remain in position either going uphill, downhill, or on level ground. Stirrups, of course, there are none; and mounting involves some difficulties at first. One has to face one's pony and place the left foot on the breast-piece, lift oneself up and swing right round, describing three-quarters of a circle before attaining one's seat in the saddle. If distances are miscalculated in this gymnastic feat, it is a common occurrence to find oneself seated on the pony's neck, or else landed heavily on either of the two hard wooden arches of the saddle, instead of gracefully falling between them. Keeping your equilibrium when you are on is also a trying exercise to anybody not born and bred a circus rider, and balancing your baggage perfectly on each side of the saddle is somewhat more difficult than it sounds.

• 133 Nine miles from Horobets one comes across the Noboribets[1] hot-springs. There was, formerly, a *geiser* here, but it is seldom active now. These hot-springs are situated two-and-a-half miles from the sea-coast, and a miserable building, which is a mere shanty, is built in the vicinity of them, where people who wish to be cured of different complaints put up and take the waters.

000 I rode on to the Noboribets village, consisting of a few houses

[1] *Nobori*, mountain, volcano; *bets*, river, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

only; and, though I reached it late in the evening, I had to ride fourteen miles further to Shirao, "a place of horse-flies."[1]

At sunrise I was up again and on my way to Tomakomai,[2] the largest Japanese fishing village between Mororran and Cape Erimo.

Sardine fishing is the principal and, indeed, the only industry of the place. It is carried on in a practical way.

NOBORIBETS VOLCANO.

When the long nets are ready, and one end of them is fastened to the shore, they launch the boat, which is rowed rapidly by twenty or thirty strong men, while the net is dropped as the boat goes along. Having thus described a semicircle, the boat is beached. All on board jump out, and the net is pulled on shore amid the shrieks and yells of the

[1] *Shirao*, horse-fly; *i*, a suffix meaning *a place*.

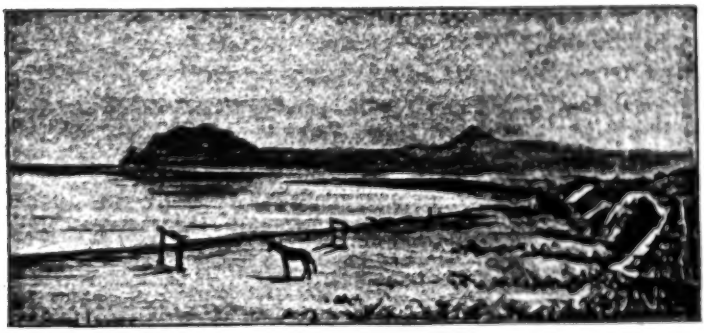
[2] *To*, lake, swamp; *mak*, behind; *oma*, inside; *i*, a suffix meaning *a place*, or "a place behind which a hidden swamp is found."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

means a grassy plain; and *buto* is a Japanese corruption of the Ainu word *huts*, the mouth of a river. My ponies must have known of this "grassy plain," for they went remarkably well, and I reached the latter village some time before dark, so that I was able to push on to Saru Mombets, a larger village nearly four miles further. Saru Mombets translated means "a tranquil river in a grassy plain," a name thoroughly appropriate to the locality.

There is nothing to interest the traveller along the coast, unless he be a geologist. Almost the whole of the western part of the Iburi district is of volcanic formation. The eastern part is abundant in sandstones, breccias, and shales. In the neighbourhood of Yuhuts, and all along the coast as far west as Horobets, pumice forms the surface soil, showing that in former days frequent eruptions must have taken place. Vegetable mould alternates with pumice. Sand, clay, tufa, with beds of peat and gravel, are the components of the soil which is found filling up the declivities of mountains, covering low-lands and sea-beaches in this part of the island. Specimens of the palæozoic group are found in the pebbles of the Mukawa River and valley, like amphibolite, limestone, phyllite, sandstone, and clay-slate, besides variegated quartzite of greenish and red layers. Primary rocks are common all through Iburi and Hidaka.

The terraces surrounding the Saru valley are mostly wooded with oak, and the swampy region between the Mukawa and Sarubuto has many patches of green grass, and a thick growth of high swamp reeds.



HOROBETS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
482

UTAROP ROCKS.

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo.

AFTER quitting Saru Mombets I was altogether out of the 133
beaten tracks. The twenty-two miles to Shimokebo were monotonous in the extreme. High cliffs towered above me on the one side, and the sea stretched into infinity on the other. River after river had to be waded, the At-pets,[1] the Nii-pak-pets,[2] and the Shibe-gari-pets.[3] The Nii-pak-pets is wide and fairly deep. Near the At-pets river the Japanese Government has established a horse farm, in order to improve the breed of Yezo ponies. A few miserable Ainu huts are [361]
scattered along the coast, and millions of scavenger crows, with their monotonous cries, seem to claim sovereignty over these shores. Near the Takae village, on the Nii-kap-pets, is an enormous perpendicular cliff, which, jutting out into the

[1] At-pets—Elm-tree river (*at*, elm-tree ; *pets*, river).

[2] Nii-pak-pets—also called Nakap-pets. *Nii*, a wood ; *pak*, under ; *na*, more ; *kap*, bark of tree.

[3] Shibe-gari-pets—Salmon-trout river.

[P. 35]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 sea, bars the way to the traveller; therefore I had to abandon the sandy shore, and with considerable trouble get the ponies to climb over the steep banks, which was no easy task for them. Shimokebo is a peculiar-looking place. It is entirely a fishermen's village, and I put up at the Ogingawa Zunubi yadoya—a tea-house owned by a Japanese fisherman.

Japanese will be Japanese wherever they go, and people who have had anything to do with them know how difficult it is to satisfy their curiosity.

"How old are you?" inquired the *occamisan*—the landlady. "Where do you come from? What is your country? Why are you travelling? Have you a wife and children? Can you eat Japanese food; also Ainu food? Can you sleep in *foutangs?*" (Japanese bedding). "Also with a *makura?*" (a wooden pillow).

About fifty more personal and indiscreet questions were also asked, and all my belongings were examined with ever-increasing astonishment as one thing after another was handled and investigated. I was tired, and felt as if I could have kicked the whole crowd of them out of my room; but I was unintentionally polite to them to such an extent that the *occamisan* loudly exclaimed—

"*Honto Danna, Anata Nihonno shto onaji koto!*"—"Really, sir, you are just like a Japanese!"

"*Domo neh!*" rose up in a chorus from the large assembly, "*nandemo dannasan wakarimas!*"—"The gentleman really understands everything!" This was a decided compliment, and I was bound to accept it as it was intended. When they heard that I was indeed "*Taihen kutabire mashita*" (very tired), they reluctantly left the room, and closed the *shoji* (sliding doors of tissue paper on a wooden frame). Each bowed gracefully, drawing in his breath at the same time. This is the Japanese polite way of leaving a room. Their conversation was resumed in the next apartment, regardless of the fact that tissue paper walls are not sound-proof. Remarks on me, not quite in harmony with their courteous bearing, were passed freely about, and the politest thing I heard them say was that I must be a *lunatic* to travel alone in these inhospitable regions, and what a pity it was for a man *so young* to be so fearfully afflicted.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.

TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 granite pillars boldly standing out of the sea. The sandy beach came to an end, and huge cliffs barred my way in front. I could see that the water was not very deep round these rocks, as the waves were breaking a long distance from the cliff, a sure sign of shallow water, though even then it might have been too deep for my ponies to go through. With great difficulty I got the two brutes into the sea, trying to round the large rocks for the better ground, which I hoped to find on the other side. The tide was low, but the sea was still rough, and nearly every wave as it came in went right over my ponies, frightening them, and made them extremely difficult to hold. The instinct of self-preservation made them rush for the cliff, with the only result that they missed their footing, and they and I were both swept away by the next receding wave. I was carried off the saddle, but I had sufficient presence of mind to hold on to the bridle. An awful struggle ensued between my ponies and myself. Each wave that came carried and knocked us one way, each wave that retired carried and knocked us the other. In the midst of all this danger I suddenly remembered that some years ago a lady who knew all about palmistry prophesied that I should one day be drowned.

Had the day come now? Not if energy and perseverance would avert the doom! After a long struggle, I succeeded in pulling my horses where the water was a little shallower, and there we three stood for some minutes, trembling with cold, my two ponies looking reproachfully at me with those half-human eyes of animals when forced into positions of danger which they can neither understand nor overcome. It is wonderful the amount of expression that horses have in their eyes, and how plainly one can read their dumb thoughts and formless emotions!

From the point where I was standing I could see that I had to go on but a few hundred feet more, and that then my ponies and I would be safe. Sure enough, the water grew shallower and shallower, and, to my delight, I was soon on the other side of the cliff. At high tide, and in very rough weather, it is impossible to pass by this ocean-ford.

133 Shamane is a picturesque little fishing village, built on the side of a promontory jutting out into the sea. From there, looking towards Urakawa, there is a lovely view of all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

small islands and picturesque rocks, standing like huge jewels in the water, while on the Horoizumi side, as far as the eye can see, there are only cliffs of peculiar shapes, and marvellously rich in colour. 133

I got two fresh animals, and pursued my journey towards Horoizumi. Rocks, rocks, nothing but rocks! My ponies stumbled and slipped all the time, and for eighteen miles the riding was hard and intricate. I had to lead my ponies most of the way, and help them, pull them, or push them, from one rock on to another, and down the next, and so on.

The scenery all along was magnificent and grand. A short distance from Shamane a large natural archway emerges from the sea, which is called by the Ainu, Shui-shma, "a hole in stone."

Holes have been pierced through the rocks in several places, to give comparative safe passage, and to prevent wayfarers from being carried away by the waves. Over the entrance of one of these tunnels a pretty waterfall, descending from a great height, gives a poetic effect to the scene, while it obliges the unfortunate traveller to take an extremely cold shower-bath, should he wish to push forward on his journey.

As if all these discomforts combined were not enough, it is to be added that the rivers in this part of the coast, though not wide, are extremely swift and dangerous to cross. My second pony was carried away by the strong current when I crossed the Poro-nam-bets,[1] and I had great difficulty in rescuing him.

At Shamane there are a few Ainu, but from there to Horoizumi I saw none. [162]

Sardines are very plentiful all along this coast, and long seaweeds also abound. The latter is used for export, chiefly to China. Horoizumi, a nice little village of one hundred and fifty houses, is the most picturesque in Yezo. It is built on the slopes of a high cliff, and it reminds one much of the pretty villages in the Gulf of Spezia. I arrived at sunset, and the warm red and yellow tints which the dying orb of day was shedding on the weather-beaten brownish houses, gave a heavenly appearance to this very earthly place. As I got nearer, a good deal of the heavenly had to be discarded, for the odours of fish-manure and of seaweed are two smells 136

[1] *Poro*, large; *nam*, cold; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

This was just like the Japanese! Owing to the imperfectness of charts—none delineating correctly that part of the coast—the strong currents, the thick fogs, and the dangerous reefs, there could not be a more perilous coast for navigation than that which terminates in Cape Erimo. The ships which go from Shanghai, or some of the ports in the Petchili Gulf in China, to North American ports, often steer this course through the Tsugaru Strait and pass directly south of Cape Erimo. Thus the *Mary Tatham* (an English screw-steamer), while on her journey from Shanghai to Oregon, was lost in 1882, with nearly all lives on board, about two miles from this cape.

At the foot of the Erimo cliffs is a small fishing village called Okos. The sea is shallow at this place, and there are many low-lying reefs which afford abundance of kelp and seaweeds.

A short time before I arrived at Okos a man had gone out in his boat to save some nets in which a large fish had got entangled. His boat capsized, and he was drowned. His wife was in a dreadful state of mind, not for the loss of her better half, but for the more irreparable loss of the nets.

The distance between Horoizumi and Cape Erimo is seven and a half miles, and the track is exceedingly rough in many places. Nearly half-way between the last-mentioned village and the cape are the three high pillars called *Utarop*, which are represented in the illustration at the head of the chapter.

As it was impossible to take my ponies along the few miles between Cape Erimo and Shoya, following the precipitous coast, I retraced my steps to Horoizumi, meaning to attempt the mountain pass the next morning.

[133]

ERIMO CAPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

A NATURAL STONE ARCHWAY NEAR SHOYA.

CHAPTER VI.

From Cape Erimo to the Tokachi River

133 THE mountain pass between Horoizumi and Shoya is sup-
136 posed to be very dangerous on account of bears. I rode the ten miles quietly, but failed to meet or see any. The way through thick woods is exceedingly pretty. After traversing a small valley with a dense growth of scrub-bamboo, it climbs a small hill, from the top of which a lovely view of Cape Erimo lies like a picture before one's eyes. There are only
000 thirty houses at Shoya, and the place could not be better described than by the words "a miserable hole." The rough weather, as well as several landslips, had some time before my arrival broken all communication between Shoya and the next village east of it. There is a rough mountain trail as far as Saruru, but my ponies could not possibly get through the scrub-wood and heavy climbing, and none of the natives could be induced to carry my luggage. They all positively refused to follow me on account of the multitude of bears which they said were on the mountains.

"If the sea goes down," said an old fisherman, "you may be able to get through early to-morrow morning at low tide; and, if you are careful, you will not be washed away by the waves."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The cliffs near Shoya are remarkable for their beauty. They are mostly older eruptive rocks which nature has carved into hundreds of rugged and fantastic forms. About a mile from the village is a huge natural archway, and from this point begin the precipitous cliffs, pillars, and rocks which make the journey so difficult. 133

At Shoya there are no pure Ainu, but some of the fishermen exhibit traces of Ainu blood. My recollection of Shoya is decidedly not of a pleasant character. I put up in the house of a fisherman, which also answers the purpose of a tea-house for the few stranded native travellers. [62]

"We are so poor," said the landlord when I asked for something to eat, "and we have finished our provisions of rice. The other people in the village are poorer than we are, and they also have none; and as for fish, the sea has been so rough for several days that we have not been able to catch any. We ate the last scrap of fish we had just before you arrived! If you gave me a fortune, I could not give you anything to eat."

When the landlord confessed this to me in the evening, I had already been fourteen hours without food. The prospect of not getting any more for at least the next eighteen or twenty hours was not an agreeable look-out. I was very hungry, but, failing a meal, the next best thing was to try and go to sleep. Even that did not prove successful, for hunger keeps you awake, and in its first stages sharpens all your senses considerably.

The night I spent at Shoya is worthy of a description. From top to bottom the corners of my room were filled with webs, which the spiders had spun undisturbed in all directions across the room. Hundreds of flies and horseflies rose buzzing when I entered the room, and I had to engage in a very unequal war against them before I could settle down on the hard planks. In one corner of the ceiling a big, long-legged spider, too high for me to reach, was enjoying a good meal out of a huge horsefly which he had captured in his net. I almost envied the long-legged epicure. Nature will be ironical sometimes. When night came, and I was still sleepless, the planks on which I was lying seemed harder than any planks I had ever slept on before. I turned round one way,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus be forced to try the mountain track, which I was told was not so very rough from this point. A half-caste offered to show me the way. It was a very stiff climb among thick shrub, but it was comparatively smooth work after the experience of my journey from Shoya. I came across many tracks and footprints of bears on the mountain. In some places the marks were quite fresh and of different sizes, varying in length from one foot to four inches. The half-caste told me that black bears seldom attack men unless they are hungry. They often attack horses.

"But if they hear that a man is near they will not dare to attack even the horses," he said, and then began to sing at the top of his voice. His singing, half Japanese, half Ainu, was so excruciating that it was no wonder to me that it kept the bears away.

We crossed two rapid streams before reaching the summit of the mountain range. The view from the summit was lovely. In the distance I could distinguish two headlands, while an immense stretch of stormy sea and a high mountain were in the foreground. I began to descend, and again I got into the region of thick forest and scrub. I perceived a few houses near the coast, and we made for them. It was the village of Moyoro,[1] or Biru, as it is called by others.

Between Saruru and Biru, where the mountain track sometimes descends to the shore, I found many Ainu and half-breeds, especially in the two villages of Onnito[2] and Bitatannuki.[3] They are said to be very bad, and what I saw of them, even at Biru, corroborated this assertion.

Biru is situated on a small bay, in the centre of which some gigantic pillars stand out at a great height. The rough sea dashes against them, and thousands of crows and sea-birds have chosen these rocks for their abode. Biru is not a large village. There are only forty fishermen's huts, most of which are on the high cliff surrounding the small bay; the others are down on the beach. Kelp, seaweed, and sardines

[1] Moyoro. *Moy*, a bay; *oro*, to be in.
[2] Onnito. *Onni* or *Onne*, great, large; *to*, lake, swamp.
[3] Bitatannuki. *Bita*, to undo; *tannu*, long; *ki*, rushes, reeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are as abundant here as on the south-west coast, and maintain the staple industries of the inhabitants. The sea-weed is of great length but small width. Fourteen more miles over the cliffs brought me to Perohune.[1] There were four large deltas to cross, that of the Toyoi-pets[2] being the largest. The current in all these rivers is extremely swift.

Perohune enjoys a big name, but there is only one house in the place. I was, however, fortunate enough to get two good ponies there. The fog was settling down thicker and thicker, and I could not see more than a yard or two in front of me; but at times it lifted up for a few moments, and showed me either the dangers I was nearing or the landscape I was losing. I passed two lakes, the Tobuts,[3] otherwise called Oputs, and the Yuto. Both are divided from the sea by a narrow sand-ridge. There is but little of human interest along this deserted coast. There are no houses and no people, but many small rivers, and now and then high cliffs. My ponies, driven mad by the *abus*, the terrible horseflies of Yezo, constantly threw themselves down and rolled on the sand.

From Perohune to Yuto Lake the distance is about eleven miles, and from Yuto to Otsu it is eleven more miles, on a very easy track. I saw some large sea-birds and penguins, and I was struck by the great number of drift logs which had been washed on shore by the sea. The last thirty-eight miles of the coast was literally covered with this drift wood. During the summer months the fog is always dense along this coast, greatly owing to a cold current which comes from the Otkoshk Sea, passes through the strait between Kunashiri and Etorofu, in the Kuriles, and then turns south, following a great part of the south-east coast of Yezo. Not far from Erimo Cape it meets a warm current from the China Sea, which passes through the Tsugaru Strait, and which in all probability is the Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current. This Japan current parts from the main stream near the south-western

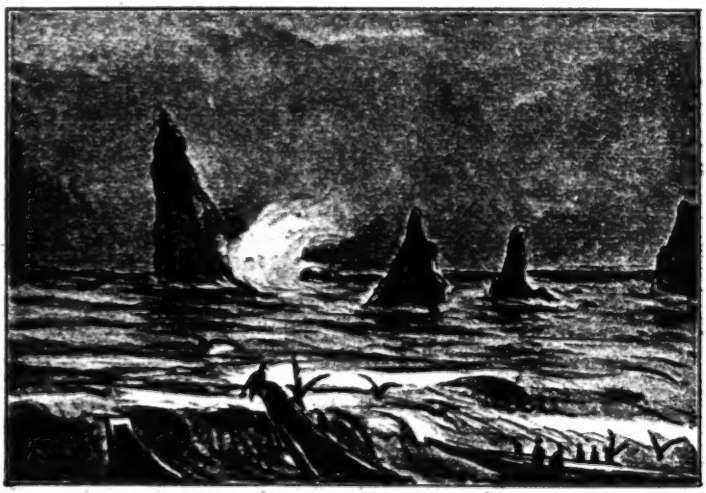
[1] *Pero* or *Pira*, cliff; *Hune*, *Hun*, a particle indicating the existence of something at a place.

[2] *Toy*, earth; *o*, (?) *i*, a place; *pets*, river.

[3] *To*, lake, swamp; *buts*, mouth of a river. *O*, a meaningless prefix; *puts*, mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extremity of Japan, goes through the Corean Strait, and follows the north-west coast of Nippon, passing then through the Tsugaru Strait. As will be seen later, a branch of this current runs along the north-west coast of Yezo, and through the La Perouse Strait.



IWA ROCKS AT BIRU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKORETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan ; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

[P. 50]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 Ainu the *Shikarubets Otchirsh*, which translated into English means "the white cliff on the bend of the river." This cliff stands very high, and can be seen from a great distance, especially in a north-east, east, or southerly direction. In winter, when the rushes and reeds are not so high in the south-eastern portion of the plain, the white cliff can be distinguished from the whole of the Tokachi valley. The Ainu themselves use the Shikarubets Otchirsh as a landmark when out hunting bears. Owing to its light colour it is visible even at night. I was anxious to ascend it, as I was sure no European foot had ever trodden on it before. Accompanied by Watanabe Masaru, I started out on horseback and crossed the Frishikobets village and river. Here we left our horses under the care of an Ainu till our return. We had to cross the Tokachi in an Ainu "dug-out," and then, proceeding for several miles in a northerly direction, we arrived at the foot of the mountain. It would have been impossible to climb it on the east side, as it is quite perpendicular; but we were fortunate in getting an Ainu called Unacharo, who said he knew a point from which we could ascend, and that he would show us the way. He had been hunting bears on that mountain, and he knew its slopes well; but as to the way which he was to show us, we had to make it for ourselves. With our large knives we were forced to break, cut, and tear the entangled branches of trees and shrubs before we could get on. We actually had to cut our way through the dense scrubwood until we reached the summit. The ascent was rather dangerous in some places, and extremely rough when going through the brushwood. We had to keep as much as possible near the edge of the cliff, for though it involved more danger if we slipped or stumbled, the entangled shrubs were not so thick on the edge as farther inland. Finally, after several hours' hard work, we reached the top, and were well repaid for our fatigues. The whole of the Tokachi valley was stretched before us as far as the sea, and almost the whole course of the winding river, with all its numerous affluents, could be distinguished like so many shining silver ribbons on the green background formed by the tall grass and reeds. As a farming region the Tokachi valley
[134] and high plains are certainly the most fertile in Hokkaido. All the requisites for successful agriculture can be found there.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The absence of the mountain masses of volcanic rocks, so 133
common all over Hokkaido, the richness of the soil, the 134
quantity of water for irrigation or for motive power, besides the comparative facility of making roads on such flat ground, are qualities that good farmers do not generally despise. It is therefore a great pity to see all that Tokachi valley practically deserted and so much good land wasted. Hemp, wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, and all kinds of vegetables and cereals, could be grown with advantage, and the produce carried down the river to the sea without much difficulty and at little expense. At Yamakubiro the land begins to rise in a gentle slope, but only to form a plateau, of which the top is 133
another large plain reaching to the foot of the Oputateishike mountain mass. The Otopke Mountain is the highest peak, and resembles in shape the Fujiama of Japan. On the north-east side of this mountain are the hot springs of Ni-piri-bets.[1] A kind of wood is said by the Ainu to be found near these hot springs which is good for curing wounds, cuts, rheumatism, and other ailments. These hot springs are not of much importance, and it is but seldom that even the Ainu themselves visit them. In going to and returning from these springs the Shikarubets Otchirsh is never lost sight of by the Ainu, and by the aid of this landmark they return safely to their homes.

All the Oputateishike mountain mass is volcanic, and forms the backbone of the island of Yezo. From the Shikarubets Otchirsh I was able to draw a bird's-eye view of the course of the Tokachi River and its affluents, which afterwards helped me much in delineating a sketch-map of the Tokachi region, with its complicated watercourses. The two high mountains of Satsumai and Ghifzan could also be plainly seen from there. Coming down was much easier than going up, and when we had again reached the bottom of the mountain we turned northward until we came to the Shorui-washi River, an affluent of the Tokachi. Previous to this, while following the course of the Otsu River, I saw a strange sight. When on the summit of the Shikarubets Otchirsh I had seen two Ainu "dug-outs" pass up the river, and the Ainu

[1] *Ni*, wood; *piri*, wound; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

501 226

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

[241] 133

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

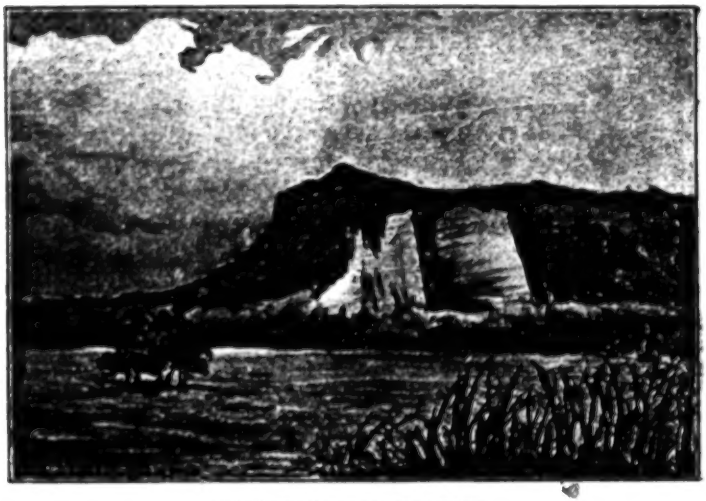
The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on and on, and, as my ponies did not seem to be very tired, I tried to reach the coast that night. It grew dark, but the night was fine, and I let the noise of the running river guide me. Each minute seemed an hour, each hour an age. I rode and rode, and still rode, till I was nearly exhausted; and still I was surrounded by the tall reeds and rushes. "Thank God!" I heartily exclaimed, when finally, at a small hour of the morning, I found myself in open ground again, and the wind brought in waves the salt smell of the sea.

An hour or so afterwards two tired ponies were easily pulled up at the tea-house at Otsu, the landlord was roused, and a wearied and half-starved traveller was let in.



THE SHIKARUBETS OTCHIRSH.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

joke so far; but, on the other hand, if placed in similar circumstances, when no redress from without is to be obtained, and one must defend oneself by main force, very few would treat such a serious imposition and offence as a joke.

In going through the village more than one fisherman came to tell me that I had done right in dealing severely with Yoshitaro, as he was known to be a scoundrel and a thief, and they all detested him.

There was little of interest between Otsu and Shaubets, with the exception of the beautiful delta formed in the low alluvial valley by the Otsu River and the Tokachi River, two large estuaries nearly two miles apart, by which the Tokachi River enters the sea. The Tokachi is a river of large volume and considerable length, and even when divided, the body of water carried by both outlets is so great as to make it necessary to cross in boats, fording on foot being quite impossible.

The Urahoro River was successfully crossed, but for the twenty miles on to Shahubets the track was flat and sandy, lying mostly under high clay banks, some of which form picturesque headlands. The country is not mountainous in the proximity of the coast, but it is of a moderate elevation all through, and wooded with deciduous trees. The formation of the south-east coast from Cape Erimo to Cape Noshafu is in many ways unlike that of the south-west coast. The south-western part is more mountainous, and is further characterised by the absence of extensive plains. The coast-line is indented, and there is a striking want of broad beaches. Precipitous rocks are also frequent along the south-west coast, and thick deposits of pumice—as we have seen—are lying over quaternary rocks, filling up the declivities of mountain lands and river shores.

In the western part the tertiaries are more tufaceous than on the south-east coast, and they are distinguished mainly by the presence of shales and andesite breccia. The south-eastern part is characterized by the almost entire absence of volcanic rocks and older eruptive rocks. After leaving the range of mountains forming the *Sparti acque*, east and west of Cape Erimo, high land is met all the way along the south-east coast. Nevertheless, pumice is found in the basin of the Tokachi

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks
[132] are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
222 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

There are also seven or eight Japanese 563
shanties besides the Ainu huts. At the mouth of the Tcharo- 135
bets, near the latter village, coal and lignite of inferior quality are found; but this coalfield was not worked at the time I passed through Shiranuka. The remaining twenty-one miles 000
were monotonous and uninteresting. The long *Kossuri* peninsula was before me, increasing in size as I drew nearer; and after having gone through the two small villages of To'tori and Akan-gawa, in the neighbourhood of Kossuri, I crossed the Kutcharo River, on a nicely-built wooden bridge, and found myself at Kushiro, an important Japanese settlement on the south-east coast. From its favourable situation Kushiro is likely to become one of the chief towns in Yezo, though unfortunately it does not possess a good harbour, and is much exposed to westerly winds. The largest number of the houses are situated on a slight elevation above the reef-harbour, immediately south of the river mouth. In the proximity of Kushiro, and just beyond the range of hills which stretches for 133 ●
about three miles from the entrance of the harbour in a northerly, and for about two miles in an easterly direction, is a lagoon, called by the Ainu "Harutori." This lagoon is nearly two miles long, and certainly not more than a quarter of a mile wide. It is divided from the sea by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the water of the lagoon finds its outlet. On the east side of the Harutori coal has been discovered, [135]
and it seems to be of fairly good quality; and three miles further, quite close to the sea-coast, coal was dug out some years ago, but the quality was so inferior that the works had to be abandoned.

There is a considerable area of good land in the neighbour- 000
hood of Kushiro, and here again it is to be regretted that Japanese farmers do not emigrate to work it. Yezo has a very small population for its size, and I was surprised that emigration from the mainland was not carried out on a larger scale. Yezo is a rich country in many ways. Why do not all the troublesome students, the fiery *soshi* of Japan, abandon politics and futile rows and go and do men's work in that northern region of the empire? They would profit by it, and so would their country. An immense loss occurs every year simply because no one is there to take the profit; and it is a great pity, and almost a shame, to see so much waste and neglect in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KORO-POK-KURU FORT.

CHAPTER IX.

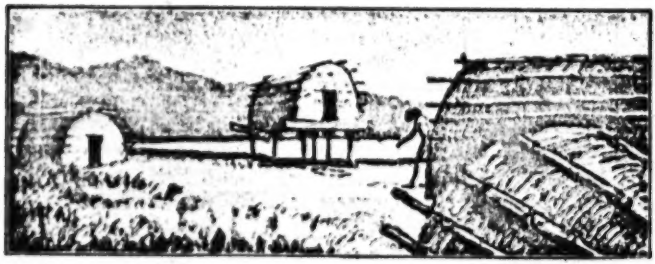
The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

172 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island [171] of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,

FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



342
343

AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in Yezo. My coat and trousers were showing signs of rapid decay, and I thought with vain desire of needle and thread, buttons and hooks. My boots were falling to pieces owing to their continual immersion in salt water. The impossibility of cleaning or greasing them added to the original damage; and, worse luck of all, they could not be replaced. Altogether, what with frayed garments, leaky boots, a battered hat, and a general out-at-elbows air, I was scarcely presentable in any society a grade above that of the hairy Ainu.

A road has been cut between Kushiro and Shibetcha, a distance of thirty miles; but though quite new, it is already out of repair, and it will not be long before it is washed away entirely. The Japanese Government does its best to open roads near the largest settlements, but Japanese officials do not seem to understand that after a road has been made it has to be kept in repair.

The country all along is good, and the soil seems rich and fertile. Nearly half-way up, on the east side of the Kutcharo River, are three lakes,—the Takkobe, the Tori Lake, and the Shirin. The Tori is the largest. Its length is five miles, its width about one mile. On the southern shore of this lake is a picturesque Ainu village, with its old tumble-down huts, and close to it is a group of Japanese houses. The contrast between the dirty and neglected old hovels of the Ainu and the clean, spruce, and somewhat finikin houses of the Japanese is very striking. In this difference we read an epitome of the way in which civilisation has travelled from primitive barbarism. The road runs through dense forests; but in several places, especially on its highest level, we come to lovely views of mountain scenery, towering over the shimmering water of the underlying lakes.

In the evening I reached Shibetcha, a nice little place, constructed on each side of a large road which rises considerably as it goes through the village. The village lies in a small valley surrounded by moderately high mountains, and is on the western side of the Kutcharo River, which intersects the valley. A wooden bridge and a three-storied Japanese tea-house are the two main structures in the place. There are sixty-eight houses in the village, and nearly half of them are houses of ill-fame, the three-storied tea-house being the principal.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

down at one time, would save an enormous amount of labour, and therefore expense. A cable railway would answer the purpose to perfection, and the cost of running the steam motor would be insignificant, owing to the amount of wood and coal found within easy reach. I passed through a large gorge in the mountain, and finally reached the summit of Yuzan. Walking on sulphur beds is like walking on ice, and many a time in the climb I landed on my knees. Near the summit is a huge pinnacle of volcanic rock, standing up perpendicularly, and of impossible access. From the foot of this pinnacle a lovely view of the Kutcharo Lake is obtained, and

KUTCHARO LAKE FROM MOUNT YUZAN.

it has as a background chain after chain of thickly-wooded mountains, beyond which are visible Oakan and Moyokan, two volcanic peaks, respectively four thousand and three thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. On Moyokan are some hot springs and accumulations of sulphur. Both these peaks can be seen from the coast on a clear day. A small lake lies between Moyokan and Oakan, which takes its name from the latter mountain, and finds an outlet in the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea.

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 The Lake Kutcharo is very large—too large to be seen to advantage from its borders, as one can see only parts, and not the whole of it at once. It has a pretty island in the centre, and on the west side is a peninsula projecting almost as far as the island. On this peninsula a small active geyser is found, which rises to a height of about twelve feet, and acts spasmodically. The high mountains which surround the lake would

SULPHUR MINE.

make the latter a pleasant summer resort were the place within the circle of civilisation. The scenery is very similar to that of Norway or the Scotch lakes. The Kutcharo River, as can be seen on the map, is an outlet of the Lake Kutcharo, into which the waters of the latter discharge themselves a few hundred yards west of the Ainu village.

An Ainu pointed out to me the track leading to Tetcha, or Tetchkanga, and I directed my steps in that direction, the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and who has now his family about him, and does work as a farmer in this settlement assigned to him. These "Tondens" were established by the Government, and I believe that the farmer-soldiers give fairly good results in the zeal and industry with which they cultivate the land, and the honesty and morality of their lives. I saw most of them occupied in stubbing up the scrub, and tearing or cutting down the trees, burning the more worthless parts; but it will be some years yet before they have cleared an area of cultivable land sufficiently large for profit, as the country is very thickly wooded in that neighbourhood.

Soon after I had passed the settlement, going down a steep hill I came upon a small and dirty semi-Ainu village, and ultimately reached the seashore.

The distance from Shibetcha is thirty miles, and the riding was beginning to be unpleasant, owing to the gathering darkness, which made my pony shy at everything it passed. At the mouth of the Pehambe Ushi River I had great difficulty in getting my pony on the ferry-boat, which was to take me across the mouth of the lagoon to Akkeshi. Several drunken fishermen came on board, and were disagreeably noisy. One of these fellows had a pony, which he tied to mine when on board. The ferry was to take us across the entrance of the Akkeshi lagoon, and it was more than a quarter of an hour before we reached the opposite shore. When we were still nearly twenty feet from *terra firma*, my pony, frightened at the cries of the drunken crowd, jumped overboard, carrying with him his companion steed. The sudden shock and lurch of the boat knocked down everybody on board, and nearly capsized us. As it was we shipped a lot of water. The ponies found the water deeper than they expected, and they had to swim for it. Having landed before he came ashore, I recaptured mine, gave him a sound thrashing, and rode on to Akkeshi, a few hundred yards from the landing-place. Akkeshi lies at the north-east side of the large bay which goes by the same name, and which, by the way, is probably one of the best anchorages on the south coast of Yezo. The mouth of the bay is to the southward; it extends seven miles in a northerly direction, and is about six miles wide in its widest part. The bay is prolonged further inland by a large lagoon,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[134] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

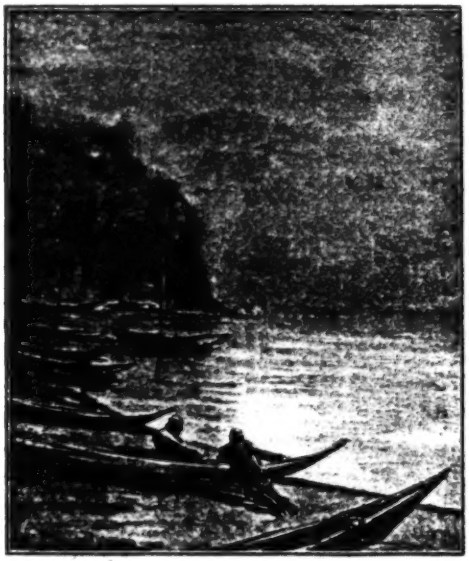
The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[131] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of
Seeing the Surrounding Scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

seeing the surrounding scenery. Some fine headlands are 133
found near the town of Akkeshi, and also on each side of the opening of the bay into the ocean. On the eastern side, the two islands of Daikuku and Kodaikuku, joined to the mainland by the low reef, slightly under water-level, which goes round the bay, are of some importance for an artist. This is especially true of the larger island of Daikuku, which rises at a
considerable height above the sea, forming majestic cliffs, 136
beautiful in shape and colour, on which myriads of seagulls, albatrosses, and penguins have chosen their abode, finding in these almost untrodden and picturesque cliffs a safe place in which to lay their eggs and rear their young. Here they live undisturbed, save for the dashing waves of the ocean, which make the earth tremble and the rock crumble to pieces, but only meet with a blithesome welcome from the screaming, light-hearted, fat, and lazy-winged inhabitants, to whom those waves bring good stores of daily food.

[133]



AKKESHI IN A FOG.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

have sat near a fire even for some hours, I have felt as if my skin were soaking with wet—as if I had been too long in a bath—and neither rubbing with cotton towels nor the warmth of the fire seemed thoroughly to dry it; and perhaps such an extraordinary dampness, constantly saturating the pores of the skin, may have an injurious effect upon the hair, and cause it to decay and fall off. It was in a thick fog like this that I had to find my way to Riruran, the next horse station, about eight miles further east. The road soon became a mere track, running through an undulating country, chiefly pasture land. As luck would have it, I had hired a pony which belonged to the Riruran station, and the beast was as anxious to get there as I was. He knew the way and I did not, so I let him guide me. Now and then, when the wind blew with increased strength, the fog lifted for a few minutes, and disclosed some pretty bits of landscape. The country all around was grassy, with the familiar densely-wooded hills in the background. It somewhat resembled the slopes and high lands of Cornwall, without, however, the herds of sheep and cattle, which in our country are connected with green fields; without the trim fences and stiles, the ploughed fields and meadows, the trim hedges and park-like trees, the bye-lanes and well-kept roads.

Hill after hill was ascended and descended, the sturdy little pony going well towards his former home; but as yet I had come on no signs of any living creature. No labourers are here to work and plough the dark rich soil. Potato fields; cottages with their plots of vegetable grounds; cows and sheep scattered over the green pastures—all signs of vigorous and successful husbandry—are things that an intending traveller to Yezo will miss. Everywhere are solitude and monotony. Still, even solitude and monotony are not always to be abhorred, and if they have their drawbacks they also have their advantages. You can go undisturbed for mile after mile; you can think; you can dream; you can sing; you can keep to the track or go across country; you can go fast or slow, and there is no one to object, to obstruct, or to comment. You breathe air that no one has breathed before, and you quench your thirst in a limpid stream unpolluted by sewage, chemical refuse, or poisonous dye-stuffs. You lead a simple life, and, what is more, an independent life. Many a time,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu.

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market.

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 tion. On a pretty bit of green grass in the foreground, only a few feet above the sea-level, were a shed and a storehouse. A reef and shallow water closed the entrance of the bay to the foaming waves of the Pacific. In the sheltered water, which was as smooth as a mirror, the dark rich colour of the overhanging rocks, caressed by the last warm rays of the dying sun, was reflected with absolute fidelity and almost increased loveliness. A cold whitish sky, and the *white horses* breaking on the reef, completed the *ensemble* of that lovely scene; and it was with great regret, after having attempted a sketch, that I was told my horse was ready, and I had to leave this poetical and exquisite scene.

192 On the slight elevations near Otchishi, and in the valley, pits are still to be seen, showing that the pit-dwellers were once numerous in this district. They are found both along the coast as well as slightly inland by the side of small rivers, and on the shores of the Saruffu lagoon. A well-kept road begins at Otchishi, and goes on to Nemuro. At first it runs over hilly ground and through an oak-wooded country, then [137] through thick forests of spruce trees, the trees standing very close together. About four miles from Nemuro a military settlement—"Hanasaki"—similar to the one on the Shibetcha-Akkeshi road, has been established by the Japanese Government. Here, again, I was struck by the difficulty and the amount of labour involved in clearing the trees off the ground. It will take many years before the industrious farmers will have any return for their hard labour. I do not know what the object of the Japanese Government may have been in starting these two militia settlements in spots so unfit for cultivation, but it seems a great pity to see the Tokachi region, which has all the requisites for successful agriculture, quite deserted, while hundreds of men are wasting their strength and time at other places, where it will take several years to open enough ground for even a kitchen-garden.

Past the long row of houses at Hanasaki the road descends gently, and I arrived at Nemuro, a thriving place of about fifteen hundred houses, on the south-west coast of the plateau-like peninsula ending at Cape Noshafu. The general elevation of the plateau is between sixty and one hundred and twenty feet

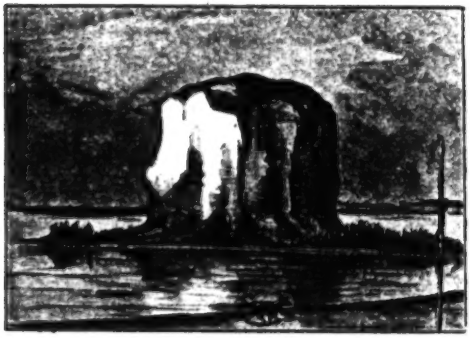
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that of the "Thousand Islands" of the Chishima group only three are inhabited, I shall avoid giving a monotonous description of each bare-looking islet and rock, and I shall land my readers at Shikotan, on a visit to the Kurilsky Ainu, who are important to us in connection with the Ainu of Yezo.

133 It was early in the morning when I looked out of the port-hole, and by a fine moonlight saw that we were close to the coast. Huge cliffs and peaks, ending in a sharp point, some converging towards one another, some standing upright against the whitish cold sky, were reflected in the smooth water under the lee of the island. The moon, surrounded by a yellowish halo, shone bright over the rugged scene, giving delicate bluish tints to all the shadows; while the water, disturbed and cut by the prow of our craft, rose in gentle waves, pursuing one another, as if running for a place of refuge in the mysterious dark shadows of the cliffs. So weird, so enchanted and wild was the scene, that I jumped out of my stuffy bunk and went on deck. There I stood, notwithstanding the cold, gazing at the gigantic overhanging black rocks, at the precipices, crevices, and natural openings through which now and then the radiant moon peeped, covering the dark green water with a long undulating streak of silver dashes. There I stood, listening to the voices of the waves, which rippled on the shingle, contemplating this strange and poetic work of nature. I am certain that if sirens there ever were in this world, their home must have been among the whimsical and *bizarre* rocks of Shikotan Island. The old "tub" on which I was "ploughing the waves" moved slowly through this heavenly spectacle of ever-increasing beauty. When the sun rose, enchantment was added to enchantment. The cold bluish colour of the rocks became gradually warmer; and, as the light grew stronger, the tops of the cliffs turned into a mass of brilliant colours. Nature was waking slowly from her torpid sleep, and, in the freshness of the morning, a light breeze, caressing the shore, brought with it the smell of land.

The captain, a Japanese, informed me that we should soon enter the harbour of Shikotan, and, pointing to some huge pillars, said that was the entrance. We drew nearer and nearer to it, and the nearer we drew the more I became

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



ABASHIRI ISLAND.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the East and North-East Coast—From Nemuro to Shari-Mombets.

I DID not remain long at Nemuro after my return from the Kuriles; in fact, I remained only a few hours, and again my baggage was lashed to the pack-saddle, again I was perched on the top of this instrument of torture, and soon was rapidly moving north towards the inhospitable coast of the Okhotsk Sea.

The first few days of the lonely life of a peripatetic Robinson Crusoe are unmistakably disagreeable, but after that initiation there is no doubt that it is a fascinating life. I was more than glad when the gay Nemuro was out of sight, and the noise and rumble of semi-civilisation out of hearing. The editor and seven gentlemen of Nemuro accompanied me for a few miles —then I was left to myself and my own resources. Crossing the Onnetto River, the outlet of a large lagoon of the same name, I passed through Nishibets and then Bitskai, where in former days the Japanese had established a salmon-canning factory, which proved a failure, owing to the incapacity of its directors and workmen. Salmon is very abundant in the Nishibets River, and a well-managed canning factory would be a great success. About ten or eleven miles north of Bitskai a peculiar peninsula stretches out from north-east to south-west, which affords a shelter for small junks from northerly winds. It is called Noshike, and is not more than a few feet

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same extent as on the south-east coast. A peculiarity of the river is that before entering the sea it turns sharply south and runs along a bank of sand and mud, which is growing larger every year, which shows that a current from the Okhotsk Sea must travel down in that direction through the strait between Kunashiri and Yezo. The same peculiarity is noticeable in nearly all the rivers of the north-east coast.

From Shibets to Wembets the track is fairly even, but from Wembets round Cape Shiretoko it is in many places impassable even on foot. The Peninsula, ending in Cape Shiretoko, is a mass of high volcanic mountains towards the interior, while scabrous cliffs and huge rocks fringe the line of coast. However, from Shibets there is a small mountain track inland which brings the traveller across to the north-east coast near Shari. The track was through beautiful forests of pine trees, oak, birch, and elm, and during the first few miles it is on almost level ground. After that, hill after hill is ascended and descended, and one goes ever onwards at a higher altitude, until Rubets, a small shed, is reached. From here the track follows a zig-zag direction till it reaches the summit of the mountain range, and one then begins to descend on the other side. From the summit there is a lovely view of beautiful blue mountains in the distant west, one of which is called Oakan, and the other Moyokan. The mountainous part of the track from Igiani, three miles from Shibets, as far as the north-east coast, reminded me much of the scenery in Switzerland, with its rapid and limpid fresh-water rivers, thickly-wooded country, and green grass, which last was replaced here by an undergrowth of scrub bamboo. When I went across this mountain pass the rain was pouring in torrents, and the road, such as it was, being very slippery and heavy, I only reached the north-east coast at dark. The moon would not rise till late, there were heavy black clouds, and I was more than puzzled how to find my way.

To add to my bad luck, my pony this time was a sorry beast, with his back a mass of sores. I was simply drenched with the rain that never ceased. Now and then, by the blinding flash of lightning, I could see a long stretch of sand and a line of sand-hills; I could also see the reeds bending low under the squalls, and then everything was darkness again. I was

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the
36 coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses.
343 They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

133 The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some
149 years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary.
[133] The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

133 Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river 133
which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite [136]
resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the 574
mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There 609
was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were [062]
enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

good-bye, I had to run to his help, for he could not get up again. Poor man! And when we reflect that in more civilised countries many people think themselves very ill and suffering when they have a pimple on their nose, or a cold in their head!

133

SARUMA LAGOON.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three [361] Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about 291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri but the greatest number are found on the Saruma lagoon. In winter it is not difficult to come within reach of them, but even in September I saw many of them. They were, however, very shy, and when they caught sight of me instantly disappeared under water.

●133 A few miles from Poronai I came to a headland, and about one mile from it lay the small island of Chuskin.

The coast again, instead of being sandy, showed traces of its volcanic formation, forming beautiful cliffs and a rugged outline, rising in terraces at places, or cliffs of clay and gravel sediments, with reefs extending far out to sea, while below them stretched a beach of coarse sand or pebbles, strewn with enormous volcanic boulders. These terraces are wooded mostly with alder, Yezo fir, and beech.

Soon after crossing the Porobets River I came across the wreck of a sailing ship, which lay flat on the shore disabled and dismasted; and at last I reached Esashi. There I again noticed a curious fact, which may be of some interest to anthropologists; namely, that Yezo is mostly formed of Tertiaries and volcanic rocks, and that the Ainu are mostly to be found in regions of Cainozoic or Tertiary formation. In volcanic districts they are very scarce. This is curious, for it is a well-known fact that the typical life-form of Tertiaries is anthropoid apes, and it is a remarkable coincidence that we should find ape-like men populating the same strata.

From Esashi the coast is extremely rough and rocky for about eight miles. I had to take my famished pony up and down steep mountains rising directly from the sea in places where the beach was impassable. Owing to the lack of grass my wretched beast had but little to eat; and what with the danger of riding, and the miserable condition my pony was in, I had to walk most of the way and lead him. Shanoi, about thirteen miles further, came in sight—a group of wretched fishermen's huts; and from here the coast was somewhat better. The scenery all along is beautiful, especially looking back towards the Shanoi Mountains. I saw one or two abandoned huts blown down by the wind, but no people.

Near Shanoi the eruptive rocks and granitic cliffs suddenly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

come to an end, as well as the mountainous character of the country, and for fifteen miles, till one comes to Sarubuts, the country is pretty flat and swampy, with a thick vegetation inland of spruce trees. There is a small lagoon formed by the Tombets River, and which often has its mouth blocked by the quicksands, which cause it to overflow.

I left Sarubuts in pouring rain, following the trail along the beach. The river forms a long narrow lake similar to that of Tombets, and at the back of it are terraces and high lands, but no very high mountains. Another wreck of a large boat lay in fragments on the sand, and after fifteen miles of very uninteresting scenery I arrived at Chietomamai, a group of four or five fishermen's huts. Here again the coast was rough, but my pony did not sink in the sand as it did on leaving Sarubuts, but it stumbled among large pebbles and stones as pointed as needles. Further on were grey and brown steep cliffs, which were extremely picturesque. The Mezozoic nature of this coast shows more distinctly between Chietomamai and Soya Cape, and a large rock emerging from the sea is both peculiar and picturesque with its numerous square sections. It is from this point that one gets the first view of Soya Cape. Going round a bay one passes a few fishermen's houses, and on the cliffs above them has been erected the Siliusi lighthouse. I cleared the Cape and rounded the bay on the other side, where I saw another wreck of a sailing ship dashed upon the rocks, making the scene a sad one. I still went on, and went round two or three smaller headlands, when the melancholy sight of a fourth wreck stood before me. This last ship had her stern out of the water, and a Turkish name was painted on it. Her appearance also was Turkish, and I was more than once puzzled as to what a Turkish ship could have been doing in the La Perouse Strait. Many months afterwards, on my return to Yokohama, but too late to be of any help to them, the sad story of the survivors of that ship was revealed to me. The mission of the ship in those far-off seas was a mysterious one. No one ever knew exactly whence she came, or whither she was bound. No one ever learned whether she had been disabled in a typhoon in the Chinese Sea, and had been drifted so far north by the strong currents, or whether the careless Turkish master had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and my evidence, which probably might have saved the life of these men, was therefore useless.

But let us return to Soya Cape, where we have left the wreck.

The rapid current which comes through the Strait gives a horrid look to the water, and I have never seen the sea look so vicious. The natives of the small Soya village told me that it is impossible to cross over to Sakhalin, the high mountains of which, covered with snow and glaciers, I could see distinctly. The distance from land to land is about twenty-eight miles, but no small boat can get across without being swamped. They told me also that often dead bodies of Russians are washed on shore, probably unfortunate convicts who found their death in attempting to obtain liberty. H.M.S. "Rattler" was wrecked in 1868 on one of the numerous reefs near this Cape, so the record of Soya could hardly be more mournful.

After the Cape has been well rounded one finds oneself in a bay opening due north. In the winter time this bay is completely blocked with ice, but the Strait itself is never entirely frozen, owing to the strong warm current from the Chinese Sea, which the Japanese call by the name of Kuroshiwo.

Soya village is a wretched place of thirty or forty sheds. A few planks, badly joined together, and with a kind of a roof over them, made my shelter for the night. Soya Cape is the most northern point of the north-east coast, and before we abandon it to move towards the south, along the west coast, it is important to mention the peculiar and conspicuous characteristic of the marked bending of watercourses in a south or south-easterly direction. They are forced that way by the drift-sand travelling along the coast from north-west to south-east with the Kuroshiwo current, which drift-sand is in such quantities as often to block altogether the mouths of some rivers, and form the large lagoons so common along this coast. The lack of harbours or sheltered anchorages, the inhospitable and unfertile shores, the quicksands, and the severe climate, besides the danger of being swamped and carried away by the overflow of a lagoon or lake, make this coast of little attraction for intending settlers or for pleasure-seekers.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

MASHIKE MOUNTAIN.

CHAPTER XVI.

From Cape Soya to the Ishikari River.

FROM Soya the coast forms a large bay, which opens due north, and which ends in Cape Soya on the eastern side and in Cape Nossyap on the western. Almost in the middle is the small village of Coittoe, and from this place, towering beyond the flat Nossyap peninsula, one can see Rishiri Island. Near the western part of the bay are some small hills, covered mainly with fir-trees. Wakkanai, a Japanese village, is on the west coast of the bay, and north of it is Cape Nossyap. From this cape is a lovely view of Rishiri and Repunshiri Islands. Rishiri is a volcanic cone 6,400 feet above the level of the sea. It has the identical shape of the famous Fujiama in Southern Japan, and rising as it does in graceful slopes directly from the sea, has the appearance of being higher than it really is. Repunshiri is hilly and partly of volcanic formation, but none of its peaks rise to a higher altitude than five hundred feet.

Rishiri is almost circular at sea-level, and it has no well-sheltered nor safe anchorages; but Repunshiri has one good

[p. 167]

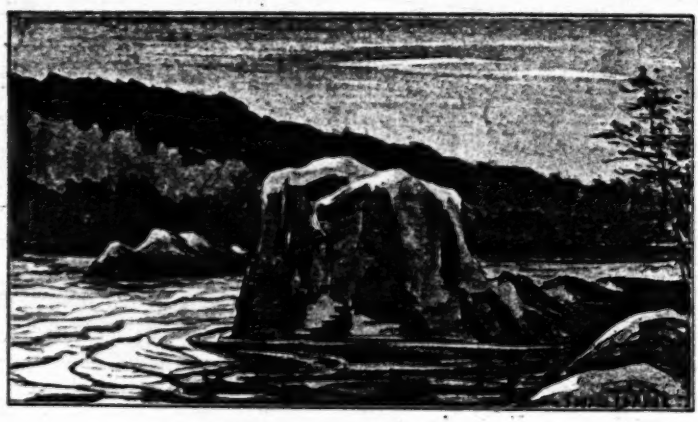
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●133 anchorage on its north coast. Rishiri is about six and a half miles in diameter and twenty-five miles distant, directly west of Cape Nossyap; Repunshiri is eleven miles long, about four and a-half wide, and eleven miles distant to Ikaru, its nearest point east on the Yezo coast. As the Kuriles are a continuation east of the volcanic zone of Yezo, there is no doubt that Rishiri and Repunshiri are the terminus of the same volcanic zone at its north-west end.

000 From Wakkanai a new horse-track has been opened to Bakkai, on the north-west coast. The ride for the first eleven miles was uncomfortable, as my pony, a worn-out brute, sank up to its belly in the mud; but in due course I came to the hilly part, and after having gone up one steep pitch and down another for a considerable distance, I rapidly descended a precipitous bank, and followed the soft sandy beach till I reached Bakkai. Here there is a large and peculiar stone, which the Ainu say resembles an old woman carrying a child on her back. It stands perpendicularly out of the ground at a great height, and it is of a rich dark-brown colour. If the north-east coast was barren and deserted, the western shore of Yezo was even yet more desolate. For thirty or forty miles, as far as the Teshio River, the beach was strewn with wrecks and wreckage. Here you saw a boat smashed to pieces; there a mast cast on the shore; further on a wheel-house washed away by the waves; then the helm of a disabled ship. It was a sight sad enough to break one's heart, with all the tragic circumstances it suggested.

Between Bakkai and Wadamanai especially, I do not think that one can go more than a few yards at a time without being reminded by the wreckage which is strewn thick on the coast of some calamity. A white life-boat, with her stern smashed, lay on the sand helpless to save, and as a kind of satire on her name; and at Wadamanai, a large Russian cruiser, the "Crisorok," dismasted and broken in two, lay flat on the beach half covered with sand. Her bridge had been washed away and her deck had sunk in. Some of the bodies of her gallant officers and crew had been washed on shore by the sea. No one knows in what circumstances the ship was lost, but it is probable that during last winter, when she came to her ill-fated end, her rigging and sails got top-heavy with ice, and that she

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



133●

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

On the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles. 361 167

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast. 000

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 142 189 [164] 304 291 177

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 "No, your honourable," said he, drawing in his breath.

"You did not look for it in the right place," said I, and up to this day the landlord does not know where the right place was.

006 The Ishikari is one of the great salmon rivers of Yezo. About the end of September the salmon enter the river to spawn. They are in such abundance then that the stream is crowded thick with them, and it is quite sufficient to have a hook fastened to a stick to pull out a large fish each time it is dipped into the water. Millions of fine salmon are caught within a few days, and the banks of the river are packed with dead fish, while the whole population is occupied in splitting open each fish, taking out its inside, for preservation.

The same method of netting as is practised for sardine fishing is employed for salmon. Eighteen or twenty excited men vigorously row the boats out into mid-stream, and after describing a semicircle, return to the bank. The nets are hauled in, the fish flung out on the river banks, and the same process begins *de novo*. A man in a "dug-out" watches when the salmon are more or less plentiful, and signals for the boat to start, while he himself spears them with a harpoon. At the right time of the year as many as 1500 or 2,000 and more good fish are caught each time the net is hauled in. This grand take of course only lasts a few days.

Though good, the Yezo salmon has none of the fine qualities of the salmon of northern European rivers, and it is not quite so good as that of the Canadian rivers. It does not keep so well, and in colour is much lighter than our salmon.

●133 The Ishikari River opens to the north, and runs parallel to the coast, leaving a flat tongue of sand between it and the sea. Following the course of the stream against the current, it goes winding south, then sharply turns to the south-east, following this direction for about fourteen miles. Then again it winds up to the north, and then to the east for a distance of over one hundred miles, where its source lies in the very heart of Yezo.

The Ishikari carries a large body of water, and it is nine hundred and twenty feet wide near its mouth. Its "drainage area" has been estimated to be over three thousand square miles, including mountain slopes, while the actual valley does

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not; in my opinion, exceed eight hundred square miles. The 133
river receives many affluents, of which the most important are the Rubeshibe, Chupets, Piegawa, the Sorachi River, and the Toyohira on its south side, and the Uriugawa on its north side. Near the coast the valley is wooded mainly with scrub oak, but further inland its banks are heavily timbered. The Sorachi River is the most important affluent on the south side. It is navigable for "dug-outs" and small sailing boats for some considerable distance. At Sorachi one strikes the new road which leads from the Poronai coal mines to Kamikawa, where the site has been chosen for the intended new capital of Hokkaido.

The road between Sorachi and the latter place not being metalled, was exceedingly bad owing to the heavy rains, and my pony continually sank in mud up to his belly. The road follows the course of the Ishikari River more or less; and in the woods is a military settlement like those we have seen near Nemuro and Akkeshi. At Otoyebukets the traveller must change horses. About eight miles further on one reaches the Kamuikotan rapids, a poetic spot: huge rocks in the water, violently rushing between and over them, form pretty waterfalls. The Ainu occasionally shoot down these rapids in their "dug-outs," and remains of these are to be seen here and there smashed on the rocks. From this point the road rises almost all the way, and the wayfarer must cross over the hill range, from the top of which the whole plain of Kamikawa can be seen, in the upper basin of the Ishikari, which, winding like a silver snake, intersects the flat valley.

Descending the hill on the other side, I reached the future capital of Hokkaido. It is indeed a town of the future, for at the present moment there are only five houses, if I may call them so. The site of this embryo metropolis is by the Chubets River; and on the hill called Nayosami I was told a palace for the Emperor is to be erected. However, they were not certain about it yet. It is a pretty hill, almost in the centre of the large plain, and from the top of it one gets a lovely view of a volcanic cone standing in front of you to the south. Near this hill the new road turns sharply almost at a right angle, and two miles further some *Toudens* have been

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KOMATAGE VOLCANO, VOLCANO BAY.

CHAPTER XIX.

Completing the Circuit of Yezo—The End of my Journey.

162 OSHAMAMBE is a group of seventy houses, just midway between Mororran and Mori. The Ainu of this bay are poor specimens of their race, as most of them have intermarried with Japanese. They are, however, those most talked about by Europeans, for they are of easy access to globe-trotters.

They are mostly half-castes, and even second and third crosses; wherefore it is no wonder that the incautious travellers who have written on the Ainu, studying only these easily-visited specimens, have discovered in them a remarkable likeness to the Japanese!

The fact that I was rapidly nearing the end of my trip half filled me with pleasure, yet pleasure mingled with regret. It was nearly six weeks now since I met with the accident to my foot, and I was decidedly better. The cold weather had greatly contributed to this improvement of my condition; and had it not been for my bone which kept sticking out of my skin, I should have considered myself in fine case. I could hop along with my self-made crutch and my stick, and when riding

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to your petitions. In the next room another Japanese, with less depraved fingers, but with a more wicked face, was dressed in European clothes, and was apparently giving a sermon, and sure enough he proved to be a native Christian minister!

"Hallo!" said I to the landlord; "what does all this mean?"

"Oh," said he, smiling—for Buddhism teaches you not to show pain—"my old mother is dead. You saw her when you were here before. She died yesterday, and as she was formerly a Buddhist and had become a Christian, I have now got some Buddhist *bonzes* and a Christian minister to pray for her, for I want her to be happy in the other world."

"But do you not think," I replied, "that so much praying of different kinds might interfere with her happiness?"

"Oh, no, your honourable," he said quickly, "I have paid the *bonzes* and the clergyman in advance, and the gods cannot get angry now!"

It was curious to notice the competition between the representatives of the two different creeds.

On the one side the Christian shouted his prayers and sang his hymns in a stentorian voice, to put the *bonzes* in the shade and get the start of them in the contest; and on the other side these rattled on the wooden bells with all their might, so that their prayers should be heard first. I was more than happy when this religious race was over, and I was allowed a few hours' rest.

Instead of going straight to Hakodate by *basha* by the road I had already once traversed, I followed the coast in a south-easterly direction towards the volcano of Esan.

133 Near Usushiri, some two miles inland, are the hot springs of Obune, where, in a picturesque gully surrounded by mountains, are two dirty shanties for the benefit of those who wish to take the waters. At Isoya, five miles north of this place, similar springs are found, and three and a half miles south-east of Usushiri still more can be seen at Kakumi. The latter place is a picturesque little spot, with its three old sheds and the steaming bath-room framed in the multi-coloured foliage of trees with their lovely autumn tints. A clean path a few hundred yards long leads from the coast to the springs, and a track across the mountains is found between that place

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and Hakodate; also another leading from Obune to the latter port. By both these tracks a most lovely view of Hakodate Bay can be obtained when the summit of the mountain range is reached. From Kakumi the coast-line is wretched for travelling, set thick as it is with stones as sharp as knives, while the waves continually wash over the narrow beach, drenching the wayfarer to the skin.

I reached Otatsube, a group of a few fishermen's huts; and as there is no traffic whatever along this coast, there were no regular tea-houses. Unfortunately for me, the British Squadron in the Pacific had spent the summer at Hakodate, and the ships had often gone for gun-practice somewhere near this place, scaring the natives to death, and furthermore angering them against foreigners in general, for they said the report of the guns frightened away all the fish. When I asked for food and offered money for it, they flatly refused me, saying contemptuously,—

"You foreigners come and scare all the fish away, and now you shall die of starvation before you shall get food from us. We do not want your money. We are rich."

And so I was held responsible for the doings of Her Majesty's fleet, which until then I did not even know had been in those waters!

At Furimbé, the next small village, only a few miles further on, my experience was even more unpleasant. Not only would they not give me food, but they would not shelter me for the night in any of the houses; and many of the fishermen, taking advantage of my wretched condition, were impudent to such a point that I thought we should have come to blows.

It was getting quite dark, and I was fearfully hungry and exhausted. The only course open to me was to push on, and see if I could come across some other hut where the owners were not so churlish. As it turned out, for the first time since I had been in Hokkaido I had some good luck that night!

A few hundred yards from this Japanese village, among the trees, was a little wooden shrine. Through the grating of the door I caught sight of offerings of cakes and rice which the religious fishermen had deposited on the kind of altar, probably to appease the angry gods, and induce them to fill the sea with

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish again. The door of the shrine, as is usual in country places in Japan, was not locked, but a small outside bolt was all there was to keep it closed. I had no difficulty in entering. The night was a terrible one. The rain was pouring in torrents, and having had nothing to eat all day, I felt I had not the strength to go another yard. "After all," I said to myself, "the home of the gods, Japanese or not, is good enough for me. So is this supper," I soliloquized, swallowing now a white cake, now a red one, then a green one, till nothing but the empty vessels were left. "Delicious" was my last word, when, smacking my lips over the last green cake, I proceeded to make myself comfortable for the night. It is needless to add that I left very early in the morning, when the first rays of light broke the dimness of the night, and I dare say that, for the sake of morality, I ought to add that I was sorry for committing the sacrilege; but I was not—indeed I was not!

The mountain track continued, rough and steep in many places, and the autumn tints on the foliage were lovely, though not as varied as those of Northern America. Past Todohotke another volcano, the Esan, stared me in the face. Its crater, or rather its craters, for there are several, are not on the summit of the mountain, which is well rounded, but nearly halfway down its western slopes. Accumulations of very pure sulphur are deposited in and around these craters, and a continuous rumbling can be heard inside the mountain. The craters eject sulphurous vapours, and molten lava bubbles up as if in gigantic caldrons, congealing at the mouths of the craters and cracking with the extreme heat.

The coast-line is precipitous and almost impassable round Cape Esan, therefore the track leads over the mountain. The altitude of Esan is 1740 feet above the sea-level, but owing to its rising directly from the sea it has the look of a much more lofty mountain. Komagatage, near Mori, is 4,011, or more than double the height of Esan, while Makkarinupuri volcano, or Shiribeshi Mountain, as others call it, about forty-five miles south-west of Sappro, and ten miles north of Toya Lake, reaches an altitude of 6,440 feet.

Iwaonobori, which I passed on the north coast in this latter part of my journey, is 3,374 feet. Usu, on Volcano Bay,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

1868 feet. Tarumai, directly south of Sappro, only reaches a height of 2,800 feet. 133

When this volcanic part of the coast round Esan Cape is passed the track becomes easier and flatter. One comes again to the sandy beaches, and the coast is lively with numbers of fishermen's huts, and a couple of villages like Shirikishinai and Toi. One day's journey on horseback from here takes you to Hakodate. The Hakodate Peak can be seen in the distance to the west; and only a few more hours, only a few more miles, and I should be in civilisation, I should see a few European faces, and I should hear English spoken again. 600

As I approached the sandy isthmus, and the peak grew bigger before me, I wondered what had been going on in the world, and what news I should receive of my dear ones. I imagined myself already devouring with my eyes the hundreds of letters which must have been amassed at Hakodate, waiting for me during the many months I had been away. I imagined myself half buried in newspapers months old, anxiously reading the news of the world. I hurried on my pony, I crossed the sand isthmus—and there I was in the lively streets of Hakodate, gazed at by the astonished Japanese, who, I believe, were more than a little amazed—perhaps scandalised—at my turn-out.

Such as I was, and before I went to the Japanese tea-house, I called at the Consulate for my correspondence. Her Britannic Majesty's representative, who knew me well enough, was more than thunderstruck when I appeared before him in such a strange attire. He was smoking a pipe, and he almost let it drop, such was his surprise.

"Who are you?" he feebly exclaimed, looking me all over from head to foot. "Surely you are not Landor?" he said when I told him my name.

"I believe I am," I answered, "and I have come to trouble you for my letters."

"Oh, none have come; we have none," he said drily.

And now that I was not quite so well dressed as when I had called on my arrival at Hakodate from Southern Japan, he seemed anxious to see me off the premises as soon as possible, I dare say for fear lest I should expire on his doorstep.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

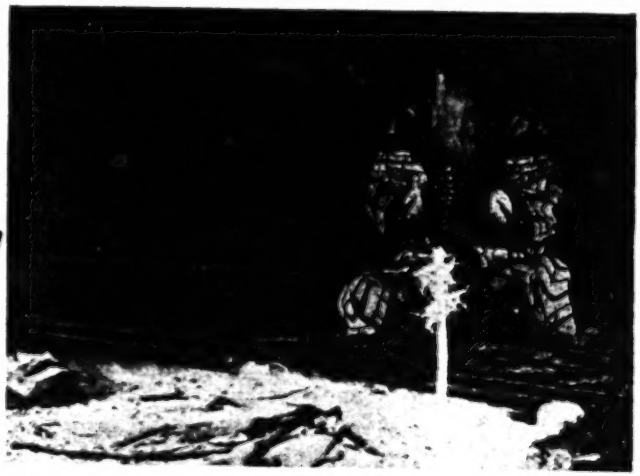
THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

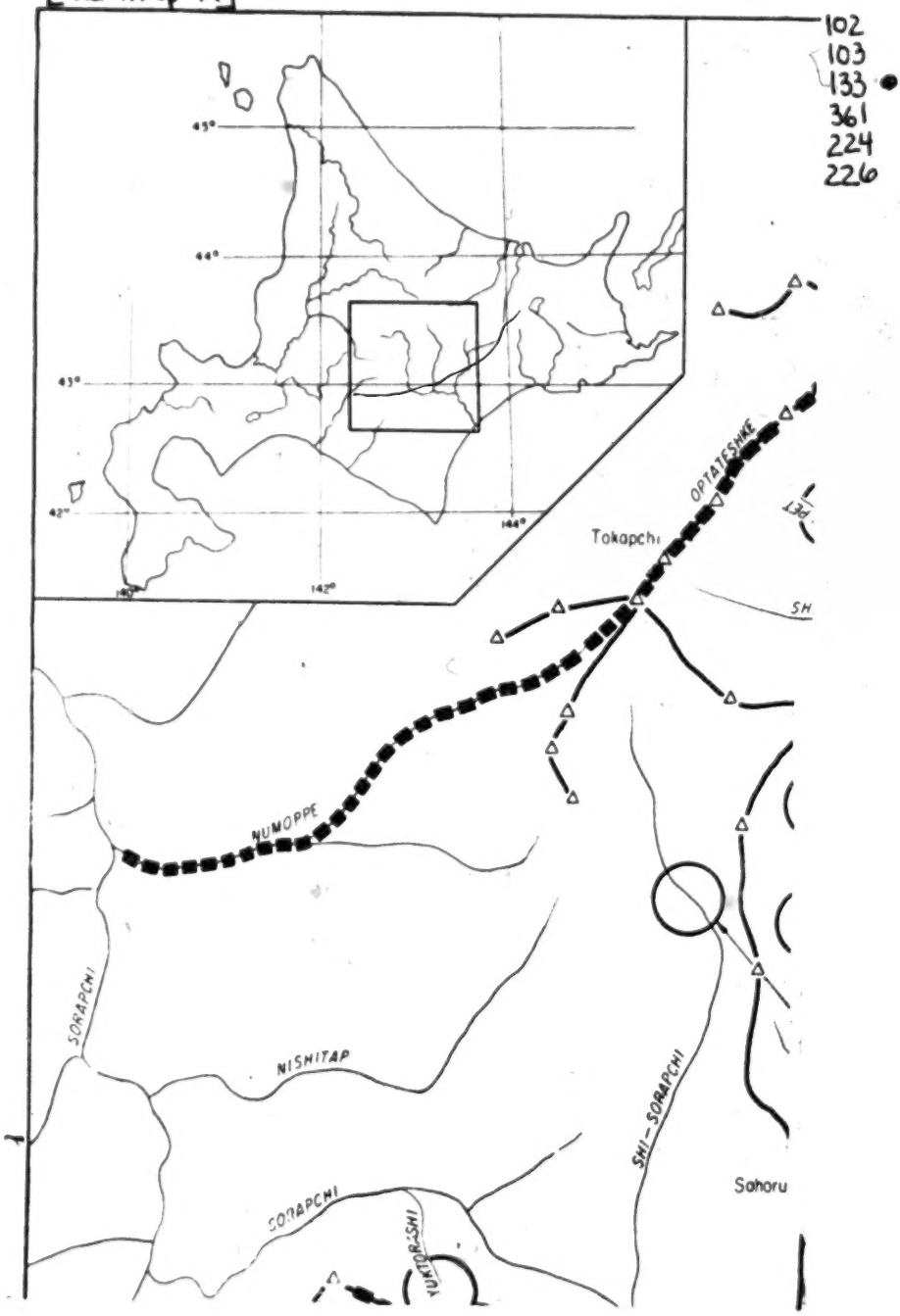
102
103
133
361
224
226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

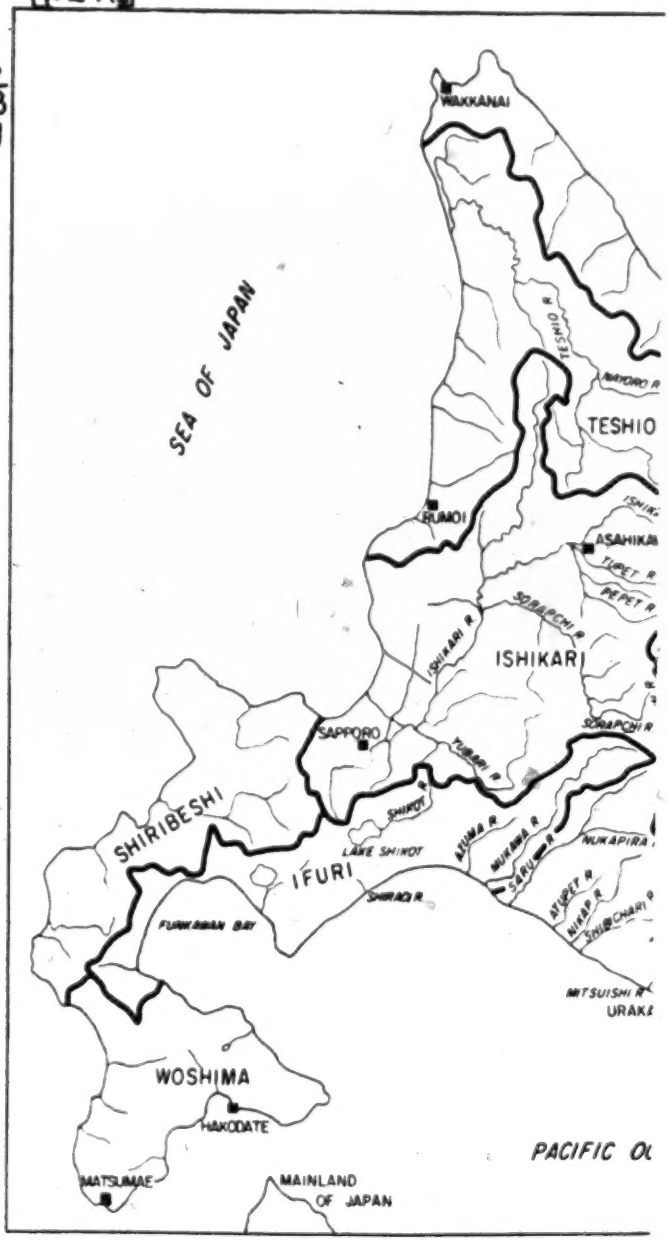
[End map-A]



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A]

102
133
631



Map. 1. Rivers of Hokkaido a

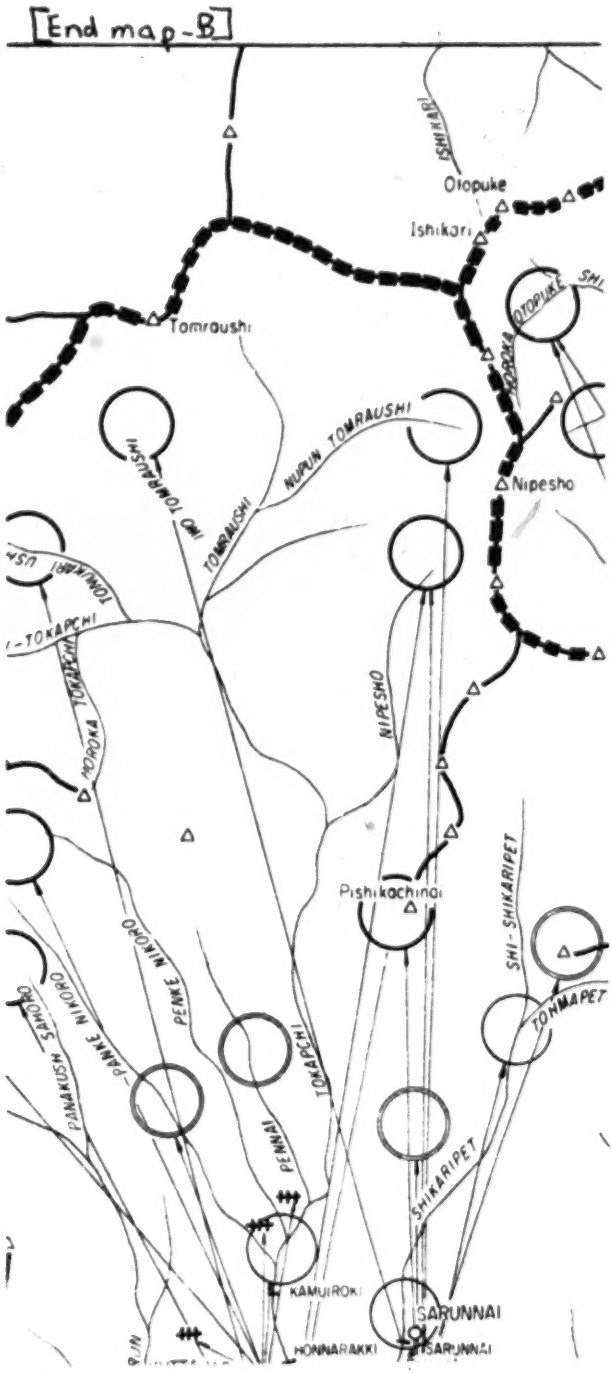
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A2]

102
133
631

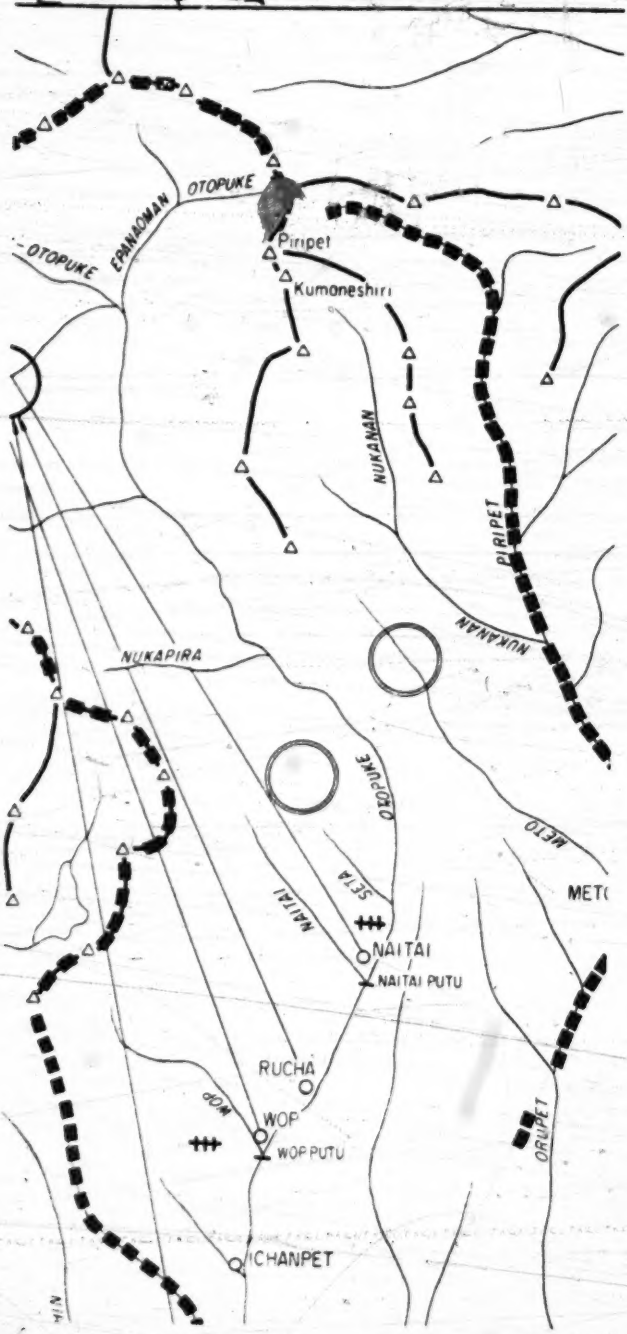
nd old administrative divisions.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



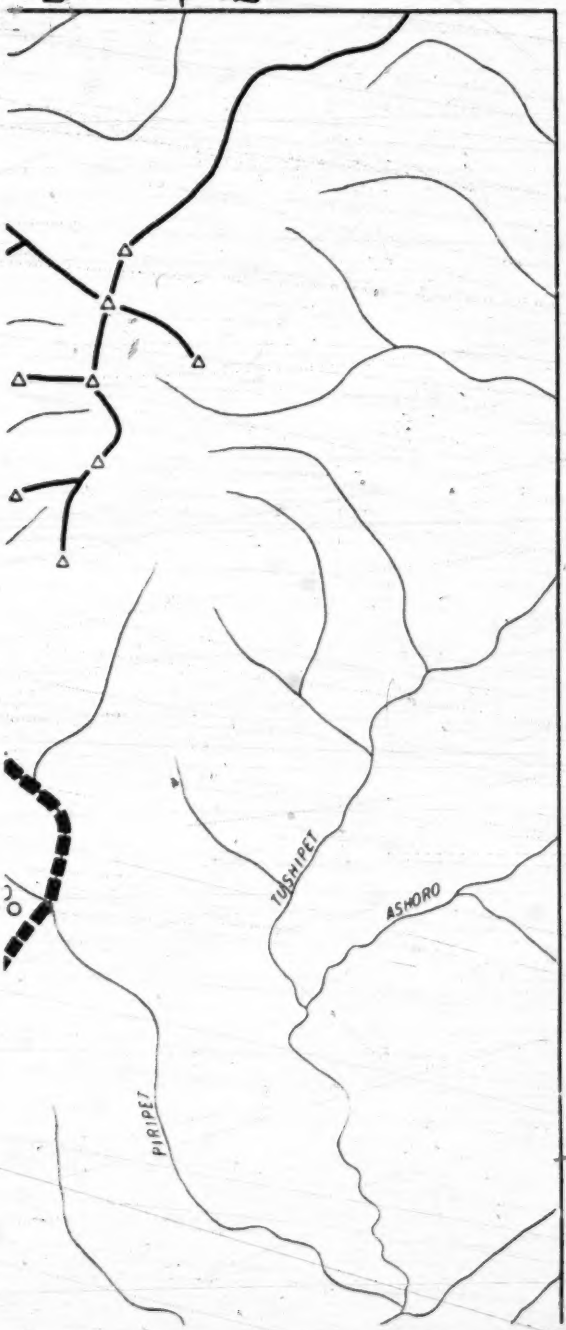
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[Ena map - C]



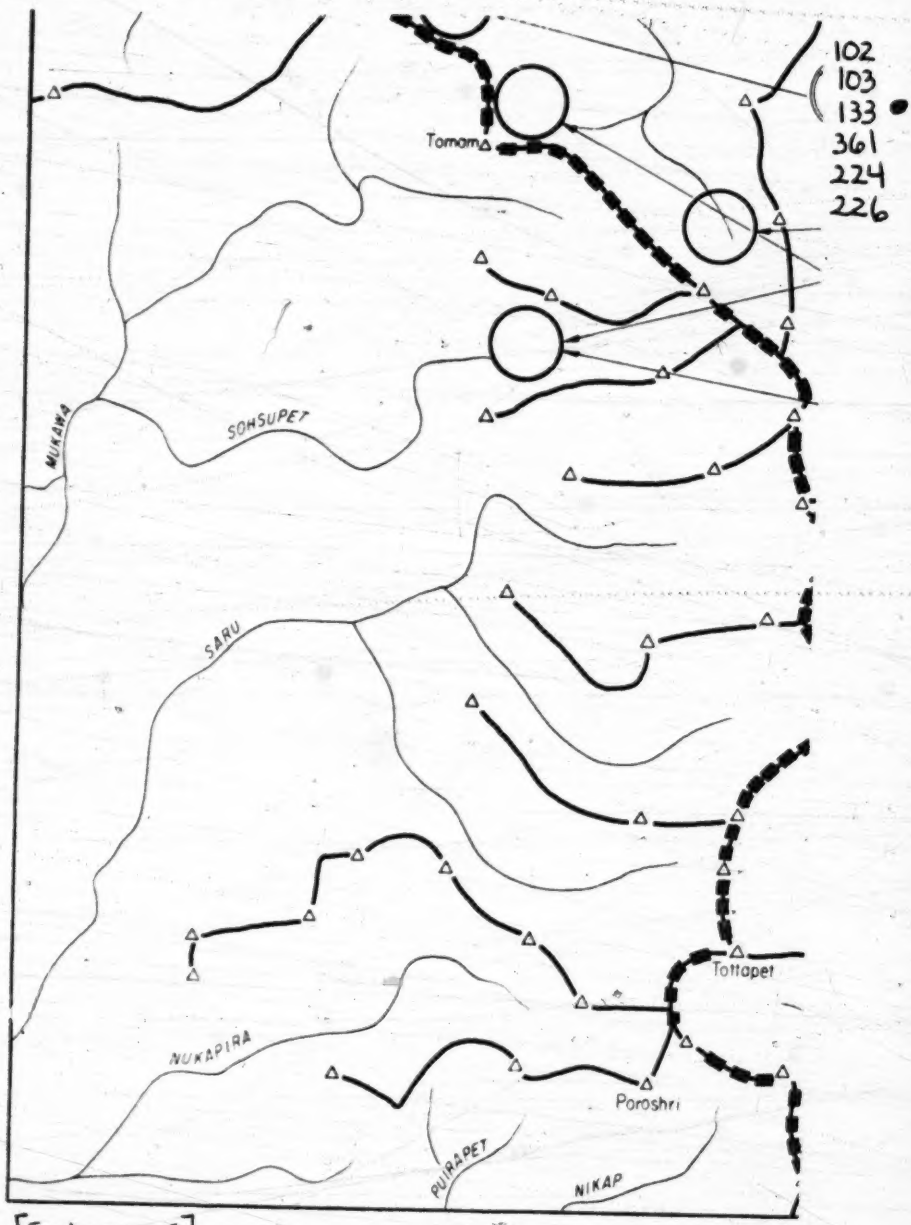
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133 ●
361
224
226

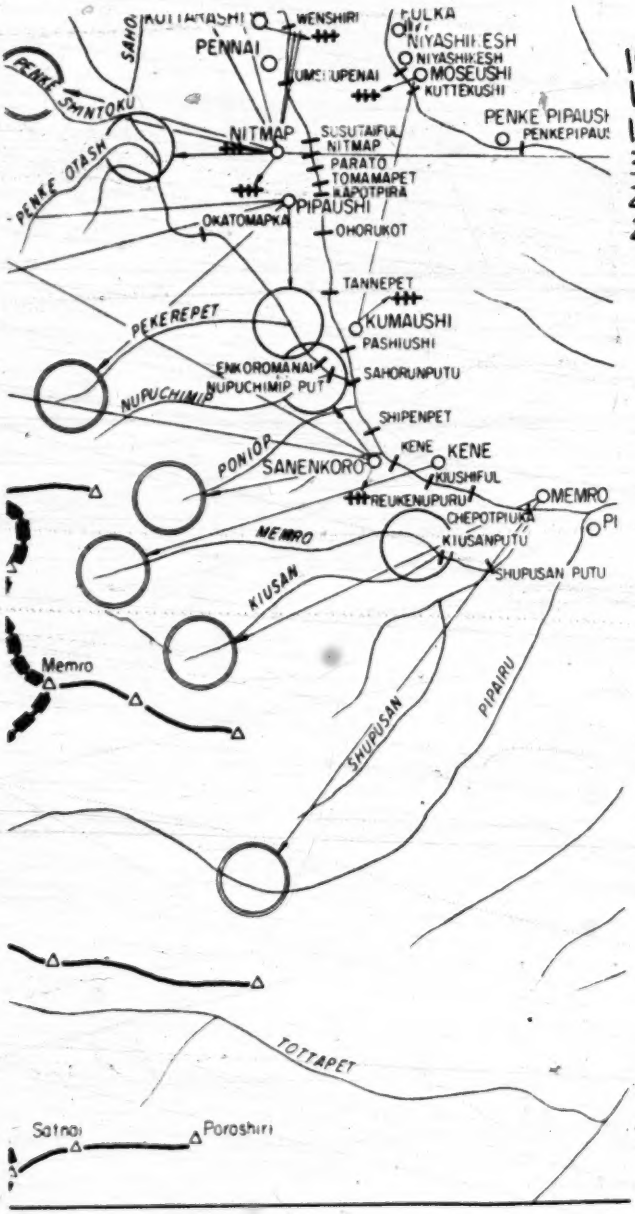
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

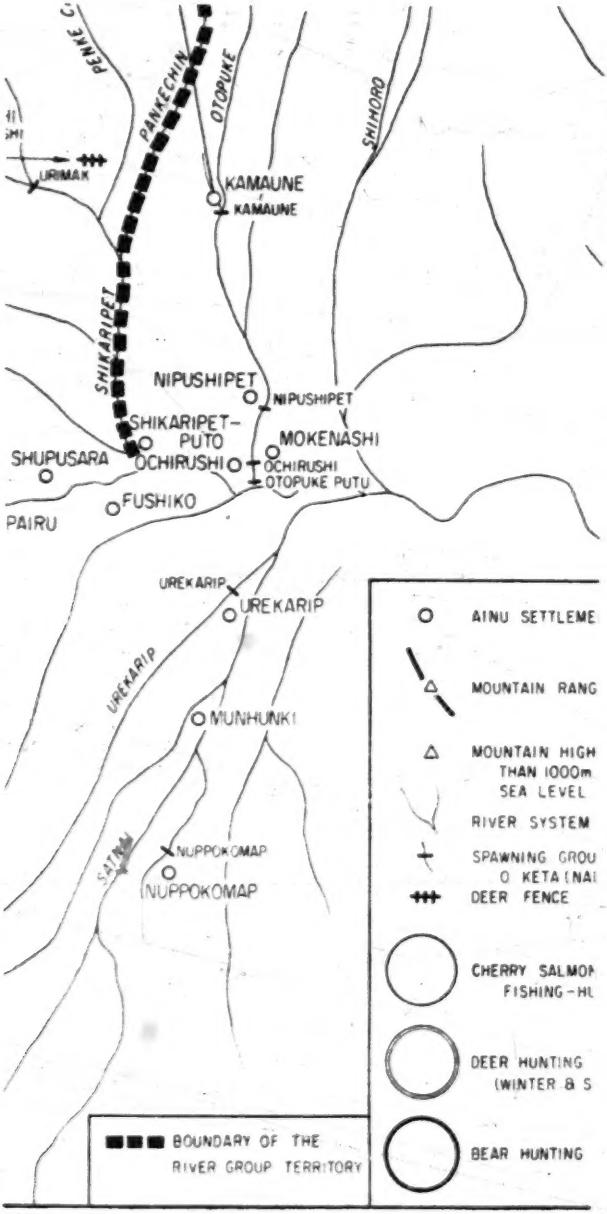
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

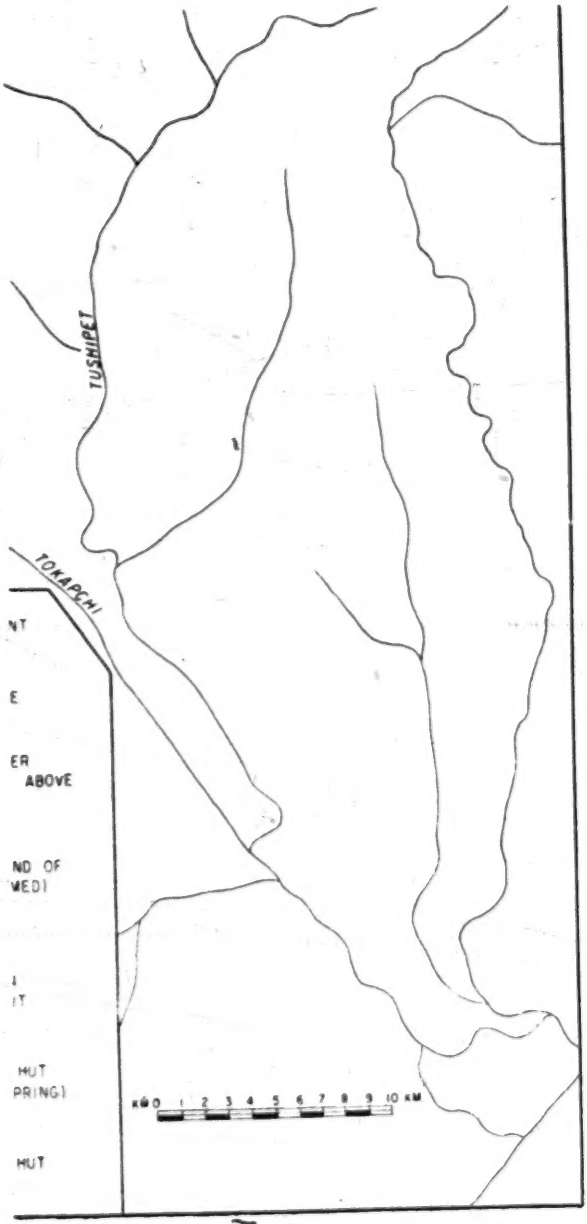


102
103
361
133
224
226

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



102
103
133 ●
361
224
226

[End map-H]

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

131 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
● 133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

[p. 138]

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Meto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1. [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 423 619 823 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an (Otopuke) iworu (iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an (Otopuke) iworu (iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1, [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin. 133 423 823 619

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory resting upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI. 423 823

(46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter. 173 619 [823]

1. [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

000 /192 cont./
"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S.
175
101
174
439
F.J.
101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S.
[113]

K
SS.
FJ
101
114
174
177
A
101
A
[133]
A
F.J.
101
175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1).

A
F.J.
[113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

A
172
173
323
192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
171

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
226 for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
262 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
[361] this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
[439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
226
262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

/453 cont./

226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, 131
stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Iturup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 33° 45′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

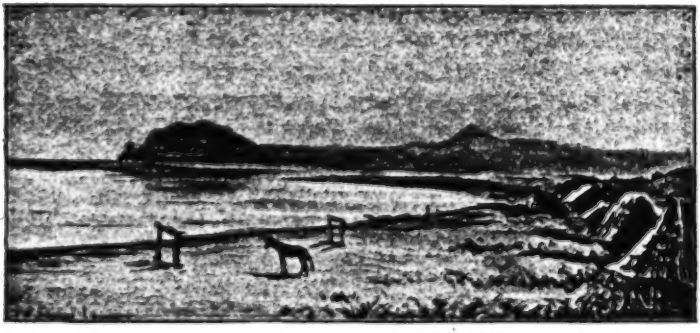
The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nau- 133
tical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo 132 134
as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 85,000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

means a grassy plain; and *buto* is a Japanese corruption of the Ainu word *huts*, the mouth of a river. My ponies must have known of this "grassy plain," for they went remarkably well, and I reached the latter village some time before dark, so that I was able to push on to Saru Mombets, a larger village nearly four miles further. Saru Mombets translated means "a tranquil river in a grassy plain," a name thoroughly appropriate to the locality.

There is nothing to interest the traveller along the coast, unless he be a geologist. Almost the whole of the western part of the Iburi district is of volcanic formation. The eastern part is abundant in sandstones, breccias, and shales. In the neighbourhood of Yuhuts, and all along the coast as far west as Horobets, pumice forms the surface soil, showing that in former days frequent eruptions must have taken place. Vegetable mould alternates with pumice. Sand, clay, tufa, with beds of peat and gravel, are the components of the soil which is found filling up the declivities of mountains, covering low-lands and sea-beaches in this part of the island. Specimens of the palæozoic group are found in the pebbles of the Mukawa River and valley, like amphibolite, limestone, phyllite, sandstone, and clay-slate, besides variegated quartzite of greenish and red layers. Primary rocks are common all through Iburi and Hidaka.

The terraces surrounding the Saru valley are mostly wooded with oak, and the swampy region between the Mukawa and Sarubuto has many patches of green grass, and a thick growth of high swamp reeds.



HOROBETS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 Ainu the *Shikarubets Otchirsh*, which translated into English means "the white cliff on the bend of the river." This cliff stands very high, and can be seen from a great distance, especially in a north-east, east, or southerly direction. In winter, when the rushes and reeds are not so high in the south-eastern portion of the plain, the white cliff can be distinguished from the whole of the Tokachi valley. The Ainu themselves use the Shikarubets Otchirsh as a landmark when out hunting bears. Owing to its light colour it is visible even at night. I was anxious to ascend it, as I was sure no European foot had ever trodden on it before. Accompanied by Watanabe Masaru, I started out on horseback and crossed the Frishikobets village and river. Here we left our horses under the care of an Ainu till our return. We had to cross the Tokachi in an Ainu "dug-out," and then, proceeding for several miles in a northerly direction, we arrived at the foot of the mountain. It would have been impossible to climb it on the east side, as it is quite perpendicular; but we were fortunate in getting an Ainu called Unacharo, who said he knew a point from which we could ascend, and that he would show us the way. He had been hunting bears on that mountain, and he knew its slopes well; but as to the way which he was to show us, we had to make it for ourselves. With our large knives we were forced to break, cut, and tear the entangled branches of trees and shrubs before we could get on. We actually had to cut our way through the dense scrubwood until we reached the summit. The ascent was rather dangerous in some places, and extremely rough when going through the brushwood. We had to keep as much as possible near the edge of the cliff, for though it involved more danger if we slipped or stumbled, the entangled shrubs were not so thick on the edge as farther inland. Finally, after several hours' hard work, we reached the top, and were well repaid for our fatigues. The whole of the Tokachi valley was stretched before us as far as the sea, and almost the whole course of the winding river, with all its numerous affluents, could be distinguished like so many shining silver ribbons on the green background formed by the tall grass and reeds. As a farming region the Tokachi valley
[134] and high plains are certainly the most fertile in Hokkaido. All the requisites for successful agriculture can be found there.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The absence of the mountain masses of volcanic rocks, so common all over Hokkaido, the richness of the soil, the quantity of water for irrigation or for motive power, besides the comparative facility of making roads on such flat ground, are qualities that good farmers do not generally despise. It is therefore a great pity to see all that Tokachi valley practically deserted and so much good land wasted. Hemp, wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, and all kinds of vegetables and cereals, could be grown with advantage, and the produce carried down the river to the sea without much difficulty and at little expense. At Yamakubiro the land begins to rise in a gentle slope, but only to form a plateau, of which the top is another large plain reaching to the foot of the Oputateishike mountain mass. The Otopke Mountain is the highest peak, and resembles in shape the Fujiama of Japan. On the north-east side of this mountain are the hot springs of Ni-piri-bets.[1] A kind of wood is said by the Ainu to be found near these hot springs which is good for curing wounds, cuts, rheumatism, and other ailments. These hot springs are not of much importance, and it is but seldom that even the Ainu themselves visit them. In going to and returning from these springs the Shikarubets Otchirsh is never lost sight of by the Ainu, and by the aid of this landmark they return safely to their homes.

All the Oputateishike mountain mass is volcanic, and forms the backbone of the island of Yezo. From the Shikarubets Otchirsh I was able to draw a bird's-eye view of the course of the Tokachi River and its affluents, which afterwards helped me much in delineating a sketch-map of the Tokachi region, with its complicated watercourses. The two high mountains of Satsumai and Ghifzan could also be plainly seen from there. Coming down was much easier than going up, and when we had again reached the bottom of the mountain we turned northward until we came to the Shorui-washi River, an affluent of the Tokachi. Previous to this, while following the course of the Otsu River, I saw a strange sight. When on the summit of the Shikarubets Otchirsh I had seen two Ainu "dug-outs" pass up the river, and the Ainu

[1] *Ni*, wood; *piri*, wound; *bets*, river.

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *foita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[311] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
[134] no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyono skto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

There are also seven or eight Japanese 563
shanties besides the Ainu huts. At the mouth of the Tcharo- 135
bets, near the latter village, coal and lignite of inferior quality are found; but this coalfield was not worked at the time I passed through Shiranuka. The remaining twenty-one miles 000
were monotonous and uninteresting. The long *Kossuri* peninsula was before me, increasing in size as I drew nearer; and after having gone through the two small villages of To'tori and Akan-gawa, in the neighbourhood of Kossuri, I crossed the Kutcharo River, on a nicely-built wooden bridge, and found myself at Kushiro, an important Japanese settlement on the south-east coast. From its favourable situation Kushiro is likely to become one of the chief towns in Yezo, though unfortunately it does not possess a good harbour, and is much exposed to westerly winds. The largest number of the houses are situated on a slight elevation above the reef-harbour, immediately south of the river mouth. In the proximity of Kushiro, and just beyond the range of hills which stretches for 133
about three miles from the entrance of the harbour in a northerly, and for about two miles in an easterly direction, is a lagoon, called by the Ainu "Harutori." This lagoon is nearly two miles long, and certainly not more than a quarter of a mile wide. It is divided from the sea by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the water of the lagoon finds its outlet. On the east side of the Harutori coal has been discovered, [135]
and it seems to be of fairly good quality; and three miles further, quite close to the sea-coast, coal was dug out some years ago, but the quality was so inferior that the works had to be abandoned.

There is a considerable area of good land in the neighbour- 000
hood of Kushiro, and here again it is to be regretted that Japanese farmers do not emigrate to work it. Yezo has a very small population for its size, and I was surprised that emigration from the mainland was not carried out on a larger scale. Yezo is a rich country in many ways. Why do not all the troublesome students, the fiery *soshi* of Japan, abandon politics and futile rows and go and do men's work in that northern region of the empire? They would profit by it, and so would their country. An immense loss occurs every year simply because no one is there to take the profit; and it is a great pity, and almost a shame, to see so much waste and neglect in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

131 The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

000 The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region emb. ices a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins ●135 are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

826 Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions. 000 The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and [823] only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

all mountainous, with the exception of a small valley near Rubets. It is along the banks of the Bettobu River, in that small valley and on those terraces, that the numerous pits of the Koro-pok-kuru are found, and also at Rupets, further south on the same coast. This, however, I have already explained in connection with the pit-dwellers. The two small fishing-stations above mentioned are respectively under the lee of the headlands ending in Cape Ikahasonets and Notoro Cape. On the first headland the mountain of Tsiriju rises to a great altitude. The largest fishing-station is at Shana, on the western side of this headland, and further north, besides Bettobu, is the small station of Shibets. South-west of Shana one finds Rubets, Furubets, Oitoi, and Naibo, the latter in the bay of the same name. There are five lakes in Etorofu, two of which are between Shana and Bettobu, one near Rubets, the other close to Naibo; the fifth is a very small one, fifteen or sixteen miles north-east of Bettobu. The country has a rugged look, and in some places, as near Rubets, where the volcanic mountain masses leave space for low terraces the scrub-bamboo is very thick, as in Yezo, and small and stunted trees form the chief vegetation. Larch is more common on the north-west coast than on the south-east. Good timber is rather scarce in Etorofu, but a fair quantity of it is to be found inland, and also at the south-western portion of the island about Naipo.

Accumulations of sulphur are found at Ichibishinai, and there is an active volcano south-east of Bettobu, besides the beautiful volcanic cone of Atzosa, three or four thousand feet above sea-level. All this volcanic mountain mass, with its warmly-tinted peaks, bears the characteristics of the central portion of Yezo; and there seems to be little doubt that all this row of islands, with the frequent submerged craters and volcanic cones, is nothing but the continuation of the volcanic zone in Yezo. The main resource of Etorofu is the fishing. Four different kinds of salmon and salmon-trout are found, one similar to the salmon common in Yezo, the others somewhat differently marked. Salmon is extremely plentiful, and in July and August enormous catches are made, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where the fish are closely packed together.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the herring fishery. There are no Ainu to be found either at Tomamai or Onishika.

I continued my lonesome ride in the pouring rain, and soon came to a peculiar long tunnel, natural and partly excavated, between this place and Rumoi, a village prettily situated on the slope of a hill fifteen miles further. This place possesses a small anchorage at the mouth of the river, which is now only fit for junks and small sailing-boats, but could be considerably improved. Good coal has been discovered some way up the river. There is a track on the cliffs leading to Mashike. All along the coast are any number of fishermen's houses, but they were all closed and barricaded. Ultimately, descending from the cliffs in a zig-zag fashion, after another ten miles' ride I found myself at Mashike, the largest Japanese village in the Teshio district. Close to the tunnel there is a small Ainu village, where the natives let their hair grow very long, and then tie it up in a kind of knot, similar to the Corean fashion of head-dress, while the women have given up tattooing altogether. The fishermen at Mashike seem to suffer greatly from "*Kaki*," or rheumatism, and cancer, while consumption, malarial fever, and typhus are in a small proportion.

I had to stop over one day at Mashike, for the river was swollen by the heavy rains, and it was impossible to get across. On the other side of it stood Mashike-san, a huge volcanic mountain rising sheer from the sea, and forming Cape Kamuieto, under the shelter of which lies Mashike village; and further south Cape Uhui projects into the sea. It is the end of a mountain range which here runs north and then south again, in the latter part forming one side of the upper basin of the Teshio River. Mashike is the largest settlement either on the north-east or west coast of Yezo. Its population is partly migratory, but not so wholly as is the case with the villages I had previously passed. I was delayed still another day owing to the condition of the river; for the rain, instead of decreasing, poured down to such an extent that the stream could not be crossed, the current being too swift and the water too deep. The sea was also too rough to allow of my leaving Mashike in a canoe.

On the third day I rose early, and decided to attempt this much-desired crossing of the river. It had not rained during

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that pot-valiant condition you get them to paddle your canoe down the stream, while you sit in the bottom holding on to the sides. You start with the velocity of a turtle, increase it to that of a horse, then to that of a swallow, and when you are well in the rapids it is like travelling on an arrow. You go rubbing against rocks, and are shot in the air when going over a small waterfall, only to fall with a splash in the water some yards further, with an increase of velocity as you go on. It really requires but little skill to navigate rapids, for it is the current itself that does all the work. All that is needed is to keep the "dug-out" straight in the water. Of course if you should happen to collide with a rock when you are going at nearly double the rate of an express train you would have little chance of saving your life; but if you are neither smashed nor drowned, and you do not come to grief in any way, you can accomplish the journey, which takes you the whole day by land, in little over one hour when there is plenty of water in the stream.

On the road from Sorachi to Poronai, and halfway between the villages of Naye and Takigawa, a new coal mine has been discovered and opened, which is said to be very rich in mineral of good quality; in fact, superior to the coal of Poronai. It is ten miles from Otaussi Nai village, where the high road has to be abandoned if the mine is to be visited.

There are many Ainu both at Takikawa-Mura (Waterfall-River village), at Otaussi, and at Poronai-buts. Poronai has in its neighbourhood some rich coal mines. As others have reported more accurately and correctly than I can on the quality and extent of these coal seams, I shall abstain from repeating or copying what has been already said. I may, however, mention that the seams cut the valley of the Ikusum River eight miles from Poronai-buts, and a continuation of them is found near the springs of the Sorachi. The coal beds of Poronai are about three and a half feet deep, and many different beds have been found deeper than these, but of inferior quality. Poronai also goes by the name of Ishikishiri, and a large penitentiary has been erected here for the accommodation of the numerous convicts exported from the Main Island to improve the scheme for the colonisation of Yezo. I was called on by the chief *yakunin* (officer), and he expressed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish again. The door of the shrine, as is usual in country places in Japan, was not locked, but a small outside bolt was all there was to keep it closed. I had no difficulty in entering. The night was a terrible one. The rain was pouring in torrents, and having had nothing to eat all day, I felt I had not the strength to go another yard. "After all," I said to myself, "the home of the gods, Japanese or not, is good enough for me. So is this supper," I soliloquized, swallowing now a white cake, now a red one, then a green one, till nothing but the empty vessels were left. "Delicious" was my last word, when, smacking my lips over the last green cake, I proceeded to make myself comfortable for the night. It is needless to add that I left very early in the morning, when the first rays of light broke the dimness of the night, and I dare say that, for the sake of morality, I ought to add that I was sorry for committing the sacrilege; but I was not—indeed I was not!

133 The mountain track continued, rough and steep in many places, and the autumn tints on the foliage were lovely, though not as varied as those of Northern America. Past Todohotke another volcano, the Esan, stared me in the face. Its crater, or rather its craters, for there are several, are not on the summit of the mountain, which is well rounded, but nearly halfway down its western slopes. Accumulations of very [135] pure sulphur are deposited in and around these craters, and a continuous rumbling can be heard inside the mountain. The craters eject sulphurous vapours, and molten lava bubbles up as if in gigantic caldrons, congealing at the mouths of the craters and cracking with the extreme heat.

The coast-line is precipitous and almost impassable round Cape Esan, therefore the track leads over the mountain. The altitude of Esan is 1740 feet above the sea-level, but owing to its rising directly from the sea it has the look of a much more lofty mountain. Komagatage, near Mori, is 4,011, or more than double the height of Esan, while Makkarinupuri volcano, or Shiribeshi Mountain, as others call it, about forty-five miles south-west of Sappro, and ten miles north of Toya Lake, reaches an altitude of 6,440 feet.

Iwaonobori, which I passed on the north coast in this latter part of my journey, is 3,374 feet. Usu, on Volcano Bay,

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

A
E
*648
*175
226
439

Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

A
E
*648
*175
439
[136]

Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24]

F
[316]

When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

A
F
*175
*648
628

Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

---

[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

A
*175 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing
*648 grounds were actively worked.[16]

439 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae
A
*175 were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring
*648 roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers
439 of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (accord-
433 ing to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi*
[316] (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

A
*175 The original method of the contractors was to trade
*648 with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly
439 native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more
436 profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The con-
F
[661] tractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

A
[136] [20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*.

A
[224] [21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and
[226] abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following information. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy [762] family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

117 I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a play-
● [136] ground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along and caught me away again and this time changed my body into that of a bird. Yet, although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, "Hapo totto, Huchi totto," "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." For this reason the people call the goat-sucker 'Tokitto.'" 539

As such is the origin of the cry of this bird, and as the sound of its note is so like a child calling, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep bitterly every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the Tokitto," for they may not say *totto chikap*, 'Breast bird,' because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep much, and it also makes them think of their lost offspring. Again, the goat-sucker only flies about and cries during the night time. The reason of this is that the horrid demon of swampy places only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now a demon nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus we see that the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, but is now, alas, a dreadful demon. The name of the demon is *Nitat Unarabe*, and this means, "Aunt Marsh." 000 [136] [776]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

●136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

I know of one district by the sea where the people are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 decomposing, turned into marshes, swamps and bad water, among other things.

I have a further legend by me which refers to the water-wagtail and his help in creation. It is very short and runs thus:

"In very olden times, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of Heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was like this: God made him fly down from above and settle on the rough places He Himself had already cast up with His mattocks and axes, and, in order to make the ground level, ordered him to hop and jump about on it, scratch it with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day whenever this bird is seen he is certain to be found beating the earth with his tail."

829 It would appear that the Creator was not always infallible in His choice of localities in which to place the creatures He made. The following story will show what I mean. It has reference to the race of the bears and sea lions.

000 One day, as I and a native companion came riding over a high spur of a mountain down toward the seacoast, we heard a great bellowing out at sea. It sounded like some monsters fighting. It was not far from my friend's home and I asked him what it was. He at once pointed to a flat rock about a mile out and told me the noise came from there. He said it was made by [134] a big school of sea-lions which had come there, as they did every year at that season, for breeding. The bellowing was a challenge to the mountain gods, i.e. bears, to come down to fight. I told him I would like to hear all about this when we reached his house, where I was to stay. The following is his story.

773 "Many of the larger of the wild animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as the demons

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

● 136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

773 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 A very extraordinary piece of lore concerning this matter is embodied in the following. "Some of the old Ainu have told of a large snake which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile was said to be of the feminine gender, of very great length, of a beautiful colour and very charming and seductive to look upon. But she was a very dangerous creature. One day she met an Ainu who was hunting far away among the hills, and tried to seduce him into evil. But he escaped her wiles, whereat she was very angry. As a punishment, she told him that he should be unable to die for a thousand years. And so it came to pass that when he attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, skin and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills of babyhood. As the snake said it should be, so it was. Ten times did he reach the age of a hundred, ten times did he lose his beard, hair and teeth, and ten times did he become a little baby. But when he came to be one thousand years of age he died. His name was Enewa, and this I believe to mean "Existing." At length, however, the mighty woman snake was slain by a man, and as the carcase decomposed the particles thereof became wasps and stinging ants."

Chief Penri told me that the worst kinds of snakes and vipers were originated by a famous Japanese warrior called Yoshitsune, who is said to have fled to Yezo in the twelfth century A.D. and lived for a time in hiding among the Ainu at Piratori. Having stolen a boat from his hospitable friends, he ran away. Being hotly pursued by his host, in his hurry to push his boat away from the river bank, the pole he was pushing off with snapped in two. One part stuck on the bank and became snakes and vipers, that in his hand he cast into the river where it turned itself into eels and lampreys. When I first went to Piratori the Ainu had nothing good to say about this Japanese hero.

[775
● 136]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
136

AN ANGRY BEAR
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.204]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVII

SOME SHOOTING INCIDENTS

In our very early days in Hokkaidō there were 117
times when we could get no animal food to eat. We found this very trying in the winter. I therefore determined to buy a gun and try to better matters in this respect. After the gun came, I was able to keep our larder well stocked with such things as wild duck, snipe, wood-cock, tree-grouse, hares, and now and then [136] wild geese. But as the years passed, times so changed that now one can only think of those early days and smack his lips.

One day an English gentleman and his wife came to visit us at Sapporo. They were supporters of Missions and it was my pleasure to take the gentleman with me to some of the rougher places of the interior. Just before starting, my friend saw me cleaning my gun, when he informed me that he was very sorry to see that I shot, and that he did not consider it right for a missionary to shoot birds and animals. So, in order not to offend one of our supporters, I put my gun out of sight. His dear good wife also, being of like opinion, had the grace to tell my spouse, who had a couple of very pretty duck wings in her hat, that she did not think ladies ought to wear feathers!

My friend and well-wisher soon started off with me on our tour, and in a few days we arrived at a hamlet in the interior, where an old Ainu friend had put up two nice rooms in his house, in which I always stayed. As it happened, I had not brought a very big supply of tinned provisions with me, so it was not long before we ran out of animal food.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

136 252 262 (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [675] [682]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

pretty *kimonos* (gowns) and with oil-paper umbrellas, were toddling along on their wooden clogs, and a crowd of loafers stood gazing at the ship as she came to anchor. The Peak, more than 1000 feet high, was towering on our south side, forming a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, and the large bay swept round us, forming nearly a circle. The place has a striking resemblance to Gibraltar.

I landed, and put up at a tea-house, where I was in hopes of learning something regarding the island from the Japanese settlers, but no one knew anything. The reports that there were no roads extending beyond a few miles; that there was but very poor and scarce accommodation along the coast; that the Ainu, who lived further north, were dirty people; and that the country was full of bears, were certainly not encouraging to an intending traveller.

I must confess that my first day in Yezo was a dull one; but the second day I had the pleasure of meeting a Mr. H., a resident, who kindly offered me his hospitality, and the next two were pleasantly spent at his house. In conversation with a friend of his, I heard the remark that no man alone could possibly complete the circuit of the island of Yezo, owing to the difficulties of travel; and my readers can imagine the astonishment of my interlocutors when I meekly said, that if no one had ever done it, I was going to do it; and, indeed, that I intended to set out alone the next morning.

"Impossible!" said one, "you are too young and too delicate."

"Absurd!" said my kind host, "it would take a very strong man to do it—a man who could stand any amount of hardships and roughing." At the same time he gave me a pitiful look, which undoubtedly meant, "You are a mere bag of skin and bones."

However, the bag of skin and bones kept his word, notwithstanding the poor opinion that his new friends had formed of him.

The preparations for my journey were simple. In two large Japanese baskets I packed three hundred small wooden panels for oil-painting, a large supply of oil colours and brushes, a dozen small sketch-books, my diary, three pairs of boots, three shirts, an equal number of pairs of woollen

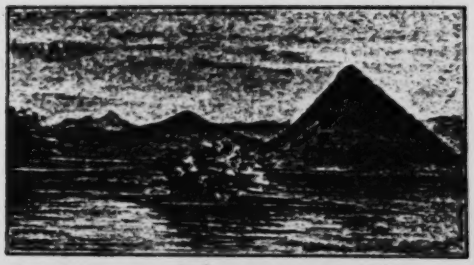
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake, with its three pretty islands in the centre and the magnificent Uso Volcano on its southern shores. The walk there and back was hardly fifteen miles, over a mountain track and through forests of pine-trees and oaks. The lake is about 250 feet above the level of the sea, and is about five miles in diameter. Its shores are surrounded with thickly-wooded hills, which have grassy terraces at a certain altitude, extending especially towards the north-western shores of the lake. The barren Uso Volcano, with its sterile slopes, is a great contrast to the beautiful green of the comparatively luxuriant vegetation of the lower altitudes. The lake finds an outlet into the Osaru River by means of a high waterfall.

The following day I rode back to Mombets, and the next on to Shin-Mororran (the *new* Mororran, distinguished by this affix from Kiu-Mororran, the *old* settlement on the northern shore).

Mororran has a well-protected harbour, and it would be the best future port in Hokkaido if the anchorage were of a larger capacity. In more speculative hands than the Japanese this port would be a great rival to Hakodate. It consists of a thickly-wooded peninsula, which forms a well-sheltered bay, at the entrance of which the picturesque island of Daikuku stands high above the sea-level. In the harbour itself, smaller islets and huge rocks contribute to its beauty.

The village of Mororran is a mere streak of fourth-rate tea-houses along the road by the side of the cliffs. Apart from the natural loveliness of the harbour, it has, indeed, no claims to consideration at present. In former days it was called by the Ainu, Tokri-moi, "the home of the seals," for these valuable [136] amphibious animals were said to be then plentiful in the bay.



TOYA LAKE, NEAR APUTA.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife—three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu—was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

small islands and picturesque rocks, standing like huge jewels in the water, while on the Horoizumi side, as far as the eye can see, there are only cliffs of peculiar shapes, and marvellously rich in colour. 133

I got two fresh animals, and pursued my journey towards Horoizumi. Rocks, rocks, nothing but rocks! My ponies stumbled and slipped all the time, and for eighteen miles the riding was hard and intricate. I had to lead my ponies most of the way, and help them, pull them, or push them, from one rock on to another, and down the next, and so on.

The scenery all along was magnificent and grand. A short distance from Shamane a large natural archway emerges from the sea, which is called by the Ainu, Shui-shma, "a hole in stone."

Holes have been pierced through the rocks in several places, to give comparative safe passage, and to prevent wayfarers from being carried away by the waves. Over the entrance of one of these tunnels a pretty waterfall, descending from a great height, gives a poetic effect to the scene, while it obliges the unfortunate traveller to take an extremely cold shower-bath, should he wish to push forward on his journey.

As if all these discomforts combined were not enough, it is to be added that the rivers in this part of the coast, though not wide, are extremely swift and dangerous to cross. My second pony was carried away by the strong current when I crossed the Poro-nam-bets,[1] and I had great difficulty in rescuing him.

At Shamane there are a few Ainu, but from there to Horoizumi I saw none. [162]

Sardines are very plentiful all along this coast, and long seaweeds also abound. The latter is used for export, chiefly to China. Horoizumi, a nice little village of one hundred and fifty houses, is the most picturesque in Yezo. It is built on the slopes of a high cliff, and it reminds one much of the pretty villages in the Gulf of Spezia. I arrived at sunset, and the warm red and yellow tints which the dying orb of day was shedding on the weather-beaten brownish houses, gave a heavenly appearance to this very earthly place. As I got nearer, a good deal of the heavenly had to be discarded, for the odours of fish-manure and of seaweed are two smells 136

[1] *Poro*, large; *nam*, cold; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

A NATURAL STONE ARCHWAY NEAR SHOYA.

CHAPTER VI.

From Cape Erimo to the Tokachi River

133 THE mountain pass between Horoizumi and Shoya is sup-
36 posed to be very dangerous on account of bears. I rode the ten miles quietly, but failed to meet or see any. The way through thick woods is exceedingly pretty. After traversing a small valley with a dense growth of scrub-bamboo, it climbs a small hill, from the top of which a lovely view of Cape Erimo lies like a picture before one's eyes. There are only thirty houses at Shoya, and the place could not be better described than by the words "a miserable hole." The rough weather, as well as several landslips, had some time before my arrival broken all communication between Shoya and the next village east of it. There is a rough mountain trail as far as Saruru, but my ponies could not possibly get through the scrub-wood and heavy climbing, and none of the natives could be induced to carry my luggage. They all positively refused to follow me on account of the multitude of bears which they said were on the mountains.

"If the sea goes down," said an old fisherman, "you may be able to get through early to-morrow morning at low tide; and, if you are careful, you will not be washed away by the waves."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus be forced to try the mountain track, which I was told was not so very rough from this point. A half-caste offered to show me the way. It was a very stiff climb among thick shrub, but it was comparatively smooth work after the experience of my journey from Shoya. I came across many tracks and footprints of bears on the mountain. In some [136] places the marks were quite fresh and of different sizes, varying in length from one foot to four inches. The half-caste told me that black bears seldom attack men unless they are hungry. They often attack horses.

"But if they hear that a man is near they will not dare to attack even the horses," he said, and then began to sing at the top of his voice. His singing, half Japanese, half Ainu, was so excruciating that it was no wonder to me that it kept the bears away.

We crossed two rapid streams before reaching the summit 133 of the mountain range. The view from the summit was lovely. In the distance I could distinguish two headlands, while an immense stretch of stormy sea and a high mountain were in the foreground. I began to descend, and again I got into the region of thick forest and scrub. I perceived a few houses near the coast, and we made for them. It was the village of Moyoro,[1] or Biru, as it is called by others.

Between Saruru and Biru, where the mountain track sometimes descends to the shore, I found many Ainu and half-breeds, especially in the two villages of Onnito[2] and Bita- [162] tannuki.[3] They are said to be very bad, and what I saw of them, even at Biru, corroborated this assertion.

Biru is situated on a small bay, in the centre of which some [133] gigantic pillars stand out at a great height. The rough sea dashes against them, and thousands of crows and sea-birds [136] have chosen these rocks for their abode. Biru is not a large village. There are only forty fishermen's huts, most of which are on the high cliff surrounding the small bay; the others are down on the beach. Kelp, seaweed, and sardines

[1] Moyoro. *Moy*, a bay; *oro*, to be in.
[2] Onnito. *Onni* or *Onne*, great, large; *to*, lake, swamp.
[3] Bitatannuki. *Bita*, to undo; *tannu*, long; *ki*, rushes, reeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are as abundant here as on the south-west coast, and maintain the staple industries of the inhabitants. The sea-weed is of great length but small width. Fourteen more miles over the cliffs brought me to Perohune.[1] There were four large deltas to cross, that of the Toyoi-pets[2] being the largest. The current in all these rivers is extremely swift.

Perohune enjoys a big name, but there is only one house in the place. I was, however, fortunate enough to get two good ponies there. The fog was settling down thicker and thicker, and I could not see more than a yard or two in front of me; but at times it lifted up for a few moments, and showed me either the dangers I was nearing or the landscape I was losing. I passed two lakes, the Tobuts,[3] otherwise called Oputs, and the Yuto. Both are divided from the sea by a narrow sand-ridge. There is but little of human interest along this deserted coast. There are no houses and no people, but many small rivers, and now and then high cliffs. My ponies, driven mad by the *abus*, the terrible horseflies of Yezo, constantly threw themselves down and rolled on the sand.

From Perohune to Yuto Lake the distance is about eleven miles, and from Yuto to Otsu it is eleven more miles, on a very easy track. I saw some large sea-birds and penguins, and I was struck by the great number of drift logs which had been washed on shore by the sea. The last thirty-eight miles of the coast was literally covered with this drift wood. During the summer months the fog is always dense along this coast, greatly owing to a cold current which comes from the Otkoshk Sea, passes through the strait between Kunashiri and Etorofu, in the Kuriles, and then turns south, following a great part of the south-east coast of Yezo. Not far from Erimo Cape it meets a warm current from the China Sea, which passes through the Tsugaru Strait, and which in all probability is the Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current. This Japan current parts from the main stream near the south-western

[1] *Pero* or *Pira*, cliff; *Hune*, *Hun*, a particle indicating the existence of something at a place.

[2] *Toy*, earth; *o*, (?) *i*, a place; *pets*, river.

[3] *To*, lake, swamp; *buts*, mouth of a river. *O*, a meaningless prefix; *puts*, mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is a kind of a jungle, in fact," said they, "in which yellow and black bears are plentiful. The rivers, which are numerous, are swollen by the heavy rains that have fallen lately. The natives up the river are unsociable and bad, and they will kill you. Then in the high grass horse-flies, black-flies, and mosquitoes abound."

"If you attempt it alone," said the wise man of the party, "you will not come back alive."

These reports were not encouraging, but, anyhow, I determined that, Irish as it may sound, *dead* or *alive*, if there were any Ainu up the stream I would see them. Owing to the difficulty of taking even my usual baggage, and not wishing to burden my ponies with more than was necessary, I decided to carry with me only a paint-box, many wooden sketching panels, my diary, and my revolver. I left all my other things at Otsu to wait for my return.

"Should you not come back again, can I keep all your belongings as my property?" kindly enquired the landlord of the tea-house, when I bade good-bye to him and to all the villagers who had collected round early in the morning to see me start.

I took two ponies, as usual. I left Otsu at dawn, and followed as well as I could the winding course of the river. Not far from Otsu I came to the thick jungle of high reeds and tall grass of which I had already heard. I made my way through the first obstructions; but I had not been in the jungle more than a few minutes when I was simply devoured by horse-flies, mosquitoes, and black-flies. My ponies were kicking, bucking, and trying to bolt, as they also were literally covered with horse-flies, sucking their blood and stinging them to madness. The reeds and grass were about ten or twelve feet high, so that, being higher than myself on my horse, I could not see where I was going. I kept along the river bank as much as I could; but in many places it was difficult to get through the ravines which one invariably finds along rivers, so I kept a little way off on the west side, and had the noise of the running river to guide me. For many wearisome hours I rode through this jungle, the dividing reeds continually rubbing against my face, arms, and legs, sometimes making pretty deep cuts with their razor-edged long leaves. The huge

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 137 *shirau*—the horse-flies—grew more and more tiresome as the sun got warmer, and my head and hands were swollen and bleeding. The sun was by this time high in the sky, but there were no signs of the jungle coming to an end, no indications of huts anywhere near—no other noise but the sound of the crashing reeds and the running water of the river. My ponies were feeding well, as grass was plentiful; but I was faring badly. What with the exertion of keeping the ponies in order, while the densely-entangled reeds nearly dragged me off the saddle—what with the plague of mosquitoes and horse-flies, added to the sense of weakness caused by fatigue and hunger—it was really a terrible time for me—one of the worst episodes in my life. Nevertheless, I persevered, and went on and on, determined to reach my destination. I came upon two very large swamps, which forced me to make a wide *détour*. The ponies were very tired, and so was I. When darkness set in I halted, took the heavy pack-saddles off the ponies, and tied the animals to them, so that they could not bolt during the night; and wearied, disheartened, and discouraged as I was, I began to think how stupid I had been to start on such an expedition without carrying any provisions with me—without having provided myself with even a tent or a covering of any kind.

Circumstances made me a philosopher. What is the use of worrying about things that cannot be helped? After all, when you get accustomed to it, starving is really not so bad as people think. One of my ponies was of a sentimental disposition, and he seemed to understand my troubles. He came close and rubbed himself against me, placing his head near mine. It was touching, and in the solitude in which I was the sympathy of the dumb beast was as precious as that of a human being. Had he been able to speak, he might have been taken for a Christian, and a good one, too! He had been fearfully stung by horse-flies, and my petting him seemed to alleviate his pain. There is nothing like sympathy and a little personal kindness if one wants to make friends with animals. The last few rays of light were spent in putting together the notes which I had taken during the day, and which enabled me to draw a sketch-map of the river. At [122] Horoizumi some days previously I was able to buy myself

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than [157] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, 123 609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we 136 224 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and [136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks
[132] are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
● 136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
322 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 was still, and only now and then some huge owl, awakened by the noise of my steps from its day's long sleep, would fly away, starting off on its night's peregrinations and depredations. I walked mile after mile, and finally struck the rails again. On a white post I saw a cipher in Chinese characters, which brought me back to the reality that I was still seventeen miles away from Shibetcha. I followed the line of rail as closely as I could, and late at night I reached Shibetcha. I roused the people at the *Marui yadoya*, and, having eaten some salmon and water soup, I retired to my *foutangs*, between which, it is useless to say, I slept well. I had walked forty-two odd miles that day, and it had been a pleasant change from the continuous riding on pack-saddles.

The next day I rode down to the coast to the bay of Akkeshi, about forty-two miles east of Kushiro. The road [137] is very good all the way, and has on each side woods of oak and pine trees. The traffic on it is at present very small, and the only living creatures I saw during the twenty-eight or thirty [136] miles were a beautiful long-tailed red fox and a number of Japanese convicts led by a policeman. These were dressed in red trousers and a short red coat made of coarse material. They were walking in a row, and they were chained two by two, and, moreover, a long rope joined the chain of each couple to that of the next, so that all couples were tied together. The end of this rope was held by the policeman. Some of them wore large hats entirely covering their face; others wore no hat at all, and had their head shaved in a peculiar manner. They were mostly bare-footed, but a few wore straw sandals. The Government wisely makes use of these convicts in opening roads and other public works, and after their term of punishment is expired, these men almost invariably become fishermen. A great part of the Japanese population of Yezo is composed of exiles and ex-convicts; in other words, Yezo is nothing more or less to Japan than what Australia was to England some years ago.

Nearing the coast I passed the "Tonden" of Hondemura, a colonial militia farming settlement. A long line of new houses, all exactly alike in shape and size, and built at intervals, stretches on each side of the wide road. Each of these houses is inhabited by a man who has served his time as a soldier,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[139] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

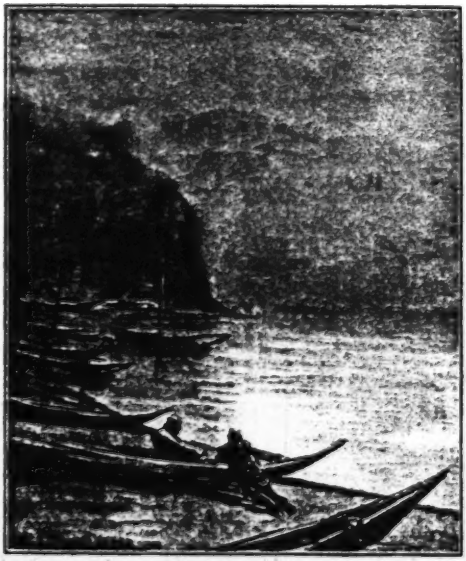
The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[139] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[169] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of
Seeing the Surrounding Scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

seeing the surrounding scenery. Some fine headlands are 133
found near the town of Akkeshi, and also on each side of the opening of the bay into the ocean. On the eastern side, the two islands of Daikuku and Kodaikuku, joined to the mainland by the low reef, slightly under water-level, which goes round the bay, are of some importance for an artist. This is especially true of the larger island of Daikuku, which rises at a considerable height above the sea, forming majestic cliffs, 136
beautiful in shape and colour, on which myriads of seagulls, albatrosses, and penguins have chosen their abode, finding in these almost untrodden and picturesque cliffs a safe place in which to lay their eggs and rear their young. Here they live undisturbed, save for the dashing waves of the ocean, which make the earth tremble and the rock crumble to pieces, but only meet with a blithesome welcome from the screaming, light-hearted, fat, and lazy-winged inhabitants, to whom those waves bring good stores of daily food.

[133]



AKKESHI IN A FOG.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893.AB6 Ainu AB6

The Pico Strait, between Etorofu and Kunashiri, is about fourteen miles wide, and a strong current from the Okhotsk Sea passes through it, causing the sea to break in heavy tide-rips and overfalls similar to those observed in the La Perouse Strait, between Yezo and Sakhalin. Similar tide-rips are observed also in the channel between Etorofu and Urup, but, being much wider (about twenty-four miles), they seem there less formidable.

Kunashiri is the next largest island in the Kuriles after Etorofu. It is about sixty-five miles long, and very narrow; varying from three to eight miles in width. The north-east portion is somewhat wider, and extremely mountainous. The highest peak of this mountain range is the Tcha-Tcha-Nobori (the old-old-mountain), which is said to be about seven thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea. From this volcano starts a chain of hills—some pyramidal in form, others somewhat rounder at the top—which forms the backbone of the island. Two more active volcanoes besides the Tcha-Tcha are on the south-west portion of Kunashiri, but they do not rise to a very great altitude. On Horanaho or Rausu volcano sulphur accumulations are found, and at Pontoo (small lake) sulphur bubbles out from the lake bottom, and seems to be worked with profit. The Tcha-Tcha-Nobori is curiously shaped. It is like a large cone cut about half-way up in a section, to which a smaller cone has been attached, leaving a wide ring right round. It is extremely picturesque, and a worthy finish to the strange outline of Kunashiri Island.

Vegetation and products are the same as in Etorofu. Salmon is plentiful, and a few fishing-stations are spread out here and there at long intervals on the coast. As in Etorofu, the population of Kunashiri migrates there from Yezo during the fishing season, and leaves the island almost deserted in winter. The strait separating it from Yezo is only ten or twelve miles wide. Bears and foxes are said to be very numerous in all the larger islands of the Kuriles, and seals are [136] captured in large quantities during the winter months, more especially in the islands nearer Kamschatka. Small game, as ducks, snipes, and sandpipers, is abundant. Besides the ruggedness and strange aspect of its numerous volcanic peaks, the bareness and the loneliness of the coast, there is nothing in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river 133
which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite [136] ●
resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the 574
mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There 609
was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were [062]
enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [491] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a 361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of 142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of 231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern 304 point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge •136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated ; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only ; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on shore by the tide. Some distance off an outcast horse was attacked by thousands of famished crows. It is not an uncommon occurrence in Yezo. The black scavengers generally attack very young animals, and, flying on the pony's head, peck out its eyes. The pony, frightened, and driven mad by pain, bolts, and in his blind and reckless race either falls down a precipice and is killed outright, or else is driven to the coast by these daring wretches, which continue to peck at him with cruel and ceaseless avidity. There, with its way barred by the waves, tortured to death, and neighing desperately, the helpless beast succumbs, and affords the hungry birds a good meal, while hundreds gathered thick on the body, peck the poor brute to death. Thousands of others sit screaming in long rows round the scene of the fight, attentively watching for the final result, when they too can join in, and experience the joys of sated hunger. Nature can indeed be cruel.

I stopped at a hut. My host was decidedly peculiar. For convenience we shall call him Omangus, which only means a "gone man," or a lunatic. I had heard of him further south, and I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I had not been five minutes in his hut before I perceived that he really was a lunatic. His head was of an abnormally large size; his skull was well developed at the back, with those prominent bumps behind the ears which show great love of eating. His forehead was high, and very slanting; the upper part was wider than near the eyebrows, which were so thick and bushy as nearly to cover the eyes. His nose, with its large nostrils, was stumpy and covered with hair, while his enormous projecting eyes were restless and fierce. His luxuriant moustache and beard matched the thick crop of long black hair which covered his whole body. His legs were short, wiry, with stiff and swollen joints, probably owing to rheumatism. His arms were very long, and his toes were also abnormally long. Altogether he had the appearance of a large orang-outang more than that of a human being. All his movements resembled those of a wild beast, and now and then, when pleased or dissatisfied, he would groan in a way not dissimilar to the growling of a bear. In fact, he was labouring under the belief that he was a wild beast of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

142
291
302
136

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

He was restless while I was painting him, and hundreds of half-starved crows, which seemed to be on good terms with my sitter, gathered round him, chatting in their incomprehensible and noisy language. Some of them even flew on to his back and shoulders, and he touched them without their flying away. 123 158 136

I was astounded at the familiarity which existed between the madman and the birds. They seemed to understand each other, and had I only been sufficiently imaginative I might have asserted that I even saw them kissing him. Unfortunately, when the first astonishment was over I understood the reason of the affection on the part of the scavengers, and the whole mystery was unveiled to me. Like all mysteries, the apparently extraordinary friendship between the madman and the black birds turned out to be a plain bit of literal prose, and, I must add, a very disgusting bit. The maniac was covered with vermin, and the affectionate kisses of the crows were not kisses of love or sympathy, but only mouthfuls of parasites, which they found among the thick hair of his body.

Two or three times the maniac crawled up to me, and seemed anxious to touch the colours on my palette, and also to put his fingers on the sketch. He saw that he gained nothing by being a foe, so he became a friend. He even became a great friend when I presented him with a shiny silver coin. 123 158

Though Omangus was undoubtedly insane, he was a very practical person. As will be seen by the illustration, his attire was simple, and no allowance was made for pockets. He looked at the coin, turned it over in his hands several times, and grinned ; then he placed it in his mouth for safe keeping. His mouth was apparently his purse. As I saw that he was fond of silver coins, I gave him one or two more, and all of them were religiously kept in the same natural pocket, except at night, when he hid them under a large stone. At sunrise they were collected again and placed back under his tongue or in one of his cheeks.

I cannot say that my host was by any means brilliant, but, like most lunatics, he was a good soul apart from his little peculiarities. It was unfortunate that he had lost the power of speech, or I might have learnt some strange things from him.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 myriads of birds stretched in two or three lines along the shore. Like the "beasts which roamed over the plains" in Alexander Selkirk's lament, they had seen so few human beings as to be indifferent to me and my pony, and I could walk among them without disturbing them or causing them to fly away. The penguins were my greatest source of amuse-
● 136 ment, with their fat bodies and their funny way of lifting up one leg as I was approaching, in order to get enough spring to raise themselves from the ground had I attempted to capture them. I was soliloquising, according to my then custom, while watching these droll birds, when not more than two hundred yards ahead I saw two large eagles. One of them was perched on a low cliff, the other was flying about, now and then returning near to its mate. I dismounted, with my revolver in my hand; I had a pocketful of cartridges. I crept stealthily from rock to rock, keeping well out of their sight until I came close to the pinnacled rock on which they stood. I was then about fifty yards from them, and it was useless my firing at such a distance with a revolver. I peeped over the rocks, and one of them saw me and flew away, while the other remained where it was, stretching its neck in my direction. Its piercing eyes were fixed full on me as I was approaching; it understood that danger was imminent, and it seemed ready to resist the attack. I drew nearer and nearer, and when about four yards away I fired two shots, both of which went through its breast, and the eagle, with its wide-spread wings, fell from its lofty pinnacle and came down heavily on its back.

In its last convulsions it made desperate efforts to clutch me with its long sharp claws; but a couple more shots finished it. The male bird, which meanwhile had been describing circles high up in the sky over my head, plunged down on me with incredible velocity. I emptied the last chamber of my revolver into him, just as the wind of his large wings made my eyes twinkle; and to evade the grip of his outstretched claws I had to cover my face with my left arm. The report stunned him, and flapping his wings, he rose again, to resume his circling over my head, leaving a few of his feathers floating in the air. I reloaded quickly, and each time he attacked me he was received with a volley. Another bullet went through

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

his wing, and his flying became unsteady; he flew on to a distant cliff, and there he remained. I seized this opportunity of carrying the dead bird away and lash it on to my saddle; but while I was so engaged the male eagle flew back to the pinnacle where I had first seen the two together, and stretching his enormous wings to their full width, screamed as if in despair. On the pinnacle was their nest and young, and that was why the female had kept watch and ward over her eyrie, and also why she had not abandoned it even when I approached.

I mounted my pony and away I rode with my prey. The male bird followed me for miles and miles, and now and then I had to fire to keep him at a respectful distance. Ultimately he left me, and my delight was immense when, instead of seeing him over my head, ready to plunge on me at any moment, I saw him disappear behind the cliff, flying rapidly but unsteadily back to his eyrie.

As I now made sure that he had no intention of pursuing me any longer, I dismounted, and proceeded to skin the eagle I had shot. It was decidedly a magnificent specimen. It measured seven feet from tip to tip of wings, and its claws were nearly as large as a child's hand. The semicircular nails measured two inches, and were extremely pointed, which fact made me feel very thankful that I had just escaped the grip of its male companion. The beak was enormous, of a rich yellow colour, the upper mandible overlapping the lower. The feathers were black all over, with the exception of the tail, which was white. I believe that this kind of eagle is generally called the "black sea-eagle," and is found in Kamschatka, Yezo, and also along the Siberian coast of the Japan Sea and Gulf of Tartary.

I found a sheltered spot, and with my large Ainu knife proceeded to dissect the bird. Each minute seemed as long as hours, for I feared the male bird might reappear on the scene as I was thus occupied in stripping the skin from the carcass of his beloved helpmate. There is no knowing what effect anatomical researches might have on a Yezo eagle. My heart bounded with joy when the operation was successfully completed, and I went to wash my hands in the sea. I came back to the bird, or rather its skin, and I was indeed proud of my work, when a horrid idea struck me. How was I to get

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●136 Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri but the greatest number are found on the Saruma lagoon. In winter it is not difficult to come within reach of them, but even in September I saw many of them. They were, however, very shy, and when they caught sight of me instantly disappeared under water.

133 A few miles from Poronai I came to a headland, and about one mile from it lay the small island of Chuskin.

The coast again, instead of being sandy, showed traces of its volcanic formation, forming beautiful cliffs and a rugged outline, rising in terraces at places, or cliffs of clay and gravel sediments, with reefs extending far out to sea, while below them stretched a beach of coarse sand or pebbles, strewn with enormous volcanic boulders. These terraces are wooded mostly with alder, Yezo fir, and beech.

Soon after crossing the Porobets River I came across the wreck of a sailing ship, which lay flat on the shore disabled and dismasted ; and at last I reached Esashi. There I again noticed a curious fact, which may be of some interest to anthropologists ; namely, that Yezo is mostly formed of Tertiaries and volcanic rocks, and that the Ainu are mostly to be found in regions of Cainozoic or Tertiary formation. In volcanic districts they are very scarce. This is curious, for it is a well-known fact that the typical life-form of Tertiaries is anthropoid apes, and it is a remarkable coincidence that we should find ape-like men populating the same strata.

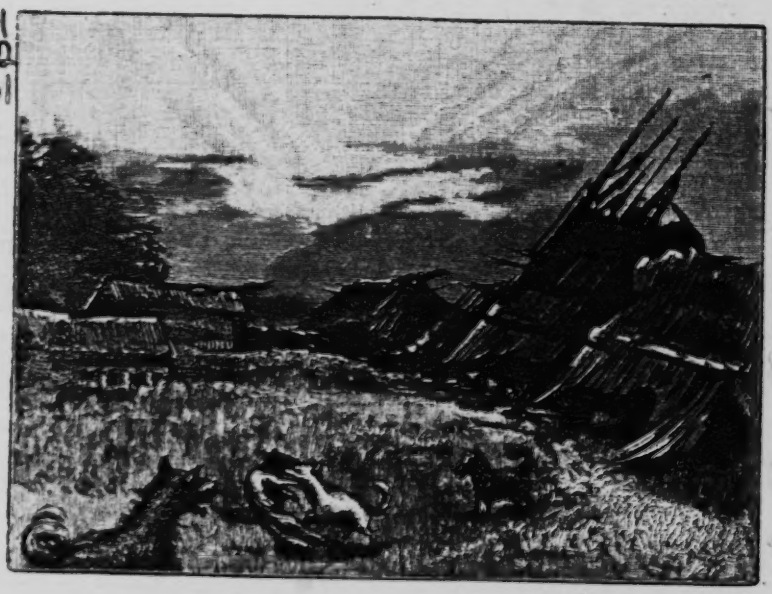
From Esashi the coast is extremely rough and rocky for about eight miles. I had to take my famished pony up and down steep mountains rising directly from the sea in places where the beach was impassable. Owing to the lack of grass my wretched beast had but little to eat ; and what with the danger of riding, and the miserable condition my pony was in, I had to walk most of the way and lead him. Shanoi, about thirteen miles further, came in sight—a group of wretched fishermen's huts ; and from here the coast was somewhat better. The scenery all along is beautiful, especially looking back towards the Shanoi Mountains. I saw one or two abandoned huts blown down by the wind, but no people.

Near Shanoi the eruptive rocks and granitic cliffs suddenly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

361
342
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

for about four miles, and forming a kind of lagoon at its outlet, which seems now to be working towards the northward again. All the other rivers on the west coast tend northward owing to the drift-sand which the current brings north. It is strange that the Teshio should partly be an exception to this rule, though we have ample evidence, even in this watercourse, of the movement of the sand, for the bar at its mouth almost entirely blocks its entrance, and rapidly works in a northerly direction. Thus there is no doubt that the sand travels towards the north all along the west coast.

Sea-trout is abundant in the Teshio River, but salmon, with which this stream formerly abounded, are now less plentiful owing to the sand-bar which blocks the entrance.

A gale was blowing fiercely when I crossed the lagoon in a small Ainu "dug-out," and my pony was made to swim across. Two or three times we nearly capsized, and we shipped a lot of water. It was just like sitting in a bath with water up to my waist; but the Ainu, who had as much as he could do to paddle me across and tow the pony as well, comforted me by saying, "Now that his 'dug-out' was full, we could not ship any more water, and that his skiff, being made of wood, could not sink!"

After a long struggle we got safely to the other side, and the Ainu boatman guided me for a mile or so to the fishing village at the mouth of the river. It has but ten huts, all more or less miserable. The pony was so done up that he was hardly fit to carry my traps, much less could he have borne my weight. I could not get a fresh animal, so I had to push forward walking, and dragging the beast on as well as I could. This had the advantage of keeping me warm, which I needed badly, for what with the cold and my dilapidated costume I was more nearly frozen to death than was pleasant. The track was heavy in the soft sand, and the dangerous and numerous quicksand streams were enough to make a saint swear—if swearing would have done any good. How unspeakably desolate it all was! Not a soul to be met; not a hut to be seen! Here and there more wreckage and driftwood on the shore, telling of storms and death, and the absence of all human aid. At last I came in sight of an Ainu hut; but as I drew near I found that it was abandoned. My meals,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

579 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during 985 the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for 264 meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos- [136] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are 136 innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the [168] custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

131 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscend- 512
ing shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1; [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scence[1] of hunting shifted 224
accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usu- 221
ally done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams [231]
down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less [433]
supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed [132]
by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with [231]
dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs [411]
as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting [462]
by women and children. [561]

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown 224 [136]

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[46]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
136 for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
278 with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
231 bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
237 Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
439 anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
433 ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
137 could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[46].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[47]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

825 With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
342 in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

[P 121]

III

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
[127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

in August (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17) or early September (SANO, 1950, p. 16) and ending around October (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17). After entering rivers, cherry salmon continue their runs feeding and growing until they become full spawners, so that they go scattering into all tributaries, large and small (IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13) and spawn in the upper reaches (ŌNO, 1933, p. 17; SANO, 1950, p. 16) or uppermost reaches of the streams (HANDA, 1933, p. 16). There is no running up into the glens in the upper reaches of the rivers until breeding begins (oral information from the Chitose Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, 1957). For the spawning behaviour of cherry salmon, which resembles that of O. keta (SANO, 1950, p. 19), see description in Note 28. 136

(27) The importance of the dog salmon as food for the Ainu may be illustrated by a record of about 200 Ainus dying from starvation in Ishikari during the winter of 1725 and the following spring after disastrously short salmon runs in the river Ishikari during the autumn (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 301 and Vol. 7, p. 56). Another record shows that in 1884 salmon runs in the middle course of the Tokapchi were so small that the Ainu in that area were on the verge of starvation in February of the following year (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 171 and 188). 262 136

(28) Concerning spawning behaviour, spawning-beds and spawning grounds. 136

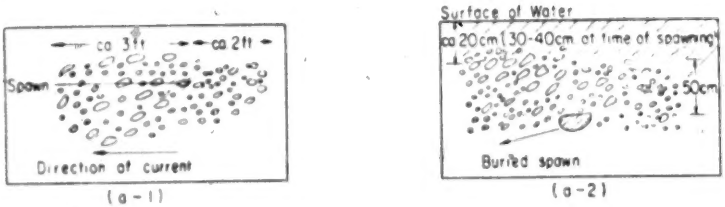
The spawning behaviour of the dog salmon as described by SANO and NAGASAWA (1958, p. 12) may be summarized as follows. When salmon running in shoals reach favourable spots, they disperse to mate for spawning. The female digs out a cavity in the river bed, while its mate goes round on patrol to keep off any invading males, at times going some distance in driving them off. In about an hour the spawning cavity is ready, and the pair nestle down in it and emit spawn and milt. This over, the female covers up the spawn laid with some gravel from the river bed and finishes the whole work. The covering takes about two hours, during which time the male stays by the bed to protect it from digging by any other individual. Spawning, however, seldom completes in one place; soon after one spawning many individuals begin preparing for another. A second spawning, if any, is performed by the same pair of fish in a place not far from their first spawning-bed. When everything is over, the female stays about its bed, becoming gradually emaciated until finally it dies.

Observations in the Shiraoi indicate that the parent fish lie in hiding in bank-side deeps during the daytime and come out for spawning between nightfall and daybreak. Unless when running in large shoals or pressed for immediate spawning, they generally spawn by night, most actively near day-

1, [Errata: the word "seme" should read "same". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

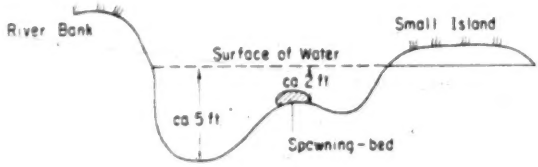
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

136



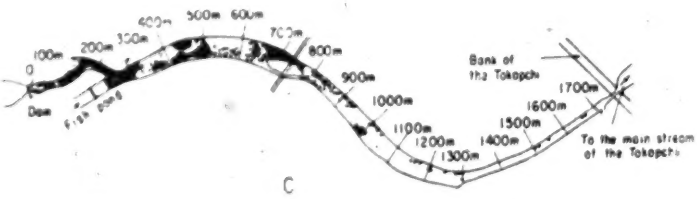
A

Fig. A. Spawning-bed. (a-1), ground plan; (a-2), cross section. (Shiraoi Jigy -jyō, 1956, p. 6).



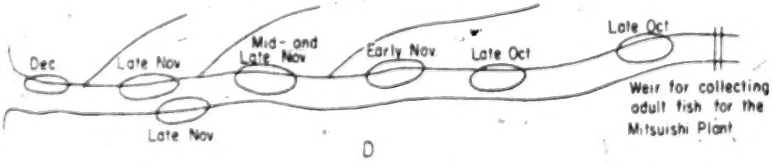
B

Fig. B. Cross section of a spawning-bed in Area B in the Shiraoi. (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1956, p. 4).



C

Fig. C. Distribution of natural spawning-beds and spawning grounds in a small tributary of the Tokapchi. (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 3).



D

Fig. D. Distribution of the spawning areas or grounds as related to the time of their occurence. (Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō, 1956).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

break. In fact, any species of fish, whether spawning or not, behave more actively by night than by day (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1956, p. 4; oral information obtained from Chitose Branch of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery in 1957). 136

An individual spawning-bed may be readily detected by the presence of a number of relatively large pebbles showing in one spot. An example of the form and size of the bed is shown in Fig. A (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō 1956, p. 6).

A markd tendency is that the dog salmon spawns generally in a relatively shallow place where gravel and underwater springs concur (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 4). The same tendency is reported from Shiraoi, as will be seen from Fig. B (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō 1956, p. 4). Accordingly, spawning-beds in any stream are distributed in some particular areas or grounds, in groups or concentrations of different sizes and densities. Fig. C illustrates the distribution of spawning-beds and spawning grounds observed and recorded in the Mem, a small tributary of the Tokapchi (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 3). Natural spawning grounds or concentrations of spawning-beds annually recur in practically the same sites (Shiraoi Jigyō-jyō, 1953, p. 3).

The time of spawning is influenced primarily by the temperature of the river water; the higher the temperature, the longer the period needed for the salmon to grow into full spawners in any particular stream. Shoals, therefore, running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn, while those running later as the water becomes colder have less to travel; the last spawning-beds of the season in Hitaka, for instance, occur at 2-3 km. from the river mouth (oral information obtained from the Chitose Branch of the Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery in 1957). The distribution of the spawning areas or grounds as related to the time of their occurence in the Mituishi in 1956 is shown in Fig. D (Mitsuishi Jigyō-jyō, 1956).

Observation and recording of the actual conditions of natural spawning-beds in the Hokkaido rivers, however, began only in 1956 (Hokkaidō Sake Masu Fuka-jyō, 1956). As a matter of fact, every river ascended by the dog salmon in Hokkaido today has some governmental installations near its mouth and/or on its lower course for capturing parent fish to yield spawn for arificial incubation. As a result, only a small number of individuals now spawn naturally, while those running and spawning above the installations are few in the extreme (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, p. 2; NISHINO, 1958, p. 51). Investigations by the present writer indicate that before the general opening up of the island by the Japanese dog salmon had always swarmed the upper reaches of the rivers, that large-scale spawning grounds had been distributed along the river courses and that they had great influence on the distribution of Ainu settlements. The distribution of spawning grounds as Ainu local group territories will be shown in the text (pp. 60-62) and their more detailed location is described elsewhere (WATANABE, 1962).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup*, *shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioned and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* [825] in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho,' occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery).

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 31 The deer, Cervus nippon, drops its white spots in autumn and turns its coat into winter fur. The change completes itself, in Japan proper at least, between late September and mid-October, the older the individuals the earlier. The mating period extends from early October to late December with the height in mid-October to early November, at which time males bell most (IMAIZUMI, 1949, p. 139, cited from NAKAJIMA). In Hokkaido the mating time is said to cover the period from late September to October (INUKAI, 1952, p. 41).

32 Seasonal migration of the deer.—It is noticed in a report by INUKAI, 1952), a zoologist, that, apart from and parallel to local migrations of deer between their wintering quarters on the hills and the lower plain within the same river valley, there occurred others on a larger scale extending over different river valleys, and that this habit (latter migrations) of the game was turned to account in some districts by Ainu hunters.

"The wild deer of Hokkaido fed on wild plants of almost every kind. ....Leaves of bamboo-grass, grazed in all seasons, were their chief winter food....

"Formerly (i.e. before the opening up by the Japanese Government got under way, that is, before the 1880's), while each summer lasted and food was plentiful everywhere, small herds of deer could be seen scattered all over the island. Late in autumn every year, before winter came with deep snow which buried all food plants, the deer of Teshio, Ishikari and Shiribeshi migrated in large flocks to Ifuri, Hitaka, Tokapchi, Kushiro and Nemuro. Far more flocked to Hitaka and Tokapchi than elsewhere, making these excellent hunting grounds for the Ainu.

"Before its opening up, the whole island was covered with dense forests; deer roamed about by trails known as 'deer paths,' reputed to have been so well beaten that they looked like human ways. These tracks they followed in their seasonal migrations in spring and again in autumn. When their way came to large rivers such as the Ishikari, they always swam across at the same points, thus affording ideal sites for Ainu hunters lying in wait, as has already been stated....A similar description is given by BATCHELER (of the deer of the west crossing rivers on their way to Ifuri in the east during September and October)...."In spring when it thawed, deer went back by the same routes from their wintering in Hitaka and Tokapchi. And this they had repeated year after year until they became scarce. Then they ceased to move on any large scale but stayed the whole year in their winter quarters in Hitaka and Tokapchi. They no more had need to venture a long way from these wintering areas where they could find plenty of food plants to support their small herds" (INUKAI, 1952, pp. 14-16).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10). 136 224 [103]

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned. 136 224 103

(34) Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer 224

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 hunting was by use of arrows poisoned with aconite, whether for hand-bow or spring-bow, is confirmed by a study of INUKAI (INUKAI, 1952). He reports also of a mass technique employed by hunters working together, or driving a deer herd by using dogs down a precipice and then clubbing them to death, and another of capturing the game after driving them into a lake or the sea. Setting the noose on a trail was also practised in some areas, but this does not seem to have been common.

136 (35) The species Ursus arctos are distributed over Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands excluding the middle part, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, the Maritime Provinces, northern Manchuria, Siberia and even Europe. Some of the brown bears in Hokkaido reach as large as 2 ms. or more in length and 300 to 400 kgs in weight (INUKAI, 1933, p. 57).

(36) Ursus arctos of Hokkaido.—Its ethology and ecology concerning Ainu hunting will be summarized from zoological descriptions given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933 and 1934) as follows.

a) When the snow on the lower damp places begins to melt and the surface of the ground begins to appear in spring, bears come out of their dens one after another even though the snow still remains on the mountains. There are some fluctuations in different areas and in different years; however, in any case, they begin to leave their hibernation dens in late March and are mostly out already by the end of May (HATTA, 1911, p. 34) or by mid-May (INUKAI, 1933, p. 63). At about the time their winter fur turns into summer fur (ibid.).

b) When the base snow reaches 2 or 3 inches deep, every bear retreats into a den. In most years and areas, the base snow forms in Hokkaido between mid-November and mid-December (HATTA, p. 35). It is also reported that most bears start hibernation in November and there is a tendency of bears with cubs or in pregnancy retreating earlier than others (INUKAI, 1933, p. 59). INUKAI states that their winter fur begins to turn into summer fur about mid-May and the summer fur back into winter fur in November (ibid., p. 63).

c) Bears, excluding cubs, usually hibernate each in a separate den (HATTA, 1911, p. 36; INUKAI, p. 63). The cubs are born in the dens in January (ibid., p. 37) or during the period from January to March (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64). In most cases, the number of cubs at one birth is 2 (HATTA, 1911, p. 37) or 1-2 (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64).

d) Usually the dens are natural caves. However, holes under the roots of big trees, or under rocks, or in the earth are also utilized (HATTA, p. 35). There is also contrary information that most bears dig the holes themselves though some make use of natural caves or holes of big trees (INUKAI, 1933,

p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63). 136 [423]

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953). 127

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

44 1 Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

136 the South to winter there (ibid., pp. 409-11).

3) Japanese cuckoo, Cuculus canorus telephonus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of May to the early part of June, migrating to Malay and New Guinea in winter (ibid., pp. 406-8). In Obihiro on the middle course of the Tokapchi the mean date of its first appearance is May 15th in 1958 it was May 21st (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, ed., 1959).

1,[Errata: "15th in 1958" should read "15th; in 1958". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari*
[136] *koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or 15 at Nina on the Saru. 226 [184]

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun ki-ha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape. [221] [251] [361]

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears. 823 776

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*. 226 [136] [501] 226 825 [782]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

I know of one district by the sea where the people are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There 137
is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these 262
are very sour, the people and the bears relish them much. They are not preserved in any way but are gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mul- [251]
berries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places. An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit, eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are inordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*) were also used for food in the early spring when very young. They were taken and first boiled, then pounded in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and dried for future consumption. A good deal, however, was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and that it has been the means of keeping many alive throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound 252
chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Sometimes animal fat was also added, and this made a very rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told 339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau, i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
291
137

CHIEF PENRI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

[p. 304]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

824 "When those hunters who are acquainted with the
224 cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting
782 expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called
[137] good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

755 When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirempa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirempa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

●137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing [396] boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of 008 it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* [262] The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni*. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lod- 117
ged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744]
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

bushels) and of other grains, wheat, barley, and rye, 15,369 koku (79,000 bushels). These quantities are quite insufficient to sustain the population, which draws its principal supplies from the main island of Japan.

137 The island is well wooded. The spruce, chestnut, walnut, mountain ash, beech, birch, elm, maples, and pines are the most common trees. The maples in the north belong to the large-leaved variety, and are not the same as those of the main island of Japan, the leaves of which are very small. In many parts there is a thick, almost impenetrable undergrowth of scrub bamboo, scarcely exceeding 3 to 4 feet in height, but very unpleasant for the traveler. In the forests, one passes through mile after mile of this luxuriant growth, along narrow trails which can be followed only by an almost imperceptible depression in the general level of the green tops.

102
103

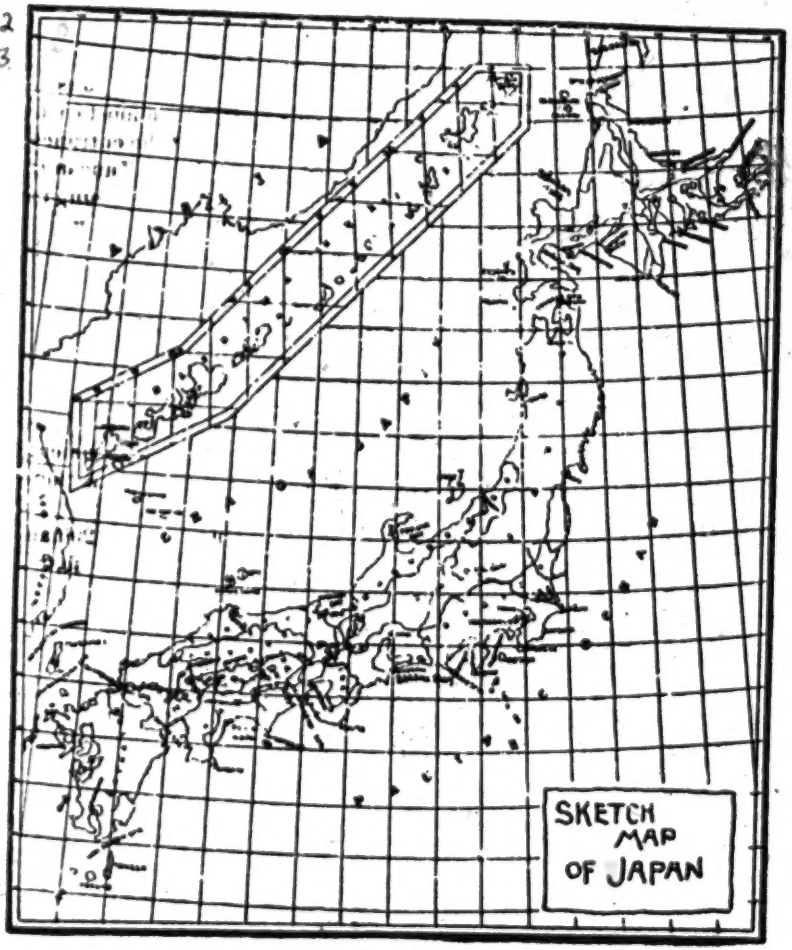


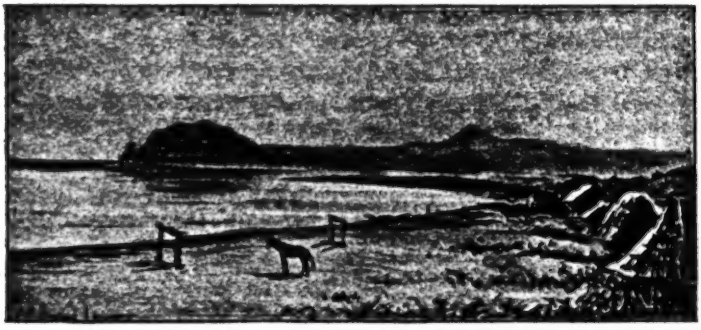
Fig. 62.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

means a grassy plain; and *buto* is a Japanese corruption of the Ainu word *huts*, the mouth of a river. My ponies must have known of this "grassy plain," for they went remarkably well, and I reached the latter village some time before dark, so that I was able to push on to Saru Mombets, a larger village nearly four miles further. Saru Mombets translated means "a tranquil river in a grassy plain," a name thoroughly appropriate to the locality.

There is nothing to interest the traveller along the coast, unless he be a geologist. Almost the whole of the western part of the Iburi district is of volcanic formation. The eastern part is abundant in sandstones, breccias, and shales. In the neighbourhood of Yuhuts, and all along the coast as far west as Horobets, pumice forms the surface soil, showing that in former days frequent eruptions must have taken place. Vegetable mould alternates with pumice. Sand, clay, tufa, with beds of peat and gravel, are the components of the soil which is found filling up the declivities of mountains, covering low-lands and sea-beaches in this part of the island. Specimens of the palæozoic group are found in the pebbles of the Mukawa River and valley, like amphibolite, limestone, phyllite, sandstone, and clay-slate, besides variegated quartzite of greenish and red layers. Primary rocks are common all through Iburi and Hidaka.

The terraces surrounding the Saru valley are mostly wooded with oak, and the swampy region between the Mukawa and Sarubuto has many patches of green grass, and a thick growth of high swamp reeds.



HOROBETS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is a kind of a jungle, in fact," said they, "in which yellow and black bears are plentiful. The rivers, which are numerous, are swollen by the heavy rains that have fallen lately. The natives up the river are unsociable and bad, and they will kill you. Then in the high grass horse-flies, black-flies, and mosquitoes abound."

"If you attempt it alone," said the wise man of the party, "you will not come back alive."

These reports were not encouraging, but, anyhow, I determined that, Irish as it may sound, *dead* or *alive*, if there were any Ainu up the stream I would see them. Owing to the difficulty of taking even my usual baggage, and not wishing to burden my ponies with more than was necessary, I decided to carry with me only a paint-box, many wooden sketching panels, my diary, and my revolver. I left all my other things at Otsu to wait for my return.

"Should you not come back again, can I keep all your belongings as my property?" kindly enquired the landlord of the tea-house, when I bade good-bye to him and to all the villagers who had collected round early in the morning to see me start.

I took two ponies, as usual. I left Otsu at dawn, and followed as well as I could the winding course of the river. Not far from Otsu I came to the thick jungle of high reeds and tall grass of which I had already heard. I made my way through the first obstructions; but I had not been in the jungle more than a few minutes when I was simply devoured by horse-flies, mosquitoes, and black-flies. My ponies were kicking, bucking, and trying to bolt, as they also were literally covered with horse-flies, sucking their blood and stinging them to madness. The reeds and grass were about ten or twelve feet high, so that, being higher than myself on my horse, I could not see where I was going. I kept along the river bank as much as I could; but in many places it was difficult to get through the ravines which one invariably finds along rivers, so I kept a little way off on the west side, and had the noise of the running river to guide me. For many wearisome hours I rode through this jungle, the dividing reeds continually rubbing against my face, arms, and legs, sometimes making pretty deep cuts with their razor-edged long leaves. The huge

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 137 *shirau*—the horse-flies—grew more and more tiresome as the sun got warmer, and my head and hands were swollen and bleeding. The sun was by this time high in the sky, but there were no signs of the jungle coming to an end, no indications of huts anywhere near—no other noise but the sound of the crashing reeds and the running water of the river. My ponies were feeding well, as grass was plentiful; but I was faring badly. What with the exertion of keeping the ponies in order, while the densely-entangled reeds nearly dragged me off the saddle—what with the plague of mosquitoes and horse-flies, added to the sense of weakness caused by fatigue and hunger—it was really a terrible time for me—one of the worst episodes in my life. Nevertheless, I persevered, and went on and on, determined to reach my destination. I came upon two very large swamps, which forced me to make a wide *détour*. The ponies were very tired, and so was I. When darkness set in I halted, took the heavy pack-saddles off the ponies, and tied the animals to them, so that they could not bolt during the night; and wearied, disheartened, and discouraged as I was, I began to think how stupid I had been to start on such an expedition without carrying any provisions with me—without having provided myself with even a tent or a covering of any kind.

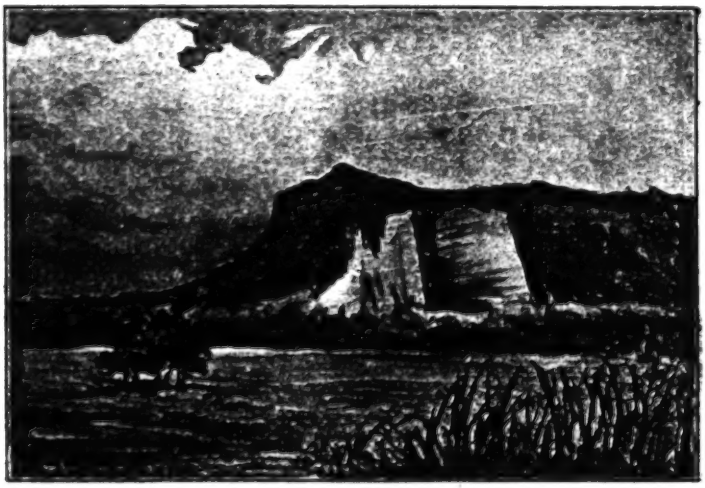
Circumstances made me a philosopher. What is the use of worrying about things that cannot be helped? After all, when you get accustomed to it, starving is really not so bad as people think. One of my ponies was of a sentimental disposition, and he seemed to understand my troubles. He came close and rubbed himself against me, placing his head near mine. It was touching, and in the solitude in which I was the sympathy of the dumb beast was as precious as that of a human being. Had he been able to speak, he might have been taken for a Christian, and a good one, too! He had been fearfully stung by horse-flies, and my petting him seemed to alleviate his pain. There is nothing like sympathy and a little personal kindness if one wants to make friends with animals. The last few rays of light were spent in putting together the notes which I had taken during the day, and which enabled me to draw a sketch-map of the river. At [122] Horoizumi some days previously I was able to buy myself

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on and on, and, as my ponies did not seem to be very tired, I tried to reach the coast that night. It grew dark, but the night was fine, and I let the noise of the running river guide me. Each minute seemed an hour, each hour an age. I rode and rode, and still rode, till I was nearly exhausted; and still I was surrounded by the tall reeds and rushes. "Thank God!" I heartily exclaimed, when finally, at a small hour of the morning, I found myself in open ground again, and the wind brought in waves the salt smell of the sea.

An hour or so afterwards two tired ponies were easily pulled up at the tea-house at Otsu, the landlord was roused, and a wearied and half-starved traveller was let in.

133
137



THE SHIKARUBETS OTCHIRSH.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 was still, and only now and then some huge owl, awakened by the noise of my steps from its day's long sleep, would fly away, starting off on its night's peregrinations and depredations. I walked mile after mile, and finally struck the rails again. On a white post I saw a cipher in Chinese characters, which brought me back to the reality that I was still seventeen miles away from Shibetcha. I followed the line of rail as closely as I could, and late at night I reached Shibetcha. I roused the people at the *Marui yadoya*, and, having eaten some salmon and water soup, I retired to my *futangs*, between which, it is useless to say, I slept well. I had walked forty-two odd miles that day, and it had been a pleasant change from the continuous riding on pack-saddles.

The next day I rode down to the coast to the bay of Akkeshi, about forty-two miles east of Kushiro. The road [137] is very good all the way, and has on each side woods of oak and pine trees. The traffic on it is at present very small, and the only living creatures I saw during the twenty-eight or thirty [136] miles were a beautiful long-tailed red fox and a number of Japanese convicts led by a policeman. These were dressed in red trousers and a short red coat made of coarse material. They were walking in a row, and they were chained two by two, and, moreover, a long rope joined the chain of each couple to that of the next, so that all couples were tied together. The end of this rope was held by the policeman. Some of them wore large hats entirely covering their face; others wore no hat at all, and had their head shaved in a peculiar manner. They were mostly bare-footed, but a few wore straw sandals. The Government wisely makes use of these convicts in opening roads and other public works, and after their term of punishment is expired, these men almost invariably become fishermen. A great part of the Japanese population of Yezo is composed of exiles and ex-convicts; in other words, Yezo is nothing more or less to Japan than what Australia was to England some years ago.

Nearing the coast I passed the "Tonden" of Hondemura, a colonial militia farming settlement. A long line of new houses, all exactly alike in shape and size, and built at intervals, stretches on each side of the wide road. Each of these houses is inhabited by a man who has served his time as a soldier,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[134] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[131] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of
seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 tion. On a pretty bit of green grass in the foreground, only a few feet above the sea-level, were a shed and a storehouse. A reef and shallow water closed the entrance of the bay to the foaming waves of the Pacific. In the sheltered water, which was as smooth as a mirror, the dark rich colour of the overhanging rocks, caressed by the last warm rays of the dying sun, was reflected with absolute fidelity and almost increased loveliness. A cold whitish sky, and the *white horses* breaking on the reef, completed the *ensemble* of that lovely scene; and it was with great regret, after having attempted a sketch, that I was told my horse was ready, and I had to leave this poetical and exquisite scene.

172 On the slight elevations near Otchishi, and in the valley, pits are still to be seen, showing that the pit-dwellers were once numerous in this district. They are found both along the coast as well as slightly inland by the side of small rivers, and on the shores of the Saruffu lagoon. A well-kept road 000 begins at Otchishi, and goes on to Nemuro. At first it runs over hilly ground and through an oak-wooded country, then [139] through thick forests of spruce trees, the trees standing very close together. About four miles from Nemuro a military settlement—"Hanasaki"—similar to the one on the Shibetcha-Akkeshi road, has been established by the Japanese Government. Here, again, I was struck by the difficulty and the amount of labour involved in clearing the trees off the ground. It will take many years before the industrious farmers will have any return for their hard labour. I do not know what the object of the Japanese Government may have been in starting these two militia settlements in spots so unfit for cultivation, but it seems a great pity to see the Tokachi region, which has all the requisites for successful agriculture, quite deserted, while hundreds of men are wasting their strength and time at other places, where it will take several years to open enough ground for even a kitchen-garden.

Past the long row of houses at Hanasaki the road descends gently, and I arrived at Nemuro, a thriving place of about fifteen hundred houses, on the south-west coast of the plateau-like peninsula ending at Cape Noshafu. The general elevation of the plateau is between sixty and one hundred and twenty feet

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level, and the high land is covered with under-growth and stunted trees, such as scrub bamboo, oak, birch, and alder, the east winds and fogs no doubt preventing the latter from attaining a larger growth. Some low islands and reefs lie north and south off Cape Noshafu, and make navigation very unsafe for the small coasting crafts which sometimes during the summer call at Nemuro for sea-weed, herring, salt, salmon, and herring guano; the first exported chiefly to China, the others to Tokio and Southern Japan. Herrings are caught in large numbers during the spring and summer, and the export of fish-manure would be considerably increased if the harbour at Nemuro could be safely entered by larger ships. As it is now, though well sheltered by the small island of Bentenjima, it can only harbour small ships, as, besides not being deep, its entrance is narrow and of difficult access during the thick fogs of the summer. In the winter and part of the spring the harbour and the coast as far as Noshafu Cape are blocked with drift ice, thus stopping navigation altogether. The trade from the adjoining coast and the Kurile Islands concentrates at this port, and as a farming region the small portion of available land north-west of the town has given fairly good results. Horse-breeding has proved a success for the local wants, but hardly so in producing a fine breed of horses. Cattle-breeding, on the other hand, has been a failure all through, owing to the severe weather in winter, which the imported animals could not stand. In spite of strong easterly winds, heavy fogs, ice, and snow, fair crops of *daikon*, potatoes, turnips, barley, beans, wheat, and hemp are successfully raised here, as the soil is of extremely good quality. As to the town itself, it is prettily laid out, the streets crossing each other at right angles, while some of the houses are built in semi-European style, to meet the severity of the climate. A Shinto temple is erected on the high level; and from this is obtained a fine bird's-eye view of the harbour and town, with the numerous storehouses overlooking the sea.

As I have given a short description of the town—uninteresting save from a commercial point of view—I feel that I owe a few lines to its go-ahead inhabitants. Belonging, nearly all, to a young and adventurous generation, they reminded me of the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

all mountainous, with the exception of a small valley near Rubets. It is along the banks of the Bettobu River, in that small valley and on those terraces, that the numerous pits of the Koro-pok-kuru are found, and also at Rupets, further south on the same coast. This, however, I have already explained in connection with the pit-dwellers. The two small fishing-stations above mentioned are respectively under the lee of the headlands ending in Cape Ikahasonets and Notoro Cape. On the first headland the mountain of Tsiriju rises to a great altitude. The largest fishing-station is at Shana, on the western side of this headland, and further north, besides Bettobu, is the small station of Shibets. South-west of Shana one finds Rubets, Furubets, Oitoi, and Naibo, the latter in the bay of the same name. There are five lakes in Etorofu, two of which are between Shana and Bettobu, one near Rubets, the other close to Naibo; the fifth is a very small one, fifteen or sixteen miles north-east of Bettobu. The country has a rugged look, and in some places, as near Rubets, where the volcanic mountain masses leave space for low terraces the scrub-bamboo is very thick, as in Yezo, and small and stunted trees form the chief vegetation. Larch is more common on the north-west coast than on the south-east. Good timber is rather scarce in Etorofu, but a fair quantity of it is to be found inland, and also at the south-western portion of the island about Naipo.

Accumulations of sulphur are found at Ichibishinai, and there is an active volcano south-east of Bettobu, besides the beautiful volcanic cone of Atzosa, three or four thousand feet above sea-level. All this volcanic mountain mass, with its warmly-tinted peaks, bears the characteristics of the central portion of Yezo; and there seems to be little doubt that all this row of islands, with the frequent submerged craters and volcanic cones, is nothing but the continuation of the volcanic zone in Yezo. The main resource of Etorofu is the fishing. Four different kinds of salmon and salmon-trout are found, one similar to the salmon common in Yezo, the others somewhat differently marked. Salmon is extremely plentiful, and in July and August enormous catches are made, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where the fish are closely packed together.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same extent as on the south-east coast. A peculiarity of the 133
river is that before entering the sea it turns sharply south and runs along a bank of sand and mud, which is growing larger every year, which shows that a current from the Okhotsk Sea must travel down in that direction through the strait between Kunashiri and Yezo. The same peculiarity is noticeable in nearly all the rivers of the north-east coast.

From Shibets to Wembets the track is fairly even, but from Wembets round Cape Shiretoko it is in many places impassable even on foot. The Peninsula, ending in Cape Shiretoko, is a mass of high volcanic mountains towards the interior, while scabrous cliffs and huge rocks fringe the line of coast. However, from Shibets there is a small mountain track inland which brings the traveller across to the north-east coast near Shari. The track was through beautiful forests of pine trees, [137]
oak, birch, and elm, and during the first few miles it is on almost level ground. After that, hill after hill is ascended and descended, and one goes ever onwards at a higher altitude, until Rubets, a small shed, is reached. From here the track follows a zig-zag direction till it reaches the summit of the mountain range, and one then begins to descend on the other side. From the summit there is a lovely view of beautiful blue mountains in the distant west, one of which is called Oakan, and the other Moyokan. The mountainous part of the track from Igiani, three miles from Shibets, as far as the north-east coast, reminded me much of the scenery in Switzerland, with its rapid and limpid fresh-water rivers, thickly-wooded country, and green grass, which last was replaced here by an undergrowth of scrub bamboo. When I 000
went across this mountain pass the rain was pouring in torrents, and the road, such as it was, being very slippery and heavy, I only reached the north-east coast at dark. The moon would not rise till late, there were heavy black clouds, and I was more than puzzled how to find my way.

To add to my bad luck, my pony this time was a sorry beast, with his back a mass of sores. I was simply drenched with the rain that never ceased. Now and then, by the blinding flash of lightning, I could see a long stretch of sand and a line of sand-hills; I could also see the reeds bending low under the squalls, and then everything was darkness again. I was

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a, p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3]. From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI, 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417]
wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231]
which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[38]. 137 ●

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3. Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4. Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5. Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6. Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7. Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8. Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9. Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10. Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11. Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12. Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13. Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14. Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15. Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16. Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17. Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18. Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19. Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
Plants for raw materials:			
314 824 20. Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21. Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22. Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23. At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24. Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25. Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26. Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27. Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During
spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the
Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected.
Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [46]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain
kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though
not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collect-
ing activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow
poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and
collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1. [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory 127 an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

(2) Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hok- 132 kaido (Tokyo Témmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8).

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

(3) So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a 137 large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [144] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 230-245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

[144] microscopical investigations. He found that the hair of the head was coarse, slightly curved, and of a pure black color. The hairs are not so numerous over a given area of the head as on Japanese or Europeans. On 1 square centimetre 214 hairs were counted. On a Japanese with rather fine hair he found 286; on another with coarser hair, 252; on a fine-haired German, 280; on another with coarser hair, 272.*

Nevertheless, the volume of hair on the Ainos is not small, since this depends both upon the number and the size of the hairs. The Aino hair is oval in section, and the greatest diameter is from 0.1 to 0.125 millimetres. The measurements were made by securing single hairs in a cylinder of wood and by turning this about, measuring the diameters with a microscope. The following measurements are given:

Aino No. 1	One large hair ..	0.078	0.125
Aino No. 2.....	One hair	0.090	0.106
Aino No. 3	....do	0.085	0.127
Aino No. 4.....	....do	0.095	0.127
	....do	0.093	0.128
	....do	0.090	0.140
Aino No. 5.....	....do	0.067	0.106
	....do	0.079	0.111
	....do	0.079	0.111

The flattening is in proportion of 2 to 3. According to the same authority the hair of the upper body is principally about the middle of the breast and on the line below. The breast hairs were 6 millimetres in length, about twenty-four on a square centimetre. They measured 0.106 by 0.069 millimetres in diameter.

In addition to these observations, Mr. John Aspinwall has examined several specimens of hair which I obtained—not without evident misgivings on the part of the people—from the Ainos at Piratori. Mr. Aspinwall's measurements have been numerous, and his results are given here in considerable detail.

[126]

REPORT OF MR. JOHN ASPINWALL.

In accordance with your request, I have made a microscopical examination of the five samples of Aino hair collected by you. Two objects were kept in mind in this examination: First, I wished to obtain a true cross-section; second, To discover the true relation of the plane of natural curvature of the hair to the figure of the cross-section.

To obtain the first, it seemed necessary that no more pressure should be given to the hair than that exerted by the knife of the microtome in cutting. This was accomplished by splitting a cork, placing the hair upon it with its plane of natural curvature parallel to the cut, partially embedding it in a gelatine-glycerine mass, and then laying the other half of the cork gently on the hairs without disturbing them. The cork with the inclosed hairs was immersed in alcohol as soon as the imbedding mass had set, and there allowed to remain until the mass was hardened

* It has been found by Dr. Wilson that the number of hairs per square inch upon the head of a fairly healthy person is 1,066, which gives for the entire head the number 127,920. Some persons have as many as 150,000 hairs on the head.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

sufficiently far cutting. The cork here acted as a backing to the imbedding mass while the hairs were held in place for mounting. In clamping in the microtome, care was taken to clamp far enough below the cutting plane to avoid pressure on the hair at the cutting point. In this manner I believe a true cross-section was obtained, as shown in my photographs of the sections. 141

A different mode of treatment seemed to be necessary to obtain the true relation of the plane of curvature to the form of the cross-section. If sections of the hair were made by the above method, the relation of the curve to the shape of the section would only be obtained at the point of cutting. This would be sufficient if the relation were constant, but if the relation varied in the same hair, it would not be shown by such a method. I therefore resorted to the examination of a single hair in which the natural curve had evidently been preserved. The hair was cut with sharp scissors as nearly at right angles to the axis as possible. The hair being placed in the stage-forceps, the surface of the cut was brought into focus and measured with an eye-piece micrometer. It was cut again, both across the long axis and then across the short axis. Under this treatment the oval sections did not vary sensibly in character, and the lengths of the axes were not affected to any extent by the direction of the cuts. This was done to a number of hairs until I was convinced that the direction of the cut would not perceptibly alter the shape of the section or the direction of the long axis. After this all hairs were cut in one direction, and I think the tables given prove that the mode of cutting gave true results.

It will be seen by the tables that the plane of curvature, in its relation to the longest diameter of the section, as well as the shape of the cross-section itself, varies, in many instances in the same hair, both with man and woman. My observations in this direction were limited to three of the samples of hair sent, because they were the only ones that had been cut off sharp in a lock. The other samples were not in a condition to show the natural curvature. These latter samples I carefully cut with the scissors in three places, viz, at the butt, middle, and end. These faces were carefully measured with the results given in the tables. The scissors seemed to crack the hairs across, leaving a clean surface capable of being accurately measured.

AINO HAIR.

Specimen No. 1.

[Measurements in millimetres made from sections.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Figure of the cross-section.
1.....	.113	.0756	Oval.
2.....	.1235	.103	Do.
3.....	.1083	.069	Do.
4.....	.1063	.0706	Do.
5.....	.0882	.0617	Round (irregular).
6.....	.0894	.0411	Oval.
7.....	.079	.0706	Round (approximately).
8.....	.0882	.079	Oval.
9.....	.1046	.0723	Oval (approximately).
10.....	.1063	.0617	Oval.
11.....	.0894	.079	Do.
12.....	.103	.0882	Do.
13.....	.0723	.0659	Round (approximately).
14.....	.0756	.069	Do.
15.....	.0517	.0477	Do.
16.....	.079	.0583	Oval.

Average of long axes ..... .09088
Average of short axes ..... .07431
Or nearly related as 1 to 1¼.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Specimen marked No. 3. Aino hair from man named Beari.

[The measurements read downward, i. e., the first is at butt of hair, the second near the middle, and the third near the end. Measurements are in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of the section.
1	.1475	.132	White	Oval.
	.168	.09		Do.
	.123	.0655		Do.
2	.132	.1	Black	Not noted.
	.168	.1		
	.132	.0655		
3	.115	.082	do	Oval.
	.132	.1		Approximate triangle.
	.15	.05		Oval.
4	.082	.082	do	Round.
	.1	.0655		Oval.
	.082	.05		Do.
5	.1155	.115	White	Approximate round.
	.168	.082		Approximate oval.
	.1685	.082		Oval.
6	.132	.1	do	Do.
	.168	.1		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
7	.132	.1	do	Do.
	.132	.115		Triangle.
	.1	.0655		Oval.
8	.15	.082	do	Do.
	.198	.1		Do.
	.168	.115		Do.
9	.1	.082	Black	Approximate oval.
	.1	.082		Do.
	.115	.082		Do.
10	.168	.1	White	Do.
	.15	.115		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
11	.082	.0655	Black	Approximate round.
	.115	.05		Oval.
	.082	.03		Do.
12	.082	.0655	do	Do.
	.1	.0655		Do.
	.1	.05		Do.
13	.1	.082	do	Approximate oval.
	.1	.082		Do.
	.1	.0655		Oval.
14	.1	.082	do	Do.
	.115	.0655		Do.
	.0655	.050		Do.
15	.1	.082	do	Approximately round.
	.132	.082		Oval.
	.082	.03		Do.
16	.082	.082	do	Approximately round.
	.115	.0655		Oval.
	.082	.038		Do.
17	.1	.09	do	Approximately oval.
	.1	.066		Oval.
	.082	.022		Do.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Specimen marked No. 3. Aino hair from man named Henri—Continued.

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of the section.
18...	.1	.082	Black...	Oval.
	.1	.0655		Do.
	.082	.03		Do.
19...	.166	.082	White..	Do.
	.15	.09		Do.
	.1	.0655		Do.
20..	.115	.09	...do	Do.
	.168	.082		Do.
	.082	.05		Do.
21...	.122	.09	...do	Approximately oval.
	.183	.09		Oval.
	.1	.0655		Do.

AINO HAIR—MAN.

Specimen marked No. 4.

[This specimen was cut from the person and no hairs were full length, nor had they a root end. Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of cross-section and remarks.
1...	.116	.09	Black..	Oval.
	.125	.09		Do.
	.125	.09		Do.
2...	.125	.082	..do	Do.
	.125	.082		Do.
	.166	.082		Do.
3...	.14	.1	..do	Egg.
	.122	.09		Oval (approx.).
	.14	.09		Do.
4...	.115	.09	..do	Do.
	.116	.1		Oval.
	.125	.09		Do.
5...	.14	.09	..do	Do.
	.14	.09		Do.
	.0735	.0655		Do.
6...	.166	.09	..do	Oval (approx.).
	.1	.082		Do.
	.166	.0735		Oval.
7...	.09	.0655	...do	Do.
	.0735	.0655		Do.
	.0655	.036		Do.
8...	.14	.09	..do	Do.
	.14	.09		Oval (approx.).
	.183	.09		Oval.
9...	.1	.0655	...do	Do.
	.09	.0735		Do.
	.0735	.036		Do.
10...	.125	.09	... do	Do.
	.14	.09		Do.
	.125	.1		Egg.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

● 141

AINO HAIR.—WOMAN.

Specimen marked No. 5.

[These hairs were full length, with root attached. Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of hair.	Length of long axis.	Length of short axis.	Color of hair.	Figure of cross-section.
1	.108	.09	Black	Oval.
	.108	.082		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
				Do.
2	.108	.082	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.125	.09		Do.
				Do.
3	.1	.09	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
				Do.
4	.108	.09	do	Do.
	.108	.09		Do.
	.104	.09		Do.
				Do.
5	.108	.09	do	Do.
	.125	.0725		Do.
	.09	.058		Do.
				Do.
6	.09	.082	do	Do.
	.108	.082		Do.
	.09	.082		Do.
				Do.
7	.09	.09	do	Round (approx.).
	.108	.09		Oval.
	.09	.09		Round (approx.).
8	.125	.082	do	Oval.
	.115	.09		Do.
	.082	.058		Do.
9	.108	.0725	do	Do.
	.108	.0725		Do.
	.108	.09		Egg.
10	.108	.09	do	Oval.*
	.108	.082		Do.
	.108	.09		Do.

* Note that this hair is of same dimension as No. 1 in this specimen.

AINO HAIR—SPECIMEN NO 1.

Table showing relation of plane of natural curvature to the axes of the cross-section.

No. of hair.	Ratio of length of long axis to that of short axis.	Direction of plane of natural curvature.	Remarks.
1	4 to 2½	Short axis	Oval section.
2	7 to 5	do	Do.
3	8 to 4	do	Do.
4	3 to 2½	do	Do.
5	7 to 4½	Long axis at outer end, short axis at other.	Large, stiff, well curved hair, oval.
6	4 to 3 3 to 2½	At butt, short axis; at end, same.	Oval section.
7	Not noted	Butt, midway; end, long axis.	Do.
8	do	Butt, midway; end, short axis.	Do.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINO HAIR—SPECIMEN NO. 1—Continued.

Table showing relation of plane of natural curvature to the axes of the cross-section—Cont'd.

No. of hair.	Ratio of length of long axis to that of short axis.	Direction of plane of natural curvature.	Remarks.
9	Not noted	Butt, long axis; end, midway.	Oval section.
10	5 to 3	Butt, short axis; end, short axis.	Do.
11	4 to 2½	Butt, long axis; end, short axis.	Do.
12	Butt 3½ by 2¾, end 4½ by 2½.	Butt, short axis; end, long axis.	Do.
13	4 by 2½	Butt, midway; end, long axis.	Do.

SPECIMEN NO. 2.

1	7 to 4	Short axis	Oval section.
2	8 to 5½	do	Do.
3	9 to 4½	do	Do.
4	6½ to 4	Long axis	Do.
5	7 to 5	Short axis	Do.
6	8 to 5	Long axis	Do.

NOTE.—The table readily shows that the relation of the plane of natural curvature to either one of the axes of the cross-section, varies in different hairs, as well as at different points in the same hair.

AVERAGE OF ALL MEASUREMENTS MADE.

[Measurements in millimetres.]

No. of specimen.	Average of measurements at root end.		Average of measurements at middle.		Average of measurements at end.		No. of hairs measured.
	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	Long diameter.	Short diameter.	
3	.114	.0837	.138	.0848	.106	.0571	21
4	.1189	.0853	.12	.0853	.11265	.0777	10
5	.1053	.0850	.1104	.0841	.1016	.0826	10
Average	.1[illegible]3	.0843	.1221	.08[illegible]	.1064	.0725	41

Average of all measurements of long diameter ..... .1139

Average of all measurements of short diameter ..... .0827

Nearly related as 1 to 1½.

Figures of the various sections: Oval, 95 sections; approximate oval, 14; round, 1; approximate round, 6; egg, 2; triangular, 1; approximate triangular, 1.

NOTE.—The same hair sometimes represented different figures at the three points where sections were made; for instance, hair No. 5, of specimen No. 3, was approximately round at butt, irregular oval in middle, and oval at the end. It may be noted that in specimen No. 3 we have the greatest average length for the long axes and the shortest average length for the short axis of the figures of the cross-section. Also note the evenness of the average length of short axes of specimens No. 4 and No. 5, the variations being but .0082 millimetres while the long axes varied .0161 millimetres in the same specimens.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

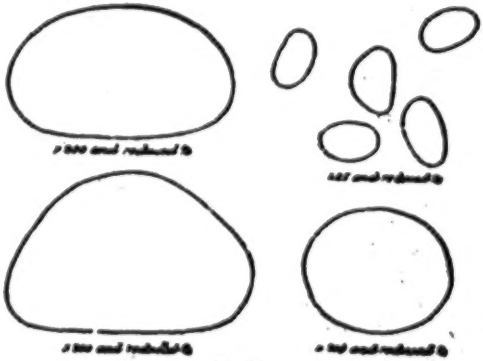


Fig. 70.
OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.
(From photographs.)

142 114 This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-guruś; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other
184 existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we
184 have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the
361 Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and
162 Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

114 Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

142 I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call them-
101 selves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and
114 Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek
184 and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types.

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes."
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 61	Med. $62\frac{13}{16}$	1. $58\frac{3}{4}$	Med. $58\frac{3}{8}$.
2. 65		2. $59\frac{7}{8}$	
3. $60\frac{1}{4}$		3. $59\frac{1}{2}$	
4. $64\frac{7}{8}$		4. $54\frac{5}{8}$	
5. 61		5. $59\frac{1}{2}$	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●141

Length from Tip to Tip of Fingers with Arms Outstretched.

Men. (inches)		Women. (inches)	
1. 64⅝	Med. 65¾.	1. 59½	Med. 61 13/16.
2. 65		2. 62½	
3. 63½		3. 62½	
4. 69½		4. 60	
5. 64½		5. 62½	

It is interesting to notice the great difference between the height and this latter measurement, showing the great length of the arms in the Ainu race.

The Arm.

The Humerus.

Men. (inches)		Women. (inches)	
1. 9	Med. 9 9/16.	1. 8½	Med. 9 13/16.
2. 9⅝		2. 8¾	
3. 8½		3. 10⅜	
4. 9		4. 9¾	
5. 10		5. 10	

The Ulna.

Men. (inches)		Women. (inches)	
1. 9¼	Med. 9 37/64.	1. 9¼	Med. 9¼.
2. 10¾		2. 9⅛	
3. 9⅛		3. 8⅞	
4. 11		4. 9⅜	
5. 9½		5. 9⅝	

The Hand.

Men. (inches)		Women. (inches)	
1. 7⅜	Med. 7¾.	1. 6⅞	Med. 6 9/16.
2. 7½		2. 7	
3. 7¼		3. 6⅞	
4. 7⅞		4. 6¾	
5. 7		5. 7	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141●

THE SPINE (dorsal and lumbar vertebræ to the sacrum).

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. $25\frac{1}{2}$	Med. $27\frac{3}{8}$.	1. 27	Med. $27\frac{5}{8}$.
2. $28\frac{5}{8}$		2. $26\frac{3}{4}$	
3. $27\frac{1}{2}$		3. $28\frac{1}{4}$	
4. $29\frac{5}{8}$		4. 27	
5. $27\frac{1}{4}$		5. $29\frac{1}{8}$	

THE LEG (Femur, Tibia and Foot.)

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. $34\frac{3}{8}$	Med. $35\frac{1}{16}$.	1. $32\frac{7}{8}$	Med. $33\frac{13}{16}$.
2. $36\frac{1}{4}$		2. $35\frac{1}{2}$	
3. $32\frac{1}{2}$		3. 34	
4. $37\frac{7}{8}$		4. $30\frac{1}{2}$	
5. $34\frac{1}{4}$		5. $35\frac{3}{8}$	

FEMUR.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. $17\frac{1}{2}$	Med. $18\frac{1}{8}$.	1. $18\frac{3}{8}$	Med. $17\frac{33}{40}$.
2. $18\frac{3}{8}$		2. $19\frac{7}{8}$	
3. $17\frac{1}{8}$		3. $18\frac{1}{2}$	
4. 20		4. 14	
5. $20\frac{1}{8}$		5. $18\frac{3}{8}$	

TIBIA.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 14	Med. $13\frac{1}{2}$.	1. $14\frac{1}{4}$	Med. $13\frac{4}{5}$.
2. $14\frac{7}{8}$		2. 13	
3. $12\frac{5}{8}$		3. $13\frac{1}{2}$	
4. $14\frac{7}{8}$		4. 14	
5. $11\frac{1}{8}$		5. $14\frac{1}{4}$	

(The Tibia is very flattened with the Ainu.)

TARSUS (from ground to Ankle).

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. $2\frac{3}{4}$	Med. 3.	1. 2	Med. $2\frac{3}{8}$.
2. 3		2. $2\frac{5}{8}$	
3. 3		3. 2	
4. $3\frac{1}{4}$		4. $2\frac{1}{2}$	
5. 3		5. $2\frac{3}{4}$	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●141

Chest (from Arm-pit to Arm-pit).

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 13½	Med. 13 1/16.	1. 12⅝	Med. 13 7/16.
2. 13¾		2. 14½	
3. 13½		3. 14½	
4. 13		4. 12½	
5. 13¾		5. 13⅜	

Around Chest.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 36½	Med. 37 3/16.	1. 33⅜	Med. 34½.
2. 35⅝		2. 34½	
3. 37½		3. 35½	
4. 37⅝		4. 32⅞	
5. 38½		5. 34¾	

Around Waist.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 33	Med. 34 7/16.	1. 28⅜	Med. 31 7/16.
2. 37		2. 31½	
3. 34		3. 34⅞	
4. 36		4. 31	
5. 33½		5. (37⅝ but was conceived.)	

Maximum Breadth of Shoulders.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 19½	Med. 17½.	1. 15½	Med. 14⅜
2. 16		2. 13⅝	
3. 18		3. 13⅞	
4. 18		4. 13⅞	
5. 16½		5. 15½	

The Foot.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 9½	Med. 9 13/16.	1. 8⅝	Med. 8⅝.
2. 9⅝		2. 9½	
3. 9½		3. 9½	
4. 10½		4. 8½	
5. 9½		5. 8⅞	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

THE HEAD (around the Head, just above the Ears).

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 23½		1. 23⅜	
2. 23½		2. 22⅝	
3. 24⅜	Med. 23¾.	3. 23⅝	Med. 22 23/16.
4. 22⅜		4. 22	
5. 23⅛		5. 23	

LENGTH OF FACE.
(From Hair to Chin.)

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 7½		1. 7¼	
2. 9		2. 6⅝	
3. 7½	Med. 7 3/16.	3. 6¾	Med. 6⅞.
4. 6⅞		4. 7	
5. 8		5. 6⅝	

WIDTH OF FACE FROM EAR TO EAR (over Forehead and Cheek Bones).

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 11⅞		1. 11⅛	
2. 12⅛		2. 11	
3. 12	Med. 11 15/16.	3. 11¾	Med. 11 3/16.
4. 12		4. 11⅞	
5. 12⅛		5. 11⅛	

HEIGHT OF FOREHEAD.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 2⅛		1. 2¼	
2. 2⅞		2. 1¾	
3. 2⅜	Med. 2⅜.	3. 2⅛	Med. 2.
4. 2		4. 2	
5. 2¾		5. 1⅞	

WIDTH OF FOREHEAD.

MEN. inches.		WOMEN. inches.	
1. 5		1. 6	
2. 5¼		2. 5½	
3. 5½	Med. 5½.	3. 5	Med. 5⅜.
4. 5¾		4. 4⅞	
5. 6		5. 5½	

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Length of Ears.

141

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	3	Med. $2\frac{33}{40}$	1.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	Med. $2\frac{33}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{1}{4}$		2.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	
3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$		3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$	
4.	$2\frac{1}{8}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	$2\frac{5}{8}$		5.	$2\frac{1}{8}$	

Length of Fingers.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	$3\frac{1}{8}$	Med. $3\frac{9}{40}$.	1.	3	Med. $2\frac{33}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{3}{8}$		2.	3	
3.	3		3.	3	
4.	$3\frac{5}{8}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	3		5.	3	

142 (*a*) Colour of skin (in parts not exposed to air)—light reddish slightly tending towards brown, but almost as light as with Europeans.

(*b*) Colour of hair—black, dark-brown, reddish-black, red.

(*c*) Colour of eyes—light-brown tending towards dark-grey.

(*d*) Character of hair—wavy.

(*e*) Amount of hair—abundant on face and all over the body in males more so than in females.

Measurements of Shikotan Ainu.

The skin and eyes are the same colour as with the Yezo Ainu. The hair is black, dark-red, or dark-brown. Black is the prevalent colour. Children often have fair hair, which grows darker as they grow older. The hair is abundant over body and face, and it is wavy.

141 The face possesses the identical characteristics of the Yezo Ainu.

Medium height: 61 inches to $62\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Round waist: $32\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Chest: Empty, $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches; inflated, $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Humerus: $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Ulna: $8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Hand: $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Foot: $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Spinal vertebræ : 24 inches.
Scapula (from shoulder to shoulder) : 17 inches.
Between shoulder-blades : $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.
Femur : short.
Tibia : very long.
(Natives objected to have their legs measured.)
The Tibia is much rounder than with the Yezo Ainu.
Length of face : $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Width of face from ear to ear : $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
Round head above ears : $21\frac{5}{8}$ inches.
Ears : small.
Forehead : $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches high ; $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide.

With arms outstretched and from tip to tip of fingers the Shikotan Ainu measure generally the length of one hand (about $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches) more than their own height. Consumption, *kaki*, and syphilis are common complaints among them. [164]

II.—GLOSSARY OF AINU WORDS, MANY OF WHICH ARE FOUND IN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN YEZO AND THE KURILE ISLANDS.[1] 104

A.

A = (a suffix).
Apa = an open space, a doorway.
Aikap = impossible, impassable.
Ambe = that is.
An = to be.
Aota = near.
Apta = rain.
Apun = gently.
At = a tree.
Atsu = barren, naked.

B.

Bets, or pets, pet = river.
Be, or pe = pestilential water.
But, or put = mouth of a river.

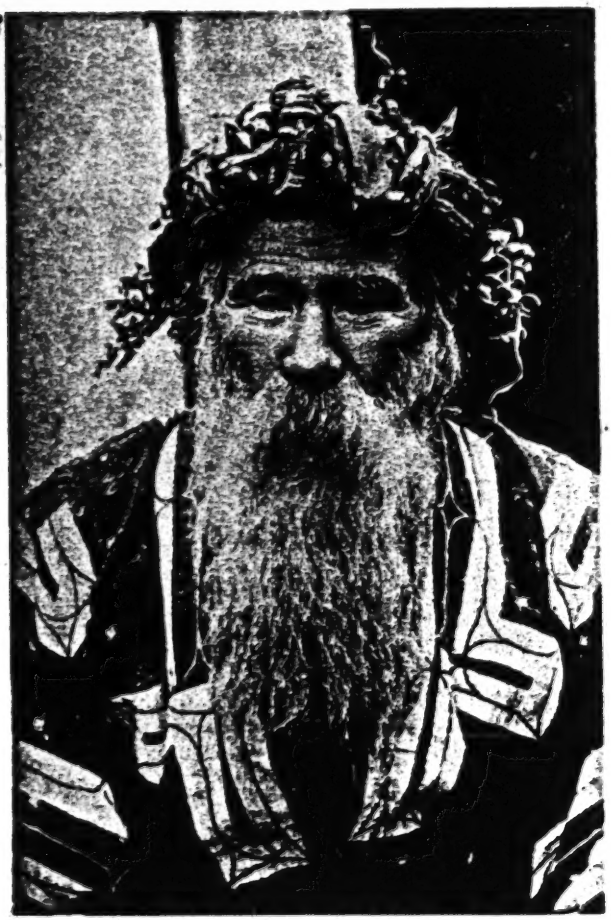
[1] The vowels to be pronounced as in Italian.

142

142 DESCRIPTIVE SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, and distribution of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; somatotype data; etc.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU

On coming to Hokkaidō, a visitor will probably be surprised to find that as a rule the skin of the Ainu, both men and women, is lighter than that of the ordinary Japanese, particularly of the South. Yet a few will be found among them of a coppery brown colour and some quite dark like the North American Indians and natives of Alaska. One young Ainu man who a few years ago went to Alaska hunting otters and who had been detained by the American authorities as a poacher, declared to me, when he returned, that some of the words the Alaska Indians used were very like his own. But, as he had quite forgotten which they were, I was unable to compare. Knowing nothing of the language of that people, I can offer no opinion. And, I will add, some of our visiting friends have remarked, "Why, the Ainu are just like North American Indians." It may be so. I cannot tell. 142 171

In stature the people are moderately short, the men averaging five feet five inches and the women five feet in height. Those less than this are said by some to be descendants of the so-called dwarfs to be mentioned later. These are called "short backed people." They are sturdy and well set up. Their arms and legs are thick and their feet and hands big. Their muscles are large and they have well developed chests and great width of shoulders. The hair of the head is prolific and coarse, its colour being black and brown. They have beautiful teeth and large round, bright brown and dark eyes. They are upright in 142

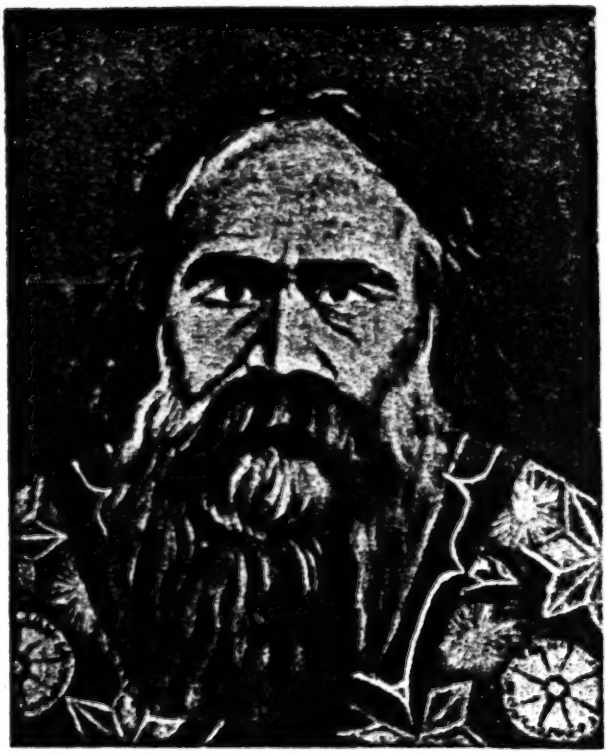
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A-2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
142 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[165] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENRI

[p. 58(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
●142
291

OLD MRS. BRIGIT, CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

[P. 116(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142

MR. TEE, CLOTHED IN ONE OF THE
AUTHOR'S COATS

[212]A

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
291
142

AINU TYPES OF YOUNG WOMEN

[P. 248(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

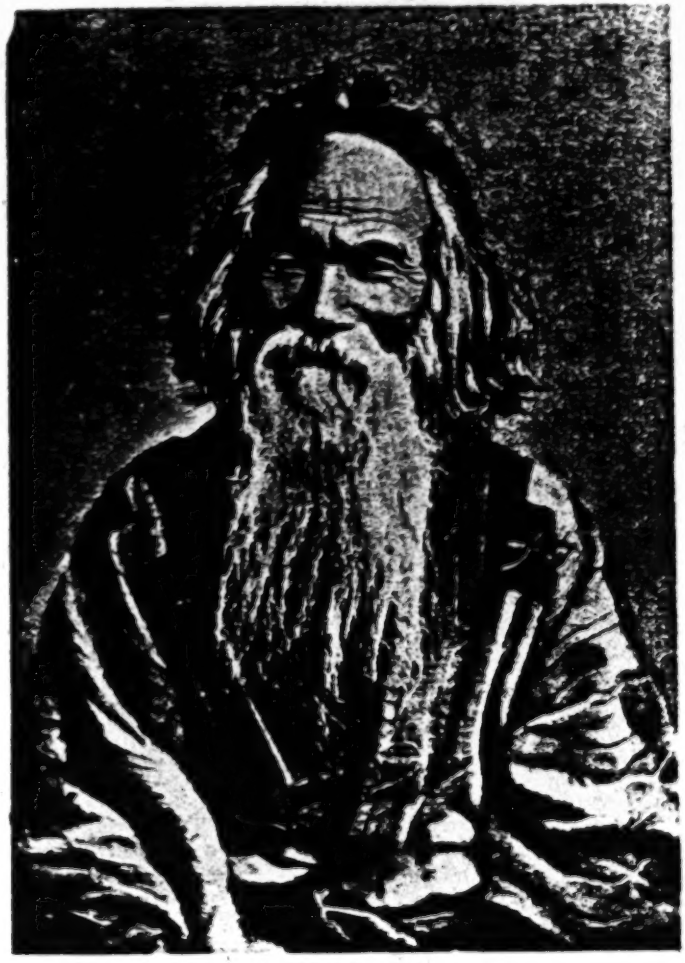
756
●142
302

A SHAMAN

[p 262]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

942
302



A GOOD FRIEND

[p. 380]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle [361] undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag- 166] halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* [131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

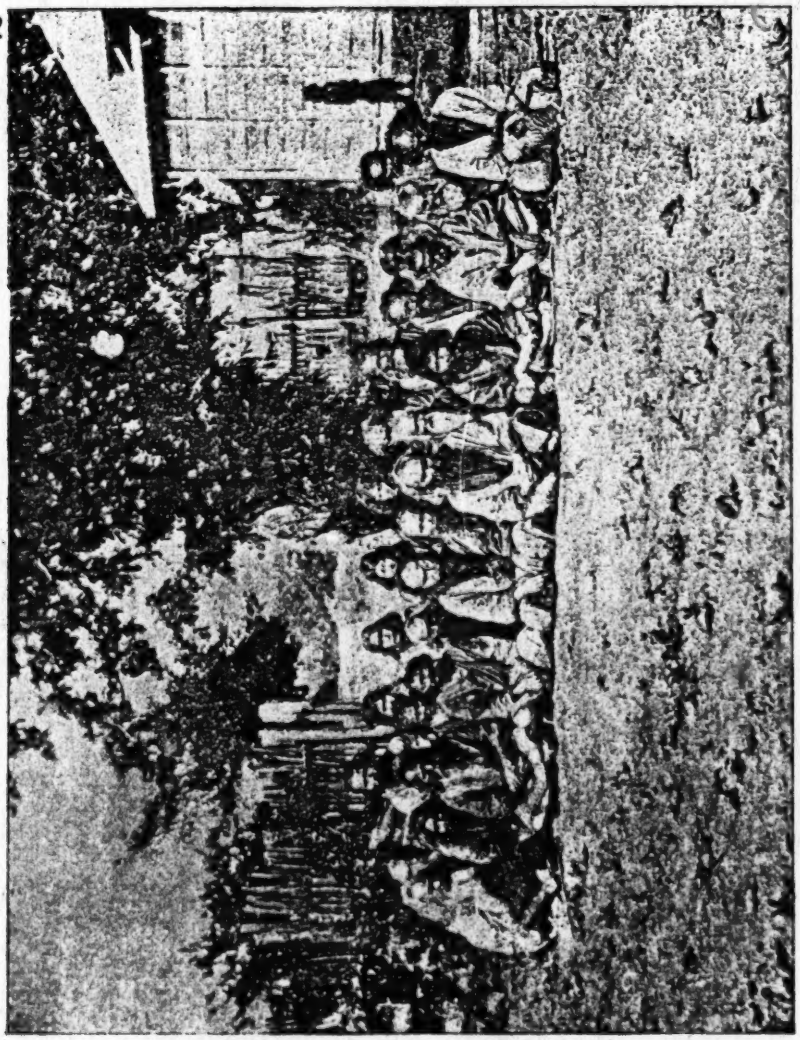
302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, 172 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching 304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. 415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from [197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, [515] it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

N-2
291
302
516



TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

42
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516

GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they 142
are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant [181]
and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.

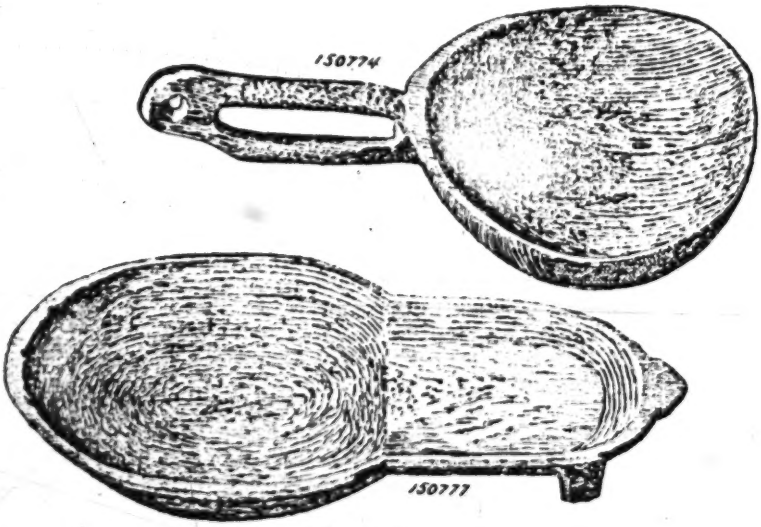


Fig. 60.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women [582]
grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the 304
mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
531 1

AINO. URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

●442
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

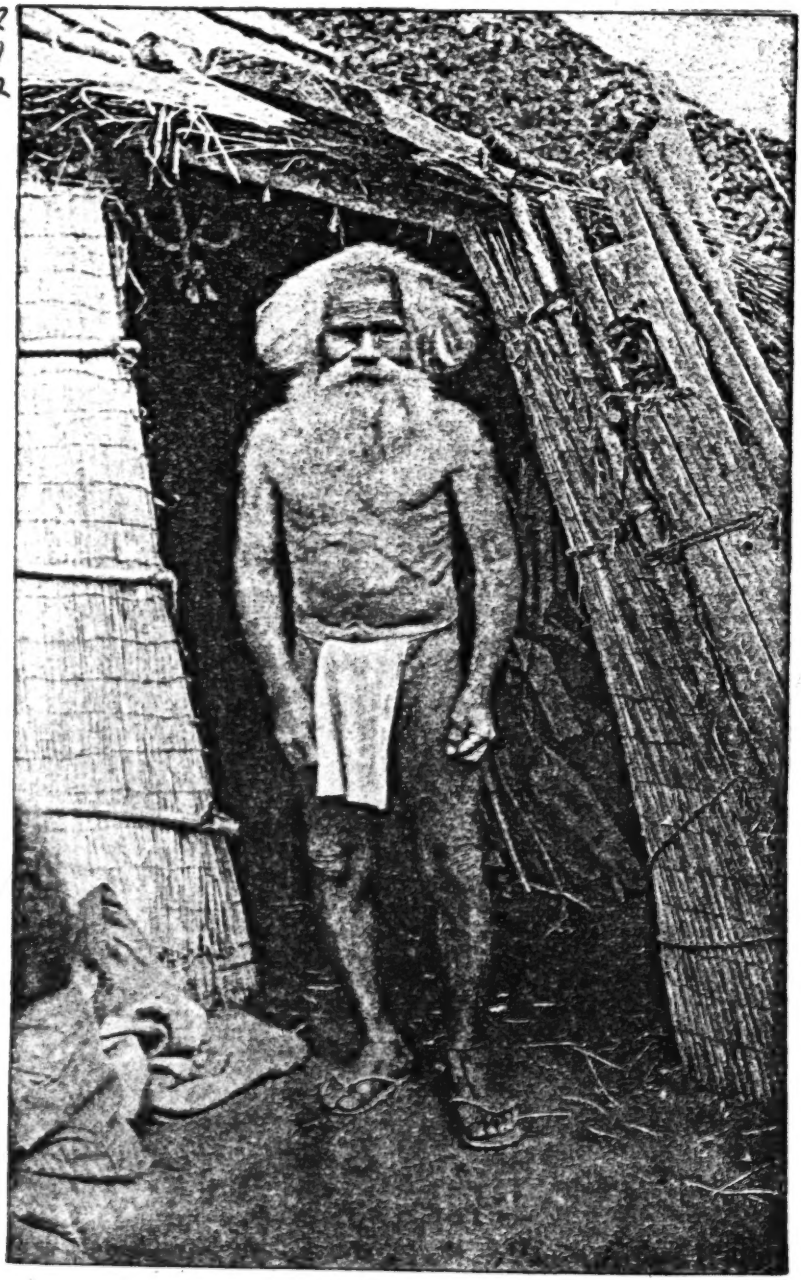
142
302
291
576

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Aino AB6

142
291
342



OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302

AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

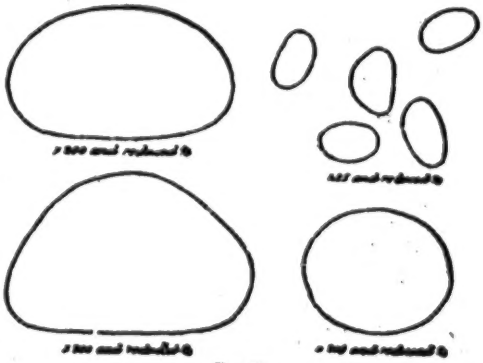


Fig. 70.

OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.

(From photographs.)

142 114 This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

582

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

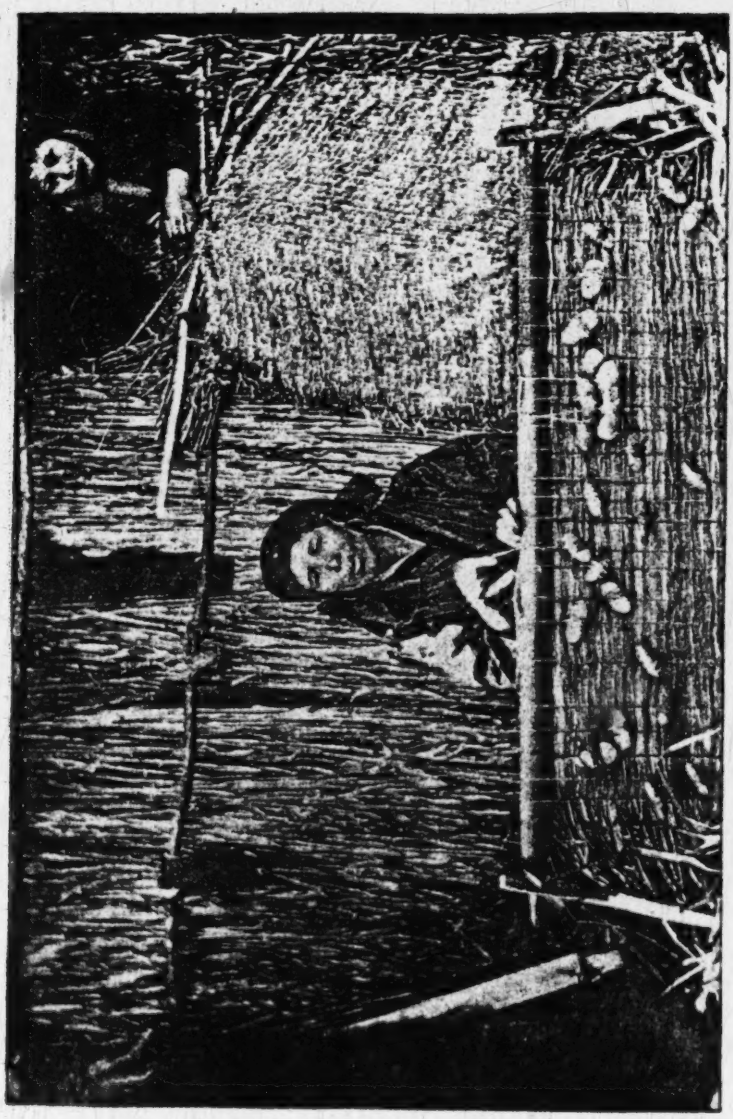
142
302
291
342

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

285
291
142



AINO WOMAN MAKING A MAT.

[Facing p. 464 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142

GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291

MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147
302

AINU MAN OF THE UPPER TOKACHI.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Tokachi River to the Kutcharo River.

I DECIDED to stop a day at Otsu, so as to recover from the fatigue of my late travels and adventures, and I chose my quarters in the *yadoya* of a Japanese called Inomata Yoshitaro. I was told that he was an ex-convict. Be that as it may, he had now turned into a fisherman and innkeeper. Like all Japanese, he was an inexhaustible talker, and his politeness was so great that it became a bore.

It was about three in the morning when I reached Otsu. I had taken off my boots on entering his house—for it is an insult to enter Japanese houses with one's boots on—and I had seated myself on the soft mat in order to rest my aching limbs, when Yoshitaro made me get up to place a small

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 184 Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

184 361 162

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

114

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

142 [101] 114 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [347] 184 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291

AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [142] [303]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short 291 184 tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the
36 coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses.
343 They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

133 The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some
●149 years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

000 Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary.
[133] The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

133 Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [491] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a 361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of •142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of 231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern 304 point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge 136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated ; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only ; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

on shore by the tide. Some distance off an outcast horse was attacked by thousands of famished crows. It is not an uncommon occurrence in Yezo. The black scavengers generally attack very young animals, and, flying on the pony's head, peck out its eyes. The pony, frightened, and driven mad by pain, bolts, and in his blind and reckless race either falls down a precipice and is killed outright, or else is driven to the coast by these daring wretches, which continue to peck at him with cruel and ceaseless avidity. There, with its way barred by the waves, tortured to death, and neighing desperately, the helpless beast succumbs, and affords the hungry birds a good meal, while hundreds gathered thick on the body, peck the poor brute to death. Thousands of others sit screaming in long rows round the scene of the fight, attentively watching for the final result, when they too can join in, and experience the joys of sated hunger. Nature can indeed be cruel.

I stopped at a hut. My host was decidedly peculiar. For convenience we shall call him Omangus, which only means a "gone man," or a lunatic. I had heard of him further south, and I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I had not been five minutes in his hut before I perceived that he really was a lunatic. His head was of an abnormally large size; his skull was well developed at the back, with those prominent bumps behind the ears which show great love of eating. His forehead was high, and very slanting; the upper part was wider than near the eyebrows, which were so thick and bushy as nearly to cover the eyes. His nose, with its large nostrils, was stumpy and covered with hair, while his enormous projecting eyes were restless and fierce. His luxuriant moustache and beard matched the thick crop of long black hair which covered his whole body. His legs were short, wiry, with stiff and swollen joints, probably owing to rheumatism. His arms were very long, and his toes were also abnormally long. Altogether he had the appearance of a large orang-outang more than that of a human being. All his movements resembled those of a wild beast, and now and then, when pleased or dissatisfied, he would groan in a way not dissimilar to the growling of a bear. In fact, he was labouring under the belief that he was a wild beast of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

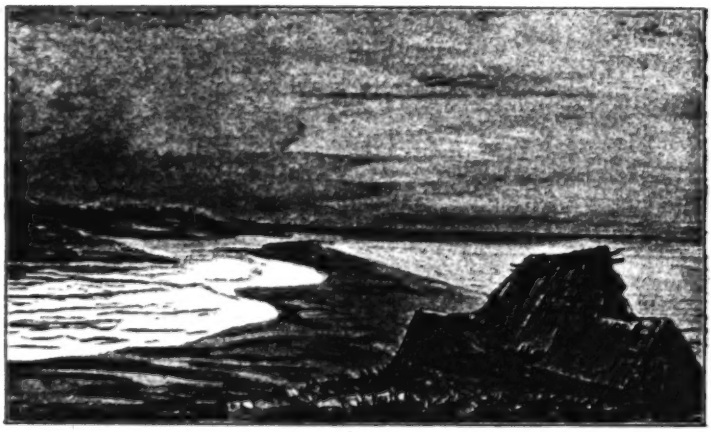
142
291
302
136

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342



SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 IT was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three [361] Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about 291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

●142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are born we train them to artificiality of all kinds, and this artificiality becomes in a sense second nature, overlaying, if not destroying, the original impress. And yet that impress is probably not wholly destroyed, for, so far as my own experience goes, I, who had from my birth led a civilised life, now that I had been for some months among barbarians had so little conventionality left in me as to be quite happy, or even happier than before, in leading a perfectly uncivilised existence. In the absence of chairs and sofas, instinct and the example of the natives taught me to squat as they did, and when I had once got into the way of it I found the position much more restful than any of our European so-called comfortable ways of sitting. It was the same thing when I had to sleep, either in the open air or in Ainu huts, where there was no more bedding than sofas or easy chairs. To protect myself from the cold I almost invariably slept sitting on the ground, with my head resting on my knees, just like the apes in the Zoological Gardens. I am sure that a good many of my readers, who have never gone through such an experience, will put me down as a "crank;" others will say that I am a worthy companion of my friend the hairy lunatic, and the most charitable will think that, bearing the name of "Savage Landor," I am only indulging in a new edition of "Imaginary Conversations," without the literary merits of the old. Such is not the case. I have mentioned these facts, not to amuse the reader, or merely for the sake of paradox, but to show how shallow is the veneer of civilisation which we are apt to think so thorough, and how a very short time spent unaccompanied by men of one's own stamp, and alone with "nature," rubs the whole thing away, and brings us back to instinct rather than education. I am willing to admit that not many people would care to follow in my footsteps, and live as I lived for months among the Ainu in order to prove whether I am right or wrong. Many who have only sat in comfortable chairs or slept in soft beds will hardly think my statements credible; but as the experiences, besides being of great amusement, were of great interest to me, I shall pass them on to my readers, no matter what opinion they may form of him who has written them.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

ornal will. Kutambets is picturesquely situated in a large gully formed by a break in the red-tinted cliffs. From Kutambets to Moroi the track is slightly better, and from this to Ishikari it is quite easy. The latter river, a very large one, has to be crossed by a ferry, as the habitations are on the south banks of the stream.

291
192

ISHIKARI KRAFTU AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[P. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII.

Ainu Heads, and their Physiognomy.

THE faces of the Ainu are far from ugly, and their heads are singularly picturesque, though of course there are the finer types as there are the meaner; by which we come to gradation and comparison. The general idea that all Ainu are hideous has arisen from the accounts of the few who have travelled in the more civilised parts of Yezo, and have seen and studied only a limited number of half-breeds and actual Japanese, mistaking them for Ainu. In one of the last publications on the Ainu, photographs of Japanese and half-breeds are given as typical specimens of the Ainu race; and one or two real Ainu are given as phenomena and exceptions. That the Ainu are disgustingly filthy is undoubted; that in many ways they are monkey-like is certain; but also that on a close examination many are not devoid of good features is undeniable. As regards looks, it is a great mistake to compare savages with ourselves, and to judge of them from our own standpoint. This is no more fair than to compare a thoroughbred fox-terrier with a thoroughbred poodle-dog, to the disadvantage of the one or the other. Passing off half-breeds as pure types of course makes things ten times worse, and complicates matters for those who care for accuracy, and are interested in anthropological researches.

Ainu physiognomy is an interesting study. When seen full-face the forehead is narrow, and sharply sloped backward. The cheek-bones are prominent, and the nose is hooked, slightly flattened, and broad, with wide, strong nostrils. The mouth is generally large, with thick, firm lips, and the underlip well

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous ear-rings this part of their ears is generally much deformed. Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes
[304] large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not
145 yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyelids are no thicker than those of Caucasian races, though they droop, as is common among people exposed to the full glare of the sun. The broad ridges being very heavy and prominent, cover part of the upper eyelid over the outer angle of the opening. The eyelashes are extremely long, and the eyebrows are shaggy and bushy. The eyes are full of animal-like expression and emotional warmth, a thing very rare with their neighbours the Japanese or Chinese. The long eyelashes shading the large eyes and rendering them soft, together with their pathetic and slow way of talking, make men and women singularly interesting. Like most animals, the Ainu can "speak" with their eyes. 142

The hair in Ainu adults is for the most part black, wavy, and easily breaking into large curls. Among children, however, one sees brown shades, which darken with years, until the hair turns quite black. Along the north-east coast of Yezo I came across several Ainu adults who had reddish hair and beard; and in the Kurile Islands, at Shikotan, several of the children had light auburn hair hanging in large loose curls and rather flaxy in texture, while the hair of adults was even darker than that of the Yezo Ainu.

The hair, which is coarse and strong, is uniformly and thickly planted over the whole scalp, and reaches well down over the forehead, where, as my readers will remember, a space is cut out or shaved off. It grows long in men as in women, but when it exceeds ten or twelve inches it is generally trimmed in the shape of a half-circle at the back of the head, and is cut off level with the shoulders at the sides. The men have a luxuriant beard, whiskers, and moustache, which grow to a great length. The hair of the beard often begins directly under the eyes, and covers all the lower part of the face. Many of the natives also have a few short coarse hairs on the nose (especially noticeable in natives of the north-east coast of Yezo). The beard, whiskers, and moustache begin to grow in the Ainu when they are fairly young. A man at about twenty can grow a good beard, and at thirty his beard is very long. Ainu women, whom nature has not provided with such a luxuriant growth of hair on the lower part of the face, make up for it by having a long moustache tattooed on the upper and lower lip, which in their idea makes them look "very manly" (see Tattoos). 142 302 142 [304]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 "very manly" (*see* Tattoos). Baldness is not common among thoroughbred Ainu, even at a very old age, when, however, they generally turn grey and then white, which gives a patriarchal appearance to the hairy people.

152 The Ainu face seldom undergoes the marked changes common to civilised nations, as they are not subject to large emotions; but different expressions are as easily discernible by anyone who really knows and has studied the natives, as the different expressions in the eyes of animals by one who is familiar with them. When the Ainu is pleased he seldom wrinkles his face and draws back his mouth at the corners, as we do, but he shows it by a peculiar sparkle in the eyes and by an almost imperceptible wrinkle in his eyelids, which contract and diminish the opening. The corners of the mouth turn slightly upwards. The smile is an accentuation of this expression, with the additional lowering of the eyebrows, especially in the middle near the nose, causing the forehead to wrinkle.

Laughter Ainu know not. During my long stay among them I never once saw a *real* Ainu laugh heartily, for the hero of the dab of blue paint laughed less than he roared with pleasure; and I do not remember even direct crosses doing so; hence travellers have reported the Ainu to be "dull," "sad," "expressionless."

Certainly, the first thing that strikes one on coming in contact with them is, how depressed they look, and how, even in their work, their games, their festivals, sadness is greater than joy. In fact, the Ainu, with their sentimental nature, enjoy sadness.

Astonishment and surprise are expressed by a perplexed look in the wide-opened eyes, by raising the eyebrows, and by the contraction of the mouth. The hands are not raised nor directed towards the object or person causing astonishment; but if the arms be hanging down, the fingers are widely separated. With the Ainu sorrowful emotions are more marked than the more pleasing, the more joyous. Thus, when in low spirits the head is bent forwards, the eyes are staring and drooping, and the mouth is drawn downwards. In greater grief howling is added to these signs. Ainu men occasionally indulge in quiet tears without sobbing, but

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481
142

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

469 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the
147 women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and
000 muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

[p. 236]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water. 261

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made. 483

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided. 481 857 142

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them 201

4: Landor T-5 (ca.1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight, 142 but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ*; but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[482] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders.

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved.

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk.

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic 177
breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either 563 144
race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half- 563
breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds 142
invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. 563
They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to [157]
mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds. [158]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal
142 bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred
732 Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often
164 affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration. 121

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing. 147 128 147

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered. [291] [147]

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long [142] [513]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147 rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad. [191]

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. 151
The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is very common among their children, owing to their filthy con- [164]
dition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affections such as are frequent among civilised and more studious nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful 142
and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race, and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. [171]
The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be 151
the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off, but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in transmitting to the brain the impression received.

As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Length of Ears.

141

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	3	Med. $2\frac{23}{40}$	1.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	Med. $2\frac{23}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{1}{4}$		2.	$2\frac{3}{8}$	
3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$		3.	$2\frac{3}{4}$	
4.	$2\frac{1}{2}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	$2\frac{5}{8}$		5.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	

Length of Fingers.

Men.	inches.		Women.	inches.	
1.	$3\frac{1}{8}$	Med. $3\frac{9}{40}$.	1.	3	Med. $2\frac{38}{40}$.
2.	$3\frac{3}{8}$		2.	3	
3.	3		3.	3	
4.	$3\frac{5}{8}$		4.	$2\frac{7}{8}$	
5.	3		5.	3	

142 (*a*) Colour of skin (in parts not exposed to air)—light reddish slightly tending towards brown, but almost as light as with Europeans.

(*b*) Colour of hair—black, dark-brown, reddish-black, red.

(*c*) Colour of eyes—light-brown tending towards dark-grey.

(*d*) Character of hair—wavy.

(*e*) Amount of hair—abundant on face and all over the body in males more so than in females.

Measurements of Shikotan Ainu.

The skin and eyes are the same colour as with the Yezo Ainu. The hair is black, dark-red, or dark-brown. Black is the prevalent colour. Children often have fair hair, which grows darker as they grow older. The hair is abundant over body and face, and it is wavy.

The face possesses the identical characteristics of the Yezo Ainu.

141 Medium height: 61 inches to $62\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Round waist: $32\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Chest: Empty, $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches; inflated, $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Humerus: $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Ulna: $8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Hand: $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Foot: $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
177
302
142

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
796
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]

[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[348]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
535
291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
304
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

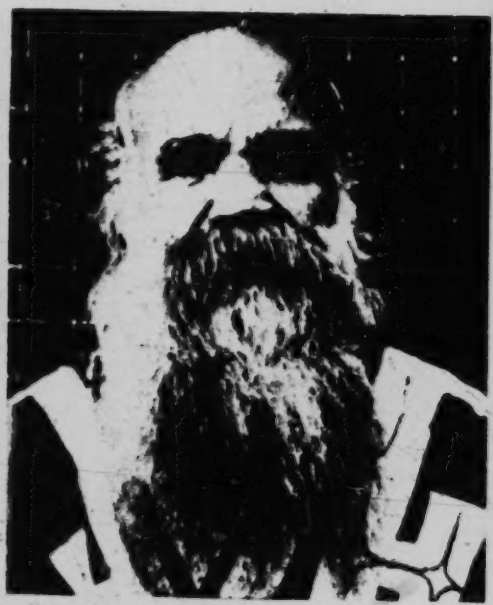
PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 142
302
115

1.



2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak, have not changed correspondingly. The ~~cause~~, rather, of the
844 562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 562 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

151 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus R45
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AIG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

142
291
302

Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

143

143 GENETICS--blood groupings; incidence of sex-linked characteristics (e.g., color blindness, hemophilia); other data of specific genetic significance (e.g., unusual response potentialities or limitations); etc. See also:

Notions about heredity 827

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. 677 Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical 621 and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among [582] themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations 621 are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for 143 instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities 732 two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children [844] are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not 143 know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos 732 are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern ●144 Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

I. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with [241] millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, [231] were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was pri- 262 marily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles 291 from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] [286] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Sanhō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsū ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 326 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 ● [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the [587] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard [511 171] and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[162] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161
[144 162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage. 583

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River. 144 [184]

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled. 539

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,[1] only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery. [174]

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. [144] [190]

[1] The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the 184
women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair [291]
hair. As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men
and women possess good features, more resembling those of [144]
European races than those of Mongolian type. They are
gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, [157]
and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and
it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I
judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles.
Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less
interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race
found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; [166]
therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one
hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or
six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some
bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation.
Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it
possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west
coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow
strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage
from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, how-
ever, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during
the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising
about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter
to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled,
with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or
"Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter,
however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the
island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and
Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east
portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured
mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall
into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some
low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch
is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. [139]
Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and
cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or
Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous earrings this part of their ears is generally much deformed. Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes
[304] large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

● 144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

● 144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 142 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight, but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ*; but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[480] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels.

I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childless-
ness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned
above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse
to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens
that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and
who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and
exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful
(we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the
weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are
strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since
they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my
arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[756] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be
deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous
system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found
women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women
are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was
pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old
man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the
above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many
years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no
longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, un-
able to give me the average age at which this occurs. The
Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

/773 cont./

886 However, I believe that this figure is entirely arbitrary and
145 based on the statements of only a few persons. My Ainu friends showed me a woman who must have been from 56 to 60 years old since her son was already 34. She had stopped menstruating scarcely three years before and was certainly not to be regarded as an exception, according to my acquaintances. From the statistical data that I collected among the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, it appears that 12 persons were
[163] born to women of over 40 years of age. Of these women five bore children between the ages of 41 and 45, seven between the ages of 46 and 53. This constitutes 20 percent of all the women over 40 on the eastern shore of the island. It should be noted, however, that I only registered cases in which the children had remained alive, that is to say, the actual number of births is much greater. It may therefore be justly assumed that there are many women among the Ainu who menstruate beyond the age of 40 and whose menopause does not take place before 50.

841 Menstruation is not always regular among Ainu women.
145 I knew for instance a young woman who later died of influenza at the age of 25, and who, according to her husband, lost so little blood that he would jokingly call her a man. This circumstance the young Ainu considered the cause of her sterility, and he sorrowfully confessed to me, that he would have to look for another wife in order to obtain offspring. She frequently complained of pains and said she had the feeling as though something moved in her entrails that caused these pains. Sometimes she also experienced difficulty in breathing at the same time.

It sometimes happens, though rather rarely, that Ainu women have their menstruation not every month, but every sixth week, which is called kiem o-utur tuima, that is, a great interruption of the blood.

Ordinarily menstruation lasts two to three days, and with some women it last four days. In the latter case it is always painful.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481
192

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

● 197 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

469
487
197
000 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

[p. 236]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 497
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable among them, but not among the men. Children are carried on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs. A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

201 make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

201 Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp
●147 they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

147 The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one
516 eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly
826 funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is
[286] firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos*
[322] the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

283 When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two
826 middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147 hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

[515] The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. [151] Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The [091] weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147 [291]

rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad.

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all 533
music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds 151 ●
which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed 861
a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are 533
mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the 534
Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad. 147 [291]

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

125 not worth recording. Most of my observations are based on experiments made while the men were unaware that they were observed at all. Often, when asleep, I have touched them on the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands without causing them to awake, while when touched on the lower lip or in the lumbar region they invariably woke up startled. One day I tried this experiment on an Ainu who
151 was sleeping on his back, with his mouth wide open. I
125 touched his tongue with a well-sharpened lead-pencil, and the effect was subitaneous; more so than on either the lips or the lumbar region. The skin directly over the spine was dull, but the ears showed a certain amount of sensibility. The
151 sense of "taste," which is a mere modification of the sense of touch, is also dull, although naturally, when stimulated by very acid or bitter substances, it produced distinct impressions. Even with ourselves, though more perfected than the sense of smell—which, however, often comes to its assistance—few can boast of having the sense of taste very acute. In our lower classes an extraordinary amount of salt, mustard, pepper, or sugar is needed before they can call their food "tasty," whereas a person of more refined education will detect the lack or excess of even the smallest portion. Over-stimulation of the lingual nerves and extremes of heat or cold deaden the sensibility of the tongue, palate, and fauces, and destroy the power of distinguishing flavours; bad digestion also frequently affects the organs of taste. From this we may argue, then, that the sense of taste, though born in one, has to be cultivated before it is brought to any degree of refinement. The Ainu not only do not possess this acquired refinement, but, through monotony of food, learn only one kind of flavour, and cannot distinguish differences. Thus, as many labourers in our country would not find any difference between a beef-steak slightly underdone and one over-cooked, so an Ainu finds no difference whatever between a piece of salmon properly dried and one perfectly rotten. In this respect the Ainu are far below beasts.

In tribes of natives like the Ainu, who have lived an adventurous life, mostly in the open air, it is but natural that the two senses of "sight" and "hearing" should be more developed than those of "touch," "smell" and "taste;"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. 151
The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is
very common among their children, owing to their filthy con- [164]
dition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few
Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affec-
tions such as are frequent among civilised and more studious
nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful 142
and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by
specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last
prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the
orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race,
and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even
longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. [171]
The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed
with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than
with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long
eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities
necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be 151
the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off,
but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of
an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in
transmitting to the brain the impression received.

As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

151 like can be clearly distinguished. The ticking of a Waterbury watch could be heard by Ainu at a distance of twenty and twenty-two feet, while I could only hear it nineteen feet away. I was often struck by the quickness with which they detected the tick-tack even when the watch was in my pocket, and they were six or eight feet away. The unusual sound fixed their attention and made them curious as to the cause, and they showed a childish kind of surprise and delight when the watch was produced and passed round among them, each one being allowed to enjoy his share of the ticking.

Resuming these few remarks on the characteristic points of Ainu senses, my readers will probably have noticed certain facts which strongly support Darwin's theory of evolution, and the hairy arboreal ancestor with pointed ears from which the races of men are descended.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Laidor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [342] 184 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital. 184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

276
531

AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 "very manly" (*see* Tattoos). Baldness is not common among thoroughbred Ainu, even at a very old age, when, however, they generally turn grey and then white, which gives a patriarchal appearance to the hairy people.

152 The Ainu face seldom undergoes the marked changes common to civilised nations, as they are not subject to large emotions; but different expressions are as easily discernible by anyone who really knows and has studied the natives, as the different expressions in the eyes of animals by one who is familiar with them. When the Ainu is pleased he seldom wrinkles his face and draws back his mouth at the corners, as we do, but he shows it by a peculiar sparkle in the eyes and by an almost imperceptible wrinkle in his eyelids, which contract and diminish the opening. The corners of the mouth turn slightly upwards. The smile is an accentuation of this expression, with the additional lowering of the eyebrows, especially in the middle near the nose, causing the forehead to wrinkle.

Laughter Ainu know not. During my long stay among them I never once saw a *real* Ainu laugh heartily, for the hero of the dab of blue paint laughed less than he roared with pleasure; and I do not remember even direct crosses doing so; hence travellers have reported the Ainu to be "dull," "sad," "expressionless."

Certainly, the first thing that strikes one on coming in contact with them is, how depressed they look, and how, even in their work, their games, their festivals, sadness is greater than joy. In fact, the Ainu, with their sentimental nature, enjoy sadness.

Astonishment and surprise are expressed by a perplexed look in the wide-opened eyes, by raising the eyebrows, and by the contraction of the mouth. The hands are not raised nor directed towards the object or person causing astonishment; but if the arms be hanging down, the fingers are widely separated. With the Ainu sorrowful emotions are more marked than the more pleasing, the more joyous. Thus, when in low spirits the head is bent forwards, the eyes are staring and drooping, and the mouth is drawn downwards. In greater grief howling is added to these signs. Ainu men occasionally indulge in quiet tears without sobbing, but

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

women weep copiously at the death of their children when these are young. 152

When an Ainu stands very erect, with one hand in the other in front, and turning his head on either shoulder, throws it back and looks down at you with expressionless eyes, in the meanwhile raising his eyebrows, you may be sure that he means to show contempt. If, however, his eyes are restless and his lips quiver, if the eyebrows are rapidly brought down over the eyelids, while he opens his eyes wide showing the whole of the iris; if the nostrils are inflated and he breathes heavily; if the head is thrown forward and he is slowly arching, and, as the French say, "making a round back," you may be certain that he is in a very bad temper, and means to go for you, if he sees his way to it.

When obstinate, the pose of the arms and legs is similar to that by which he wishes to show contempt, but the expression of the face is absolutely stolid, the eyes are firm and frigid, meaning in that way to impress you with the certainty that, come what may, he will not move from his decision.

When actively angry, the Ainu sneer and snarl at one another, frowning ferociously, and showing all their front teeth, but specially uncovering their fangs or dog teeth; the arms are stretched out, but always with the fist open—if no knife or other weapon be held in the hand. Shame and disgust are two expressions which one does not often see on Ainu faces. The former I cannot describe, for I never saw an Ainu who was ashamed of anything he had done; the latter is manifested by an upward movement of the corners of the lips, and a curling of the nose, with a sudden expiration almost like a snort.

Shyness, which is the nearest approach to shame, is shown by women when meeting a stranger, and gives them a submissive look. They bend their heads and look down until the first emotion has passed, when they gaze at the new-comer with a certain restlessness and curiosity, again, as in so many of their gestures and ways, reminding one of monkeys. I never found any shyness whatever in Ainu men; neither could I detect in them any signs of fear for objects, animals, or powers with which they were familiar. Things which they do

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

152 not understand of course frighten them, like eclipses of the sun or moon, or as my revolver did when I was attacked by them at Horobets; and also when I appeared as a black-winged rider on the north-east coast. In the latter case, unfortunately, I was too far off to see their faces clearly, and in the former, after the attack they showed more sensible submission to the inevitable than true cowardice. What I chiefly saw then was here and there a face with wide-open, undecided eyes heavily frowning; while some of the others shrugged their shoulders and closed their eyes, waiting for the loud report of the revolver, which unpleasant noise, heard before from Japanese guns, always gives a shock to their nerves.

152 When an Ainu wishes to show that something cannot be 201 done, or that he cannot prevent someone else from doing it, he neither shrugs his shoulders like a Frenchman, nor shakes his head laterally like an Englishman; nor does he throw out his hands like a Neapolitan, but, quietly standing erect, and with his head slightly bent forward, he gently lifts it up, and slowly winking his eyes, says that he cannot do it.

When children are sulky or displeased they frown and protrude their lips, making a nasal noise similar to this—"Ohim"—without any of the vowels clearly pronounced.

201 Our way of nodding the head vertically in sign of affirmation and shaking it laterally in negation is not known to the thoroughbred race. Those, either Ainu or half-castes, who [177] practise it have learned it from the Japanese. The right hand is generally used in negation, passing it from right to left and back in front of the chest; and both hands are gracefully brought up to the chest and prettily waved downwards—palms upwards—in sign of affirmation. In other words, their affirmation is a simpler form of their salute, just the same as with us the nodding of the head is similarly used both ways.

152 It is quite enough to look at an Ainu's eyes to see at once whether he consents or not, just as it is quite enough to look at a monkey's face to know if it will accept the apple you offer it. Slyness and jealousy are well marked in the Ainu face, and the former is seen in the glittering, restless eyes, the latter in the sulky glance and protruding mouth. Slyness is a very common characteristic among Ainu men; jealousy is recognised and frequent in women.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the
●150 power of words to compass.

After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune,
576 the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted
533 in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo;* and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they
[576] have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect 153
blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas 805
of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme 802
difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, 153
and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their atten- 152
tion, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects 181
have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi 157
River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful
152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they
593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

152 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may
577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance,
183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon
[685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth
[671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature ●[150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782] with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537] copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152] and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, [533] how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775] dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291] shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed [292] to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. [775] The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 764 and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and 291 for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439] by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
152

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery mossy is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first,
or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 142 732 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 164 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

●153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their attention, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 142 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight, but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ;* but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[482] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 173 Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

158 155 When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but 158
think that he was, when in these fits, living in the 155
distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to [775] return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *tochе*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 622 used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

A 622 From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

A F [439] [171] In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

A F [579] A F

*175 *648 These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system 622 because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but 554 this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo 156 those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

A
E
*648
177
*175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A
[291]

[67] Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

A
[302]

A
[156]

[71] *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaiko gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the [597] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

● 157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard [511 17] and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than [157] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, 123 609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of 136 crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we 229 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. [136] Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata; puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small
412 open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

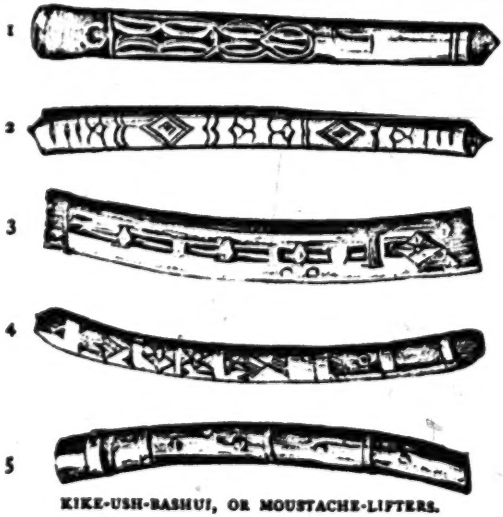
SIDE VIEW.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

532
413
157

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking



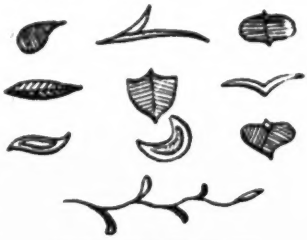
KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale;* Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind. 532 413 157

Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy. 532



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels. 531

ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic 177
breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either 563
race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous 144
and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half- 563
breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds 142
invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. 563
They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to [157]
mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds. [158]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect 153
blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas 805
of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme 802
difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, 153
and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their atten- 152
tion, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects 181
have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi 157
River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

It is exactly

the same case as when a dog jumps on the dining-table when everybody is absent and carries off the leg of mutton which he knows he ought not to touch; but the temptation was too strong, and he could not resist it. The Ainu are fond of independence, though in many instances I found them gentle, and apparently submissive to a stronger will than their own. The field of their brain-power is of course very narrow, and the same rough, rude, primitive thoughts and ideas are constantly repeated in their conversation as well as in their designs. 157

T

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

288 Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

787 Once when I was in this man's district, he came to
888 see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look
158 on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, 787
wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made 838
of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. 158
One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with 158
visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

158 defeated and in disorder, but only to return in greater force some other time. After these bouts he lies on his bed many days in a state of exhaustion and semi-unconsciousness. He told me that his father and mother before him, as well as his wife a few years ago, all died thus afflicted. Could I please do something for him? Could I exorcise the demons and purify his dwelling-place?

The old man took me to his hut, where I tried my best to sympathize with him and endeavoured to make him understand that it would be far better for him were he to go down into the plain below and live among other people, where the air was not so rare, and the roaring of the waves and rushing of the winds were not so likely to bring the sound of those voices. But such advice was absolutely useless and it did not do the slightest good to tell him that the apparitions were imaginary only. I then took another tack and spoke to him of his dear departed wife. I suggested to him that it would be a happy time when he was reunited to his beloved lost one. But here I soon found that I had only "opened my mouth to put my foot into it," as the saying goes.

It was truly a very great mistake on my part to speak of his deceased wife. At the mention of her the old man's ire gushed forth like a mighty sulphur-bearing torrent. The air was full of brimstone. I have never seen an Ainu so indignant and explosive. He was furious and I could imagine then what those poor visiting demons, dwarfs and warriors got. "Why," asked he, "should I want to see that lazy old hag? She was an ugly, slovenly, lean, old scarecrow and I never wish to set eyes on her again. She is now well out of sight and hearing; so let her remain forever! The noxious old hussy!" And so forth. I was much edified and amused. His views of the future life and mine did not accord. He knew the old lady and I did not.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

I then thought how well his name suited him—Mr. Black Lily. /58

Anra is yet alive and is still persecuted by his demons and spooks. We still remain the best of friends and whenever I go into his district he never fails to come to visit me. Some twenty years ago, having no children of his own, Anra adopted a Japanese boy as his son. But it is a very sore point with him that a few years ago the young fellow got rid of the old man's property and ran away. And so there he is landless and very poor. But it is a pleasure to be able to say that he is now allowed a small daily portion of rice by the Japanese Government and so is able to keep body and soul together without any special anxiety.

The last time I saw this old man, (which was on July 16, 1926), he told me that he was still troubled by the apparitions, and earnestly asked me to write a charm for him which he could wear on his body. That he thought, would work a spell for him!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 173 Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

158 155 When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but 158 ●
think that he was, when in these fits, living in the 155
distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to [775]
return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
● 158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *toche*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

080 on shore by the tide. Some distance off an outcast horse was
136 attacked by thousands of famished crows. It is not an uncommon occurrence in Yezo. The black scavengers generally attack very young animals, and, flying on the pony's head, peck out its eyes. The pony, frightened, and driven mad by pain, bolts, and in his blind and reckless race either falls down a precipice and is killed outright, or else is driven to the coast by these daring wretches, which continue to peck at him with cruel and ceaseless avidity. There, with its way barred by the waves, tortured to death, and neighing desperately, the helpless beast succumbs, and affords the hungry birds a good meal, while hundreds gathered thick on the body, peck the poor brute to death. Thousands of others sit screaming in long rows round the scene of the fight, attentively watching for the final result, when they too can join in, and experience the joys of sated hunger. Nature can indeed be cruel.

158 I stopped at a hut. My host was decidedly peculiar. For
142 convenience we shall call him Omangus, which only means a "gone man," or a lunatic. I had heard of him further south, and I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I had not been five minutes in his hut before I perceived that he really was a lunatic. His head was of an abnormally large size; his skull was well developed at the back, with those prominent bumps behind the ears which show great love of eating. His forehead was high, and very slanting; the upper part was wider than near the eyebrows, which were so thick and bushy as nearly to cover the eyes. His nose, with its large nostrils, was stumpy and covered with hair, while his enormous projecting eyes were restless and fierce. His luxuriant moustache and beard matched the thick crop of long black hair which covered his whole body. His legs were short, wiry, with stiff and swollen joints, probably owing to rheumatism. His arms were very long, and his toes were also abnormally long. Altogether he had the appearance of a
158 large orang-outang more than that of a human being. All his movements resembled those of a wild beast, and now and then, when pleased or dissatisfied, he would groan in a way not dissimilar to the growling of a bear. In fact, he was labouring under the belief that he was a wild beast of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

some sort, and apparently he regarded himself as a "bruin." 158
I never heard him speak or utter words, but whether he was actually dumb or not I was not able to ascertain, as every time I tried to examine his mouth he attempted to bite me. His biting, however, was of a different nature from that of the sweet girl on the Saruma shores, and when he did bite he bit well. One day in a struggle I came off nearly minus two joints of the third finger of my right hand.

I several times attempted to take measurements of his 123
skull and bones, but with no success. Once, as I had got 158
hold of him and was feeling the "bumps" on his skull, he managed to disentangle himself, and grabbed me by the hair, which led to a conflict, and caused me a "très mauvais quart d'heure." We fought desperately, and I was thoroughly "licked"; not, however, before having found out that he had no bump of sensitiveness and none of philoprogenitiveness. He was pleased with his victory, and the hostilities ended. He hopped away cautiously, and I saw him climb on his hands and feet over the cliff near his hut, where he disappeared.

Some hours later I saw the monomaniac stealthily creeping back among the rocks. I was some way from the hut, in a place where he could not see me. He came slowly forward, watching the hut suspiciously, as he evidently thought I was still inside. When he got near he stopped to pick up a large stone, and with it in his right hand he sneaked along towards the hut. He listened, and crept in. I followed immediately after. He was furious when I entered, and tried to escape, but I barred his way. He retreated into a corner, crouched down groaning, and showed signs of impatience. I could see that he was frightened, and I went to him and endeavoured to soothe him; not without success, for he became quieter, and I once more noticed the great power that a stronger will can exercise over a weaker one. As long as I was staring at him he never dared to move, and I could "will" him to do almost anything I wanted by thinking hard that he should do it; but when once I turned my eyes away I had no more control over him.

This is just what happened that day. Thinking that he would keep quiet for some minutes, I got out my palette and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

[192]
[291]
[602]
[136]

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

He was restless while I was painting him, and hundreds of half-starved crows, which seemed to be on good terms with my sitter, gathered round him, chatting in their incomprehensible and noisy language. Some of them even flew on to his back and shoulders, and he touched them without their flying away.

I was astounded at the familiarity which existed between the madman and the birds. They seemed to understand each other, and had I only been sufficiently imaginative I might have asserted that I even saw them kissing him. Unfortunately, when the first astonishment was over I understood the reason of the affection on the part of the scavengers, and the whole mystery was unveiled to me. Like all mysteries, the apparently extraordinary friendship between the madman and the black birds turned out to be a plain bit of literal prose, and, I must add, a very disgusting bit. The maniac was covered with vermin, and the affectionate kisses of the crows were not kisses of love or sympathy, but only mouthfuls of parasites, which they found among the thick hair of his body.

Two or three times the maniac crawled up to me, and seemed anxious to touch the colours on my palette, and also to put his fingers on the sketch. He saw that he gained nothing by being a foe, so he became a friend. He even became a great friend when I presented him with a shiny silver coin.

Though Omangus was undoubtedly insane, he was a very practical person. As will be seen by the illustration, his attire was simple, and no allowance was made for pockets. He looked at the coin, turned it over in his hands several times, and grinned ; then he placed it in his mouth for safe keeping. His mouth was apparently his purse. As I saw that he was fond of silver coins, I gave him one or two more, and all of them were religiously kept in the same natural pocket, except at night, when he hid them under a large stone. At sunrise they were collected again and placed back under his tongue or in one of his cheeks.

I cannot say that my host was by any means brilliant, but, like most lunatics, he was a good soul apart from his little peculiarities. It was unfortunate that he had lost the power of speech, or I might have learnt some strange things from him.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●158 Omangus was generally restless at night, and while asleep he seemed to suffer from awful nightmares. Most Ainu as a rule do not. One morning at dawn, as the first rays of light penetrated the hut, I watched him. He had been groaning frightfully all night, and I had not been able to sleep. He was lying flat on his back breathing heavily, and now and then he had a kind of spasm, during which he ground his teeth together with violence. It was during these spasms, or nervous contractions, that he groaned most fiercely. As he was so stretched I noticed how extraordinarily long his femur was compared to his tibia. I gently placed my hand over his heart, and found it was beating rapidly and irregularly. His forehead also was feverish and abnormally warm. He did not wake up, but as soon as the nervous strain was over he fell into a lethargic state. He appeared to have lost all strength, and it took me some time to awake him ; but he finally opened his eyes, and, drowsily getting up, yawned to his heart's content, and went to fetch the hidden coins.

The more I saw of Omangus, the more he puzzled me. His faculties were defective ; still, he seemed to possess a fairly good memory. If not, how could he remember the concealed treasure ? Although he was not able to form ideas of his own, he could retain those which he had grasped. His hearing was extremely acute, and his inability to speak must have undoubtedly been caused by paralysis of the tongue and vocal organs. Several times he made violent attempts to utter words, which he would not have done had he been born dumb.

158 123 After the second day of my pleasant stay in Omangus' ten feet square sea-side residence my host became more genial and even affectionate. Instead of constantly running away from me he sat opposite me, attentively watching all my movements ; and if I happened to be whistling, he slowly crept nearer, grinning with delight. Occasionally he crouched himself by my side, even resting against me. I did not approve of the latter proof of affection, not so much for his own sake as on account of the "large company" which he carried with him ; but I had to put up with it until I found a counter-action in loud singing, which frightened him away.

Omangus had a quantity of last year's salmon, which he had

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

dried in the sun, and which was now hanging from the roof of the little hut. The first day or two of my stay there I had but little to eat, owing to his belligerent behaviour. He rebelled every time that I attempted to touch his provisions, and what I had to eat was generally appropriated while my host was out. Afterwards, however, he became generous, and gave me more than I wanted. He took good care to draw the three coins out of his mouth while he was eating, but once, during a nervous fit, to which he was often subject, he swallowed one of them.

One morning, weary of my lunatic friend's company, I packed all my traps and went to fetch my pony. Omangus seemed aghast, suspecting that I was about to leave. He was restless, and followed me, moaning, from the hut to the pony and back, and, with a forlorn look in his eyes, watched me bring the baggage outside and lash it to the pack-saddle. I gave him a couple more silver coins, which I thought would make him happy; but he dropped them in the sand. I bade good-bye to him and left; and there poor Omangus stood motionless, gazing at me until the winding shore took me round the cliff. He was out of sight for some minutes, but he soon reappeared on the summit of the cliff itself, on to which he rapidly climbed, and from this point of vantage he could see the coast for several miles. There standing, a black figure against the rising sun, the hairy Ainu became smaller and smaller as I moved away from him, until nothing but a black spot could be seen against the sky; then even that spot disappeared. It was the last I saw of my host the madman.

The rivers were troublesome all along this part of my journey, and as most of them had quicksands, the safest plan was to cross them in a boat, when this was obtainable. However, as I went further north the boats became scarce and more scarce, and the small villages, few and very far between. I seldom came across a human being with whom I could exchange a word, and the constant solitude induced in me the bad habit of talking to myself, to animals, or to inanimate objects. My unfortunate pony was often lectured on different subjects, and the millions of seagulls and penguins all along the coast were asked questions of all sorts, which, however, they invariably left unanswered. It was strange to see the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines forward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds.

EXORCISM

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. [158] ● [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised. 158 755 [178]

060

EXORCISM

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

An account by Munro of the dancing mania:

● 158
786

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* — an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

APPENDIX I

755
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

[p.133]

IV

159 592 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both 159
superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also 592
hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They 224
formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer- 476
hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the winter-ing centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir- [226]
fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kap-kotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry sal- [226]
mon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapko-tuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families stay-ing with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk [226]
speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
snikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her
[226] daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) 1 Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

A F *C48 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to A [162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of A F *C48 *175 161 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa [164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government A F *C48 *175 177 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to A F *C48 *175 651 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in A [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control A F *C48 *175 177 and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788), in *Matsumae Tōzan Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 177 *175

needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

A [161] A F *648 *115

This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"[a] but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

A [243] A [226]

[a] *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

A *698 *175 [161] [511] After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish, and the population which had been some 300 in 1799 increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the destruction of those natural resources upon which the Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about an improvement in industry. Farming was also encouraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been entirely prohibited since it required work during the fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing and, since these products were abundant, there was no need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on cereals was far superior to living on meat. According to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani at their own request. While it seems that the crops grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu abandoned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802. Actually it seems that the real reason the government changed its mind was that it did not favor anything which required more of a labor force than did hunting

A [241] F [181] A [262] F [241] A F *648 *175 241

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

F [241] [24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

161 ●
162
178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
762] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 ●
[144
162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	*Koku.**	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5, 979, 480	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110, 729, 265	Do.
Beche de mer, *Iriko*	1, 027, 580	197,211 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, Kombu	186, 373, 249	29,050,567 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4, 773, 040	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572, 374, 301	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15, 511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostrata*)	22, 250, 300	Do.
Other kinds	14, 505, 711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7, 096, 905	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	405, 600	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the 005
middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled 354
with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the
gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended [415]
above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or
more *inao*, or go.l-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is 352
usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, [778
on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vege- 251]
table products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore 342
always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing up- [237
right in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is 354]
a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, 342
about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. 361
The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, [161]
but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back 342
window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east sule. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

mainly to the great increase of mortality in children during the last two generations. The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of this degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct. I dare say that in fifty years from now—probably not so long—not one of the hairy savages, who were once the masters of Sakhalin, Yezo, the Kuriles, Kamschatka, and the whole of the southern Japanese Empire, will be left. Not one of these strange people—soft, good, and gentle, but savage, brave, and disreputable—will live to see their country civilised ; and in the life which they have led of filth and vice they will die in front of that greater scourge, civilisation, leaving behind no traces of themselves, of their past, of their history, nor of their present—nothing but a faint recollection, a tradition, that in Yezo and the Kuriles died the last remains of those curious people, the Hairy Ainu.

[P. 298 is blank]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

131 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3].
133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

NOTES

I

161
162
342

(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

II: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers. 127

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2 Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3*	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3 So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of 137

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Russian Islands R21
AINU AB6

RI 208 212 179 brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on 798 Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.[40] Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the [665] percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

177 Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half- [191] Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.[41] Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. [204] Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'[42]

871 362 In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools – only two schools had existed before the war – and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.[43]

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

A 101 131 161 208 When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 186

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

538

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

167 578 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

2: Schrenck--156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ 175 636 361 [113] /76 cont./

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

FJ [226] [251]

A [361] [101] [161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

SS. /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G. The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
● 161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

ooo 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

2: Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABG

SS /318 cont./
161 Gilyak . . . . . in 39 villages (26 on the
175 right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114 Manguntsen
Gi (Olcha) . . . . . in 40 villages (36 on the
Gi right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161
361 Goldi . . . . . in 114 villages (77 on the
right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes . . . . . 2000 souls

SS [113]

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

Gi 161

In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
000 /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

SS Gi [113]

4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

A on The basis of notes taken
161 in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

A [113]

5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

A [113] [114]

6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A /318 cont./

161 114 113

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS 161 114 162 Gi [101]

These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

SS 161 114 36

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

G [563] Gi [103] [361]

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

A
E
175
648

the government [a] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

[a] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

A
[172]

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A
[162]
[101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

EA [226]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

A F *C48 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to A [162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of A F *C48 *175 161 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa [164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government A F *C48 *175 177 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to A F *C48 *175 651 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in A [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799. A F *C48 *175 177

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

161
162
178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161
[144
162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the 123
saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which 175
tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkin went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. 162
John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,548	8,652	17,198
1883	8,854	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain 114
definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously 361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors 103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitakai	14			56
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboro		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakecho		2	5	7
Matsubecho		61	55	116
Hontomura		2		2
Shinriuwu		12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

162
361
103

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obetsukowashi	9	18	13	31
Aisshi	3	2	4	6
Ouansu	4	6	6	12
Tafakursi	30	54	41	95
Tobutsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashiba	10	22	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashiba	4	7	7	14
Ponbetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirotti	22	24	27	51
Betti	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Fushikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Memurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urekorepi	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	49	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154	540	580	1,120
Mitsuishi	67	194	191	385
Shidzunai	374	774	891	1,669
Nikap	136	321	307	628
Saru:				
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	152
Shinukotsu	28	55	68	123
——?	22	38	48	86
Pirstori	61	103	104	207
——?	31	77	88	165
? Niot	37	80	92	172
? Ogashirunaye	12	28	27	55
? Horosari	29	69	71	140
? Kankibetsu	16	28	20	48
Monbetsu	20	73	53	126
——?	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	55	68	123
Harabetsu	18	43	54	97
——?	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidzuni	23	27	28	55
IBURI.				
Yufutsu	240	499	521	1,020
Shiraoi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

●162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

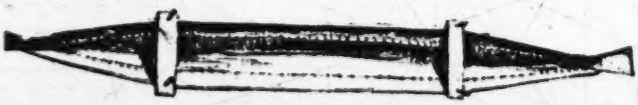
114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

small islands and picturesque rocks, standing like huge jewels in the water, while on the Horoizumi side, as far as the eye can see, there are only cliffs of peculiar shapes, and marvellously rich in colour. 133

I got two fresh animals, and pursued my journey towards Horoizumi. Rocks, rocks, nothing but rocks! My ponies stumbled and slipped all the time, and for eighteen miles the riding was hard and intricate. I had to lead my ponies most of the way, and help them, pull them, or push them, from one rock on to another, and down the next, and so on.

The scenery all along was magnificent and grand. A short distance from Shamane a large natural archway emerges from the sea, which is called by the Ainu, Shui-shma, "a hole in stone."

Holes have been pierced through the rocks in several places, to give comparative safe passage, and to prevent wayfarers from being carried away by the waves. Over the entrance of one of these tunnels a pretty waterfall, descending from a great height, gives a poetic effect to the scene, while it obliges the unfortunate traveller to take an extremely cold shower-bath, should he wish to push forward on his journey.

As if all these discomforts combined were not enough, it is to be added that the rivers in this part of the coast, though not wide, are extremely swift and dangerous to cross. My second pony was carried away by the strong current when I crossed the Poro-nam-bets,[1] and I had great difficulty in rescuing him.

At Shamane there are a few Ainu, but from there to Horoizumi I saw none. [162]

Sardines are very plentiful all along this coast, and long seaweeds also abound. The latter is used for export, chiefly to China. Horoizumi, a nice little village of one hundred and fifty houses, is the most picturesque in Yezo. It is built on the slopes of a high cliff, and it reminds one much of the pretty villages in the Gulf of Spezia. I arrived at sunset, and the warm red and yellow tints which the dying orb of day was shedding on the weather-beaten brownish houses, gave a heavenly appearance to this very earthly place. As I got nearer, a good deal of the heavenly had to be discarded, for the odours of fish-manure and of seaweed are two smells 136

[1] *Poro*, large; *nam*, cold; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The cliffs near Shoya are remarkable for their beauty. They are mostly older eruptive rocks which nature has carved into hundreds of rugged and fantastic forms. About a mile from the village is a huge natural archway, and from this point begin the precipitous cliffs, pillars, and rocks which make the journey so difficult. 133

At Shoya there are no pure Ainu, but some of the fishermen exhibit traces of Ainu blood. My recollection of Shoya is decidedly not of a pleasant character. I put up in the house of a fisherman, which also answers the purpose of a tea-house for the few stranded native travellers. 000 [162]

"We are so poor," said the landlord when I asked for something to eat, "and we have finished our provisions of rice. The other people in the village are poorer than we are, and they also have none; and as for fish, the sea has been so rough for several days that we have not been able to catch any. We ate the last scrap of fish we had just before you arrived! If you gave me a fortune, I could not give you anything to eat."

When the landlord confessed this to me in the evening, I had already been fourteen hours without food. The prospect of not getting any more for at least the next eighteen or twenty hours was not an agreeable look-out. I was very hungry, but, failing a meal, the next best thing was to try and go to sleep. Even that did not prove successful, for hunger keeps you awake, and in its first stages sharpens all your senses considerably.

The night I spent at Shoya is worthy of a description. From top to bottom the corners of my room were filled with webs, which the spiders had spun undisturbed in all directions across the room. Hundreds of flies and horseflies rose buzzing when I entered the room, and I had to engage in a very unequal war against them before I could settle down on the hard planks. In one corner of the ceiling a big, long-legged spider, too high for me to reach, was enjoying a good meal out of a huge horsefly which he had captured in his net. I almost envied the long-legged epicure. Nature will be ironical sometimes. When night came, and I was still sleepless, the planks on which I was lying seemed harder than any planks I had ever slept on before. I turned round one way,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus be forced to try the mountain track, which I was told was not so very rough from this point. A half-caste offered to show me the way. It was a very stiff climb among thick shrub, but it was comparatively smooth work after the experience of my journey from Shoya. I came across many tracks and footprints of bears on the mountain. In some [136] places the marks were quite fresh and of different sizes, varying in length from one foot to four inches. The half-caste told me that black bears seldom attack men unless they are hungry. They often attack horses.

"But if they hear that a man is near they will not dare to attack even the horses," he said, and then began to sing at the top of his voice. His singing, half Japanese, half Ainu, was so excruciating that it was no wonder to me that it kept the bears away.

We crossed two rapid streams before reaching the summit 133 of the mountain range. The view from the summit was lovely. In the distance I could distinguish two headlands, while an immense stretch of stormy sea and a high mountain were in the foreground. I began to descend, and again I got into the region of thick forest and scrub. I perceived a few houses near the coast, and we made for them. It was the village of Moyoro,[1] or Biru, as it is called by others.

Between Saruru and Biru, where the mountain track sometimes descends to the shore, I found many Ainu and half-breeds, especially in the two villages of Onnito[2] and Bita- [162] tannuki.[3] They are said to be very bad, and what I saw of them, even at Biru, corroborated this assertion.

Biru is situated on a small bay, in the centre of which some [133] gigantic pillars stand out at a great height. The rough sea dashes against them, and thousands of crows and sea-birds [136] have chosen these rocks for their abode. Biru is not a large village. There are only forty fishermen's huts, most of which are on the high cliff surrounding the small bay; the others are down on the beach. Kelp, seaweed, and sardines

[1] Moyoro. *Moy*, a bay; *oro*, to be in.
[2] Onnito. *Onni* or *Onne*, great, large; *to*, lake, swamp.
[3] Bitatannuki. *Bita*, to undo; *tannu*, long; *ki*, rushes, reeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low
[134] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[131] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

●162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KOMATAGE VOLCANO, VOLCANO BAY.

CHAPTER XIX.

Completing the Circuit of Yezo—The End of my Journey.

162 OSHAMAMBE is a group of seventy houses, just midway between Mororran and Mori. The Ainu of this bay are poor specimens of their race, as most of them have intermarried with Japanese. They are, however, those most talked about by Europeans, for they are of easy access to globe-trotters.

They are mostly half-castes, and even second and third crosses; wherefore it is no wonder that the incautious travellers who have written on the Ainu, studying only these easily-visited specimens, have discovered in them a remarkable likeness to the Japanese!

The fact that I was rapidly nearing the end of my trip half filled me with pleasure, yet pleasure mingled with regret. It was nearly six weeks now since I met with the accident to my foot, and I was decidedly better. The cold weather had greatly contributed to this improvement of my condition; and had it not been for my bone which kept sticking out of my skin, I should have considered myself in fine case. I could hop along with my self-made crutch and my stick, and when riding

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [[50]] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

mainly to the great increase of mortality in children during the last two generations. The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of this degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct. I dare say that in fifty years from now—probably not so long—not one of the hairy savages, who were once the masters of Sakhalin, Yezo, the Kuriles, Kamschatka, and the whole of the southern Japanese Empire, will be left. Not one of these strange people—soft, good, and gentle, but savage, brave, and disreputable—will live to see their country civilised; and in the life which they have led of filth and vice they will die in front of that greater scourge, civilisation, leaving behind no traces of themselves, of their past, of their history, nor of their present—nothing but a faint recollection, a tradition, that in Yezo and the Kuriles died the last remains of those curious people, the Hairy Ainu.

[P. 298 is blank]

182
241
177
771

INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was [184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu 175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa* [622] *uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim [114] to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

NOTES

I

161
162
342

(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory 127 an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2 Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hok- 132 kaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8).

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3 So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a 137 large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

Gi A 101 A G 101 162 361 103 A G 103 361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

G 361 A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

F.J. /75 cont./

175 During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than
648 almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around
464 Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the
22 crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in
A itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was
175 said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on
162
464
648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

FJ
175
636
439
443
648

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy
F.J. their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was
648 abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War,
636 the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements
175 on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 583
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [595
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of sakó to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of sakó and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and sakó, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[278] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/773 cont./

886 However, I believe that this figure is entirely arbitrary and
145 based on the statements of only a few persons. My Ainu friends showed me a woman who must have been from 56 to 60 years old since her son was already 34. She had stopped menstruating scarcely three years before and was certainly not to be regarded as an exception, according to my acquaintances. From the statistical data that I collected among the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, it appears that 12 persons were
[163] born to women of over 40 years of age. Of these women five bore children between the ages of 41 and 45, seven between the ages of 46 and 53. This constitutes 20 percent of all the women over 40 on the eastern shore of the island. It should be noted, however, that I only registered cases in which the children had remained alive, that is to say, the actual number of births is much greater. It may therefore be justly assumed that there are many women among the Ainu who menstruate beyond the age of 40 and whose menopause does not take place before 50.

841 Menstruation is not always regular among Ainu women.
145 I knew for instance a young woman who later died of influenza at the age of 25, and who, according to her husband, lost so little blood that he would jokingly call her a man. This circumstance the young Ainu considered the cause of her sterility, and he sorrowfully confessed to me, that he would have to look for another wife in order to obtain offspring. She frequently complained of pains and said she had the feeling as though something moved in her entrails that caused these pains. Sometimes she also experienced difficulty in breathing at the same time.

It sometimes happens, though rather rarely, that Ainu women have their menstruation not every month, but every sixth week, which is called kiem o-utur tuima, that is, a great interruption of the blood.

Ordinarily menstruation lasts two to three days, and with some women it last four days. In the latter case it is always painful.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A F *C48 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

A [162] A F *C48 *175 161 A [164] A F *C48 *175 177 A F *C48 *175 651 A [184] A F *C48 *175 177

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzan Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

A F *648 *175 251 657 age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

[731] In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

A F *648 *175 731 657 [511] As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

A 758 [759] The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

A [756] A [164] [177] A F *648 758 *175

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A [565] [562] [291] F [657]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he returned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my district, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." 753
"How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164
753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men
should meet together and go to the villages up and
down the rivers, and take from each hut a small por-
tion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-
parsnip. When they have secured these, they should
bring them to an appointed place, where the men should
sit down and pray. After the prayer they should
carry all to the seashore, then reverently make feti-
shes and place them by their side. When this has been
done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye
demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon
us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay
attention! We have with one accord met together
and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various
kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have
afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take
their departure. We present these articles of food
for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine.
O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays,
have the demons of disease taken away from our vil-
lages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony per-
formed, the sicknesses will speedily take their de-
parture."

826 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
787 volunteered the following lore. "When one has pal-
pitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to
755 hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sick-
ness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation
comes, he should at once rub the place six times and
say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now
brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should
take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into
six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place."
Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that
one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
● 164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened [164] her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 called Se-Cheripe, which contains many shoals and low
[139] islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber,
[139] mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

162 The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all
●[164] become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast,
132 and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils
000 than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of
Seeing the Surrounding Scentry,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

179 or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and
346 compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a
993 stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese
177 language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian,
191 besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday,
177 the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-
794 nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas
771 and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each
177 individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

161 As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before
[164] all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

184 As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a character-
[157] istic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress
[300] their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[P. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal
142 bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred
732 Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often
564 affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. 151
The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is
very common among their children, owing to their filthy con- [164]
dition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few
Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affec-
tions such as are frequent among civilised and more studious
nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful 142
and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by
specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last
prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the
orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race,
and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even
longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. [171]
The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed
with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than
with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long
eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities
necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be 151
the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off,
but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of
an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in
transmitting to the brain the impression received.

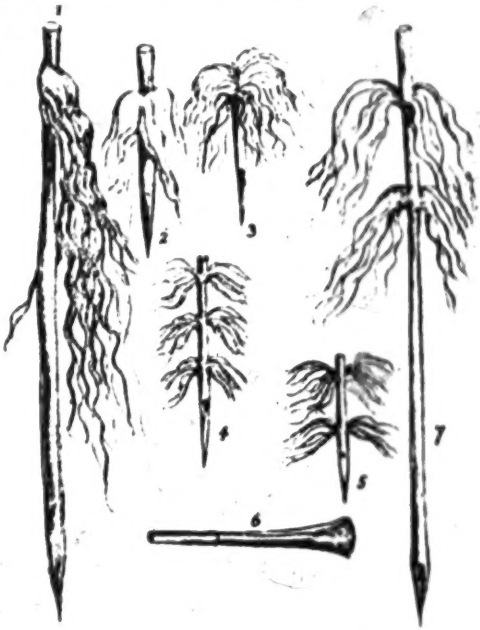
As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take 855 care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789



1, 7, INAO-NETURA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISEI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141

Spinal vertebræ : 24 inches.
Scapula (from shoulder to shoulder) : 17 inches.
Between shoulder-blades : 5⅞ inches.
Femur : short.
Tibia : very long.
(Natives objected to have their legs measured.)
The Tibia is much rounder than with the Yezo Ainu.
Length of face : 7⅛ inches.
Width of face from ear to ear : 11⅛ inches.
Round head above ears : 21⅝ inches.
Ears : small.
Forehead : 2¾ inches high ; 5⅝ inches wide.

With arms outstretched and from tip to tip of fingers the Shikotan Ainu measure generally the length of one hand (about 6¾ inches) more than their own height. Consumption, *kaki*, and syphilis are common complaints among them. [164]

II.—GLOSSARY OF AINU WORDS, MANY OF WHICH ARE FOUND IN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN YEZO AND THE KURILE ISLANDS.[1] 104

A.

A = (a suffix).
Apa = an open space, a doorway.
Aikap = impossible, impassable.
Ambe = that is.
An = to be.
Aota = near.
Apta = rain.
Apun = gently.
At = a tree.
Atsu = barren, naked.

B.

Bets, or pets, pet = river.
Be, or pe = pestilential water.
But, or put = mouth of a river.

[1] The vowels to be pronounced as in Italian.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

/768 cont./

844 853 [292] [278] When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

They are upright in
A-2 carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when
[48] young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
142 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
● [65] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[962] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
762] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

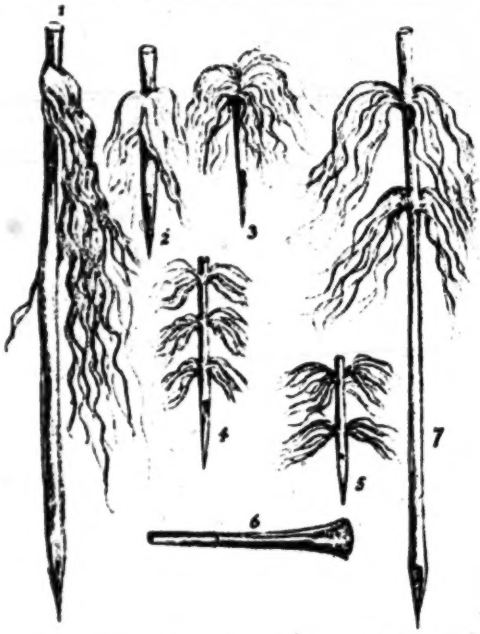
collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir [1] and Urup [2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. 855 They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789



1, 7, INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISKI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 622 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the 192 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and
[241] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
[622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[627] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-
556

A F *698 *175 439 [692] [624]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [574] [996] A [203] A F *698 *175 ● [166]

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [624] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361] halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 69 are quite different from
[197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515] low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.90]

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[27] ated as follows:

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir[1] and Urup[2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

On the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

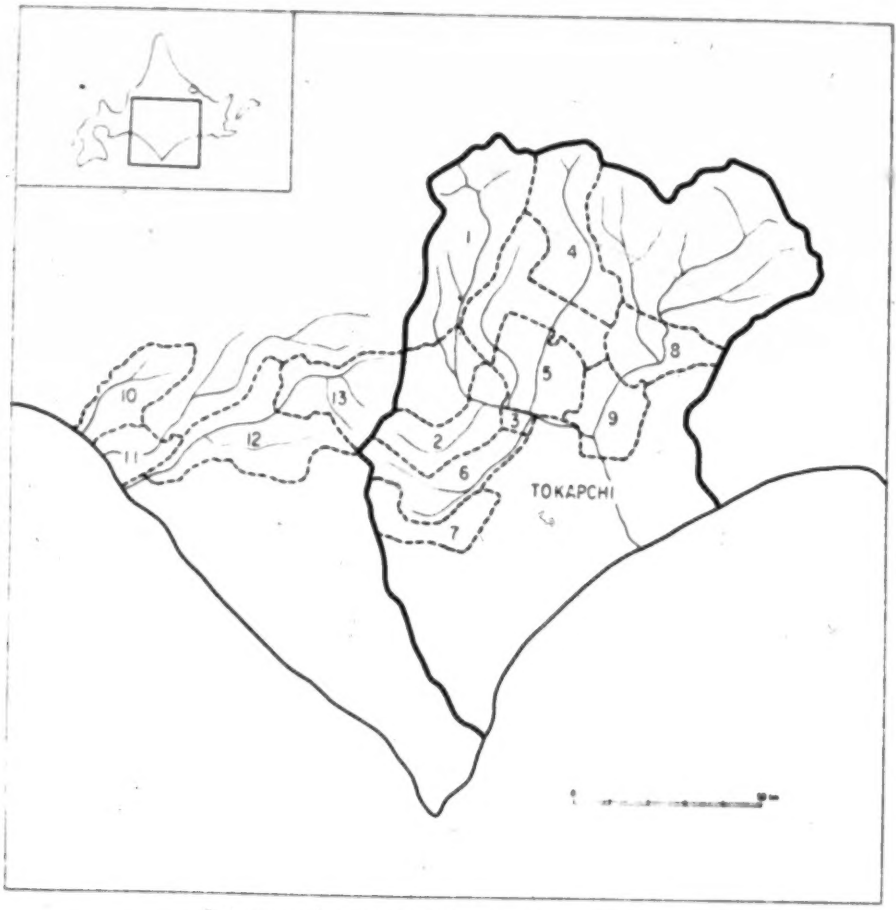
The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102
175
648



Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondō Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six 175 361

1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under goyernmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

175
361

For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU ABG

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

• 167 [113]

2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113]

3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--34 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABG

/18 cont./ 3. (cont.)

131
167
113

Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J.B.S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the area of distribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J./123 cont./Many
175 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled
648 across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The
A
[167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince
E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the
[361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in
729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

A
EJ
[177]

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.
A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the
E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were
F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely
175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to
654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rimsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

ooo 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

G
Gi
325
174
Gi
[177]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A
G
325
17

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

A
[439]

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

A
114
325
17

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A /569 cont./
114 cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in
325 general their method of forging is "approximately the same as
●17 in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categoriza-
A tion and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond
325 doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place
17 from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

G /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils
325 and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part
17 of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of
OOD political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

K 823 A 439 823 186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A 439 435

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

G A K 439 17 325

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

A F *175 *648 622 used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Seia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

A F [439]

A 622 From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

A F [171] In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

A F [579] A F

*175 These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

*648 There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

622 554 156

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*C48
*175
441
177
A
171

From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

[P. 47 (B)]

1:Takakura 5 H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL
By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF DIRECT CONTROL

A F *C48 *175

It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN COLONIZATION

F 175 101

It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources"[1] but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters[2] to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.[3] While these attempts were

A *C48 *175 [199] A [171] A [199]

[1] Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

[2] Murakami Naojirō, trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

[3] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

[P. 48 (A)]

A
F
*C48
*175

tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

F
[170]

> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

A
[131]
[132]
[171]

> The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

Feudal Japan AB 9

A F *648 *115

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku*; brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

A F *648 *115 939

A [100]

---

[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisui Zenshu* 1.

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

A [323] [91]

[P. 65 (A)]

F A *648 681 656 671 *175

the formation of groups was prohibited, and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was distasteful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU

On coming to Hokkaidō, a visitor will probably be 142
surprised to find that as a rule the skin of the Ainu, 171
both men and women, is lighter than that of the ordinary Japanese, particularly of the South. Yet a few will be found among them of a coppery brown colour and some quite dark like the North American Indians and natives of Alaska. One young Ainu man who a few years ago went to Alaska hunting otters and who had been detained by the American authorities as a poacher, declared to me, when he returned, that some of the words the Alaska Indians used were very like his own. But, as he had quite forgotten which they were, I was unable to compare. Knowing nothing of the language of that people, I can offer no opinion. And, I will add, some of our visiting friends have remarked, "Why, the Ainu are just like North American Indians." It may be so. I cannot tell.

In stature the people are moderately short, the 142
men averaging five feet five inches and the women five feet in height. Those less than this are said by some to be descendants of the so-called dwarfs to be mentioned later. These are called "short backed people." They are sturdy and well set up. Their arms and legs are thick and their feet and hands big. Their muscles are large and they have well developed chests and great width of shoulders. The hair of the head is prolific and coarse, its colour being black and brown. They have beautiful teeth and large round, bright brown and dark eyes. They are upright in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the
[397] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard
[511 and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming
171] from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war. A 539 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him. G 648

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty. A 764 184 A [441 171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu- 304
land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, 563
was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being [178
tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melane- 171]
sians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 ● 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the
[178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* 766
and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this 782
instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, [777]
and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of 777
age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to 431
take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Ad- 777
miral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in 171
the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVII

ABOUT EARTHQUAKES

We have just had a slight earthquake and though 133
they are neither so strong nor frequent as in the 171
South of Japan they are by no means unknown in Hokkaidō. I have experienced several rather severe ones here, but none big enough to shake houses down, and I have only had to run out of doors twice in fifty years. But one never knows when a really bad one may happen upon us.

Many years ago we got a good shaking when I was 133
in Piratori with the chief of that village. Penri was a fine, brave man, but could not stand snakes and earthquakes. Snakes, because one had bitten him when younger, earthquakes because he could not hold them or punish them. When our shake-up came, I saw him lift his head and look quite scared. The hut was rocking to and fro at a great rate, and the floor was heaving up and down as though the waves of the sea were chasing one another under the ground. "What is it?" I asked. "A mighty earthquake," answered he. We both thought the hut would come down. But fortunately it did not do so. But even had it fallen, it would not have mattered much. Huts are so light, made of simple posts and thatch as they are, that unless the posts are rotten there can be no danger of falling. Even if they did fall, it would only mean the roof dropping bodily down to the ground and settling there. Unless a person came into contact with a rafter or one of the beams as it fell, he would be in no danger. All the harm that could possibly come

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut BV2

A
Y
372
171
[776
782]

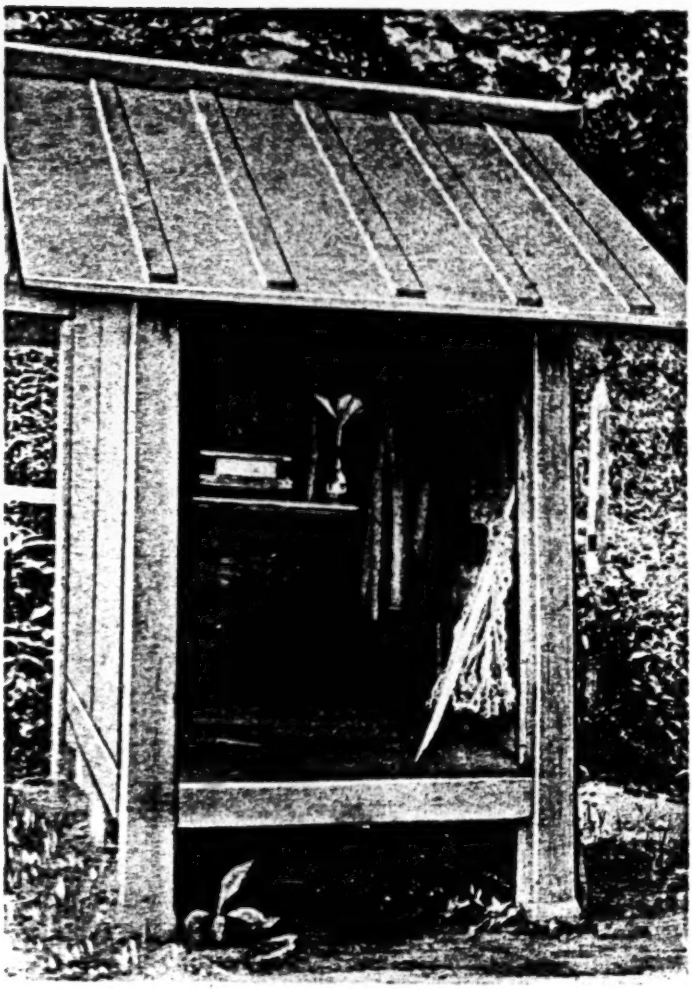
ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y
784
372

As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
171
346



SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

[p. 412]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A 796 [722]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778]
A G 171 796

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

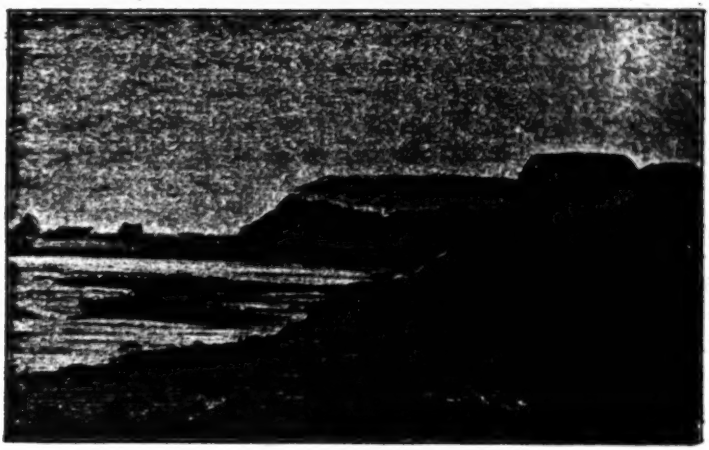
Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133



KORO-POK-KURU PORT.

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

172 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island [171] of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,

FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

difference in colour where it has been affected by the weather and where not, thus giving a distinct clue of some passer-by, man or brute; and when once you have found what the characteristics of the tracks are, the most difficult part of the task is accomplished.

On weather-beaten rocks the trail is more difficult to strike, and more difficult still on rocks over which the sea washes. "For," say the simple people, "how can you see tracks on hard stone? The foot certainly does not leave a print on rocks as on sand; and even supposing that the feet were dirty, the sea would wash away the marks, and you could not see anything."

In my case I limited my search to bare-footed marks, as the Ainu generally go bare-footed. Everybody knows that dogs track by scent, and this is a sure proof that every footmark must have a certain special odour, however infinitesimal. When we remember that the act of walking makes the feet warm and perspire, it is easy to understand that this perspiration, which is a greasy substance, leaves a mark on the stone—though to be sure it is sometimes almost imperceptible, especially when quite fresh. But most of us, when children at school, have noticed that touching a slate with moist fingers leaves a greasy mark, which could not be rubbed off again. The same thing happens when we tread on stones with bare feet. If the sea washes over the stones after the greasy impression has been thus made on them, it does nothing but accentuate these marks, and show them more plainly, as the salt water acts in one way on the untouched parts of the stone, but in a different way where the grease has been absorbed. These marks are generally very faint, and it requires some training before they can be discerned; but when the knack is once acquired, they become evident enough. To an observant eye, and with a little practice, it is not difficult to perceive whether one or more persons have tramped on a given place, and in what direction they have travelled. The marks on stones which are washed over by the sea are usually of a lightish colour.

481 171 I could almost invariably distinguish the footmarks of an Ainu from those of a Japanese, as the Ainu take longer strides, and their toes are longer than those of the Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
190 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
352 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490a are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

as life itself depends mostly on their accuracy and acuteness. 151
The Ainu possess good sight. Inflammation of the eyes is very common among their children, owing to their filthy con- [164]
dition; but it seldom affects their permanent sight; very few Ainu suffer either from myopy or cataract, or other eye affections such as are frequent among civilised and more studious nations. In very warm climates, where the sun is powerful 142
and the light strong, the eyes are generally shielded by specially long and thick eyelashes and eyebrows, which last prevent the sweat from running down the forehead into the orbit; but, strange to say, the Ainu, who are a northern race, and have always lived in cold climates, have eyelashes even [171]
longer and thicker than any race of people in tropical climates. The iris is of a somewhat greyish tint, sometimes traversed with brown shades. The white of the eye is less pearly than with Caucasian races, and the eyes, shaded as they are by long eyelashes and heavy eyelids, seem to possess all the qualities necessary for abnormally long vision. And this we find to be 151
the case, for the Ainu can distinguish objects a long way off, but they are dense as to minutiæ. In other words, the eye of an Ainu is ready to receive an impression, but very slow in transmitting to the brain the impression received.

As we have seen, they cannot reproduce the "human form divine," or any faithful representation of anything animate or inanimate which they have seen. They see *en gros;* thus, should an Ainu's attention be drawn to some very distant object rapidly moving on the shore, he will at once say that it is a horse, because he knows that the chances are it is a horse, but he will be unable to describe its colour, and whether cantering or galloping, saddled or unsaddled, by a single glance at the horse, unless his attention is called to each particular detail, when he will answer each question correctly enough. The Ainu vision is then strong, but the brain is not quick in response. Testing their sight by "test dots," as used in the British Army, was not a success, greatly owing to their inability to count and the inaccuracy of their answers.

The most fully-developed sense in the hairy people is, in my opinion, that of hearing. Distant sounds are clearly recognised and specified, and they are also aware that by placing one ear near the ground, far-off sounds of horse's hoofs and the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

776 1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, [171] their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for [173] example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

778 With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
771 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree")
196 and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's
174 tongue."
[193]

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents
778 nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost
171 identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention
[532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front
[782] of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in
[171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, [778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
● [171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population. 776 769 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid. 776 769 611

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage. 769 776 [782] [778]

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors. 614 611 769 [423]

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as 611

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapchi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acorn-gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from [171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has [595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

Gilyak RX2

A G /32/

532 The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative
171 art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability
A of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representa-
G tive themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis
532 for the decorative compositions. Description and representation
114 of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses,
and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk
A (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations
G
[113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaia Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

A by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-
G
[113]

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, sviazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6 •
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
114
[13]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
• 171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A
G
114
121
532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in
• [171] these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178
[113]

5. See L. Y. Shternberg. Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

532
825
178
[113]

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825
•[171]
[114]

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
•171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

[113] 6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
•171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

532 /38 cont./
[113]

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Ainskaia problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation developed on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

[825]

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the
•171 peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

Gilyak RX2

A /39 cont./

532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
•171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

G
171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
532
825

Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A/
172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.
532
825

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
825

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho,' occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery).

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [178] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 (70) The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

G
*601
177

Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G
121
*601
171

G
*601
171
A
601
171
T
[601]
[171]

We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

G *601 171 A T 601 171 [648]

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 171 T 601 171 Gi [601 171]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 171 G *601 171

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 199 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

7/1 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--472 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/333 cont./

175
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

175
342
352
354
[177]
[171]

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[184]

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

Gi 291 294 177 415

/406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439]

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

Ainu ABG
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

A
291
171

/406 cont./

straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

A
[113]

2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

Gi
291
184

Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

Gi
[226]
[224]
[433]
[114]

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

Gi
[481]

among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171
[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont./

302
171
177
[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302
177
648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302
177
413

and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

2: Schrenck--628 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABL

T 302 171 179 [131]

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G GT TS 302 171 179 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A
G /416 cont./
Gi
SS
T
302 and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such
171 fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand
177 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the
648 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external
301 appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples
171 of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the
Gi cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from
[301] the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or
Gi facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and
301 the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1 [See category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/454 cont./

226
179

Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

226
171
113

5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old [251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack 179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

G SS 276 197 G [554] [321]

/468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. ekip." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VII Th Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
171 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
174 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
493 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171]
A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[492] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
Gi the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
492 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
174 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
171 whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
Gi times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter
177 adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
152

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
[182] tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[183] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss) is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
171 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

AE
175
648

the government [6] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Sruu Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

A
[172]

[6] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A
[162]
[101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E 175 [171]

The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

F E A 121

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

A 114

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

A 194
A [192]

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of
181 Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen
[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse
177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth
[291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 622 192 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *toche*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

•[172]

A STONE AXE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of disease. They came into the world in this way. 773
Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the
deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in [753]
order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and
rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for
a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing
came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these
were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire.
No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once
turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones
became demons which originated some kinds of ill-
nesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their
sticks and got flints which they struck together. These
made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

[172]

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now
about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their
flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those
which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and
those which were thrown into the sea turned them-
selves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were
quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole
time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God
would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine
which should live upon dry land and which should be
banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused
them to have a race and so settle the matter. They
assembled at the appointed time and place, where they
strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race,
and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

101 bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are
101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church
114 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the peo-
[176] ple, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown
● 172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi-
174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the
177 archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

lers, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have 174
exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioci*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people.

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, 174
Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far 172
south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

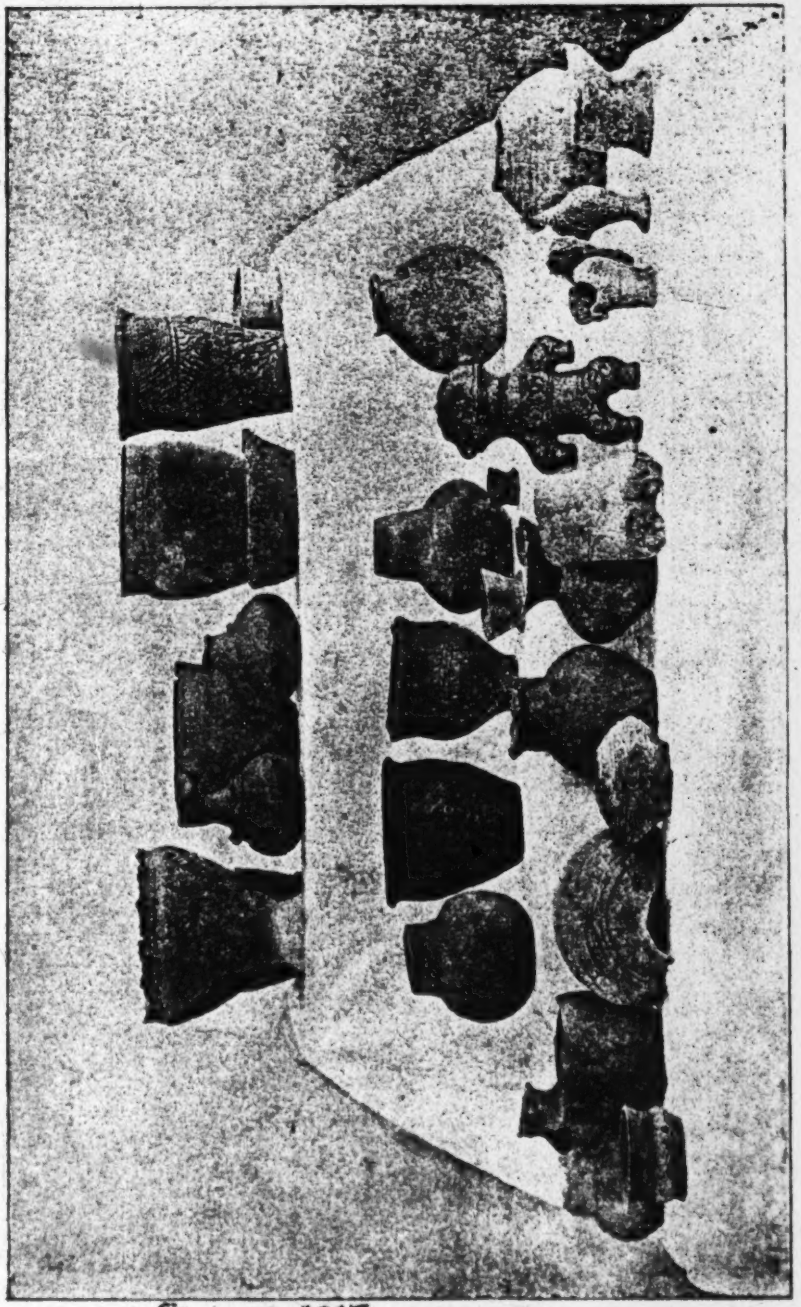
(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly [175]
lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai.

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-87.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
323
172
531



ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koro-pok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172 ● 41 251

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

KORO-POK-KURU FORT.

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

172 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island [171] of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,

FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

breadth. The larger ones I saw measured an inch and three-quarters in length by an inch and five-eighths in breadth, while the smaller were seven-eighths of an inch by half an inch. They were triangular, with the angle at the point sometimes more, sometimes less acute, or lozenge-shaped; they are chipped, and not ground. Most of the arrow-heads and a good many of the knives were made of a dark reddish siliceous rock. The adzes also, of course, varied in size and shape, some being oblong in section, others almost rectangular, while others again were oval. They were ground, and always made so that the hand could have a good grip on them. The average length from the sharp edge to the other end would be about four inches, and the sides were rounded. It is apparent that most of these adzes were not originally fastened to a stick or club, but were held in the hand. They usually have a smooth surface, while the knives, as well as the arrow-points, exhibit marks of chipping quite plainly; their edges are very sharp. Hard stones are often found on which the people of the Stone Age used to grind their implements. The knives are mostly rectangular, with very sharp edges, sometimes on both sides. Then there are some in the shape of a sword-blade, rounded at the top, and with a rounded place at the other end, where they were held. Those with two sharp edges were triangular in shape, and were held by the upper part of the triangle, which point ends with a kind of knob.

FLINT KNIVES.

It is a curious fact that bone and bamboo arrow-points—probably Ainu—are sometimes found in pits, and this would lead me to believe, either that the conquering Ainu used these weapons in their attacks upon the pit-dwellers, or, supposing for a moment that the Ainu themselves were the pit-dwellers in former days, that they had abandoned their

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

•172 stone implements and had adopted bone and wood, which they found easier to work. I am inclined to the first supposition as the correct one. The pits are numerous in Yezo, and, following the southern coast from south-west to north-east, we find that they increase in number towards the north. Though stone implements and fragments of pottery are numerous nearly all along the southern coast, but few pits are found either on Volcanc Bay or on the south-west part of the coast as far as Erimo Cape. As we pass this cape and go north, on the south-east coast the pits become more numerous, and at Kushiro—or Kossuri, as the Ainu call it—they are found in great quantities. Further on are some at Akkeshi, and they are plentiful nearly all along that stretch of the coast as far as Nemuro, and on Bentenjima, the small island which forms one side of the harbour at that place. North-east of that, in the Kuriles, at Kunashiri and Etorofu, we have abundant evidence that a large population of these pit-dwellers once existed there. In Etorofu particularly the pits, besides being frequent, are in much better preservation than any on the island of Yezo.

The pit-dwellers do not seem to have been particular as to the shape of their dwellings, though they evidently had a certain predilection for the elliptical and rectangular forms. The pits at Kushiro are nearly all rectangular, while those from Akkeshi to Nemuro are either rectangular or circular.

The average dimensions of rectangular pits are about twelve feet by nine feet, but I have seen some as large as sixteen feet by twelve feet. The sides slope inwards, and the average depth is from three to six feet. Pits which are situated on cliffs, or at any height, are generally deeper, probably for the extra shelter required by those living at an altitude, compared with those living on the sea-level. The round pits are from ten to fourteen feet in diameter, and the elliptical have a length of about sixteen feet, and are about eight feet at the widest part of the ellipse. The pits which I found on the north-east coast of Yezo, from Shari to Cape Soya, were not so numerous as those on the southern coast; but some of them were larger in size, as probably, owing to the greater severity of the climate, more people lived in the same hut for the purpose of creating natural heat. At Tobuts, on the Saruma

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Lake, are three of elliptical shape. Near Abashiri several well-preserved specimens of pottery have been found, especially in the mud of swamps or lakes; but after leaving Lake Saruma, I did not see any traces of the pit-dwellers till I approached Soya Cape. When these pits are excavated, a stratum of sand is generally found, and beneath it a large quantity of charcoal in the centre of the pit. Under the charcoal the earth is burnt, showing that the hearth was in the centre of the dwelling, as it is now in the Ainu huts. This goes to prove that there was one fire, and not, as some travellers have endeavoured to show, five or six burning at the same time, round which, or, rather, between which, the pit-dwellers slept. I have often dug in different parts of pits, and have invariably come upon this burnt charcoal in or near the middle. I never saw any signs of more than one fire in the same pit. Digging in a large pit at Kushiro, I found some stag-horns, and numerous bits of black and red pottery. Some of the fragments had rough line ornamentations on them. There was also a large quantity of war ammunition, in the shape of big pebbles and round stones. Most pits contain heaps of rubbish and bones of animals. Sometimes there are heaps of oyster shells, as near the pits on Saruma Lake; and these shell-heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon. In another pit on one of the forts at Kushiro I found what I thought was part of a human skull; but on a closer examination it turned out to be the skull of an animal—probably a fox or a stag. A bone arrow-point also came to light in the same pit, and several stone defensive weapons. It was interesting to note that this pit was built on the top of a small conical hill, and that the hill itself was surrounded by a ditch only a few feet wide, thus forming a kind of fort. On the side and at the bottom of the fort I saw numbers of stones, which had in all probability been used by the pit-dwellers as missiles against the attacking Ainu during a battle. Besides forts, the pit-dwellers had camps, generally situated in a commanding position above a river, a lake, or a harbour. Single pits also are found only under similar conditions.

Near Kushiro, on the Lake Harutori, which is divided from the sea by a sand isthmus, are several camps and one or two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

forts, the first of which overlooks the sea. Along the Kutcharo River are forts and camps. These camps are on the crowns of the hills, and each is surrounded by a small ditch. In the last, about three miles from the coast, were several square pits, larger than those on the other three forts. This last fort stands some distance back from the river, and is situated in a little plain at the summit of a detached mound, which has the appearance of having been artificially cut from the larger remaining portion of the hill itself. The shape of the fort is a broken cone, and the base measures about nine hundred feet in circumference, while the upper one is about three hundred. From the top, where there is only a small pit, the entrance of the river can easily be watched; and it must have been almost impregnable, as the walls of the fort, or, rather, the sides of the conical hill, rise nearly perpendicularly from the plain. A small stream runs at the foot of the fort.

On the Lake Harutori the range of hills which stretches from the sea for three or four miles along its eastern shores is literally covered with these pits, and on the sandy isthmus separating the sea from the lake some very large pits can be observed. The fort near the sea is called *Shirito* by the Ainu, and that at the other end of the range goes by the name of *Moshiriya*. It was in the latter fort that the well-shaped bone arrow-point was found, as well as one or two stone adzes, which were so shaped as to fit the hand, and evidently had been used as hammers, or weapons of offence at close quarters. In the same fort I found two stags' horns in good preservation, and many bones of different animals. It is doubtful whether these heaps of horns and bones were brought into the pits for the purpose of making arrow-points and other weapons, or whether the stags had been used merely for food. The bone arrow-point found in the same pit was not in such a decayed condition as most of the bones I found there, which led me to believe that it was not made out of the same kind of bone, or that the bone out of which it was made had been cured before its conversion into an arrow-point. I believe that in the neighbourhood of Kusuri—or Kushiro, as it is now called by the Japanese—there are as many as a thousand or fifteen hundred pits. In Etorofu, at Bet-to-bu, on the north-west coast of the island, nearly as many are to be found

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

along the seashore, mostly on the plain at the top of the cliffs overlooking the sea, while the rest are situated on the banks of a narrow stream and along what appears to have been a river course. On the same island, at Ru-pets, are several pits of a similar description, and a fort. 172

As the pit-dwellers have disappeared from Yezo and the Kuriles, and only pre-historic remains and relics have been left behind to indicate their former existence, the questions naturally arise: Who were these pit-dwellers? Whence did they come? and whither have they gone? We can place no reliance on the accounts given by the Ainu or by the highly imaginative Japanese, who, moreover, are perfectly ignorant on this subject. Some Ainu say that Yezo was formerly peopled by a race of dwarfs, who were their enemies, and were extirpated by them after many sanguinary battles. The Ainu are very vague as to when and where these battles were fought, but according to their accounts these pit-dwellers, whom they call the *Koro-pok-kuru*—literally "men of holes"—once inhabited Yezo and the Kuriles. They were only three or four feet in height, and some semi-Ainu stories represent them as being only a few inches tall. This of course might be taken to mean that they were very small by comparison. A few Ainu, yet more imaginative than others, go so far as to say gravely that the Koro-pok-kuru were so tiny that when a shower of rain came they hid under burdock leaves for shelter. Others, however, tell us that these Koro-pok-kuru were their ancestors, and much more hairy than the Ainu of the present day. They were strong, fond of hunting, and able to cross the mountains with great facility and speed. According to Mr. Batchelor, some Ainu state that they themselves formerly lived in huts over pits, and that they changed their method of house-building on coming in contact with the Japanese; but if this were the case it seems unaccountable that they should distinguish their predecessors as pit-dwellers. Moreover, if the influence of the Japanese was sufficiently strong to cause them to make this most important change in their habitations and mode of living, how comes it that in other matters they have not adopted Japanese customs? I was unable to trace the slightest resemblance between Ainu huts and Japanese edifices of any kind, either in their general appearance or in any of 172 173 172

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the [172] dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, [342] are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

184 On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some 341 Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in 132 the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford 341 an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, 132 and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in 184 winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make [823] pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, [177] though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the [173] enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 1890), where not only these Shimusu people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Along the south-east coast the pits increase in number as we approach Kusuri, and at this place the largest number of pits in Hokkaido is found; then they are numerous all along the coast as far as Nemuro; and in the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu the population must have been large, as there are numerous pits throughout. Pits are found in the smaller islands of the Kurile group, and I believe also in Kamschatka. From Nemuro, following the coast-line of Yezo, we find some along the north-east coast of Yezo, and none down the west coast until we reach the narrower part of the island near Sappro. This said, we have two points to consider:—

(1.) That the pit-dwellers moved from north-east to south-west.

(2.) That the main bulk of the population settled in Etorofu, Kunashiri, and at Kushiro. Few went further south to settle.

All evidence tends to show that they came either from Kamschatka, or perhaps more probably from the Aleutian Islands. It seems not improbable, looking at the volcanic formation of the Kurile group, that in bygone days Yezo was joined to Kamschatka, affording a land passage to the migratory people; but this we need not take into consideration.

From what one can gather of this race, the habits and customs of the Koro-pok-kuru must have had many points in common with the present Esquimaux. Very likely their pits were roofed over with a snow vault. They evidently lived by fishing and hunting, like the Esquimaux, and all that we know identifies them more with the latter race than with the Ainu.

I believe that the present Aleuts have a striking resemblance to the Esquimaux; and if this were the case, there is no reason why we should not suppose that they in former days inhabited the Kuriles, part of Kamschatka and the north-east portion of Yezo. It is a well-known fact that the Esquimaux formerly lived in corresponding latitudes on the east coast of America, and that they withdrew little by little to the more inhospitable regions of the north, and the same might have occurred here after the Ainu invasion of Yezo. The Koro-pok-kuru were apparently more civilised than their conquerors the Ainu, for they made pottery and worked stone; but owing to their retiring nature and weaker physique, and outnumbered by the savage hairy people, they became extinct. As to the Ainu,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they also are undoubtedly a race of the north. Their music, their decorations, their habits, display characteristics of northern origin; but the Ainu, as we have seen from their structures and customs, were by no means accustomed to so cold a climate as their predecessors the pit-dwellers. In my opinion they did not invade Yezo from the Kuriles, but came from the continent of Asia, probably across Siberia, and descended as far as Sakhalin Island, where many Ainu are still to be found. As the Koro-pok-kuru resemble the Esquimaux, the Ainu have a striking resemblance in many ways to the Northmen of Europe, and this is what makes me suppose that they came across the northern part of the continent, and not from the northern islands of the Pacific. They made their way south, probably crossing over the La Perouse Strait, and the main contingent of them came down the north-east coast of Yezo. I base this theory on the fact that the strong current which passes through the La Perouse Strait from west to east would have made it impossible for the Ainu in their light "dug-outs" to navigate against it, or straight across from Sakhalin to Sōya Cape, and in crossing they were undoubtedly drifted far south-east on the north-east coast, probably landing near Abashiri or Shari. Another evidence which made me think that the Ainu came from Sakhalin is, that all knew of another island besides Yezo, which they called Krafto, by which name they designate Sakhalin. Of the Kuriles no one knew except those in the immediate neighbourhood. At one time the Ainu are said to have inhabited the whole of Japan as far south as Satsuma. Archæologists are puzzled by the discovery in the main island of Nippon of various kitchen-middens, which include fragments of pottery identical with those attributed to the Koro-pok-kuru, and also of shell heaps, which some consider of Ainu origin, others as pre-Ainu. No pits, however, have been found near these shell heaps, nor on any part of Nippon. Thus another question is raised as to who the originators of these shell heaps and kitchen-middens were. Is it not likely that, as the Ainu proceeded south, they encountered the Koro-pok-kuru at Nemuro and then at Kushiro, and, having easily defeated them, forced some of them to retreat in the direction of the Kuriles, while the rest went towards the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 tion. On a pretty bit of green grass in the foreground, only a few feet above the sea-level, were a shed and a storehouse. A reef and shallow water closed the entrance of the bay to the foaming waves of the Pacific. In the sheltered water, which was as smooth as a mirror, the dark rich colour of the overhanging rocks, caressed by the last warm rays of the dying sun, was reflected with absolute fidelity and almost increased loveliness. A cold whitish sky, and the *white horses* breaking on the reef, completed the *ensemble* of that lovely scene; and it was with great regret, after having attempted a sketch, that I was told my horse was ready, and I had to leave this poetical and exquisite scene.

●172 On the slight elevations near Otchishi, and in the valley, pits are still to be seen, showing that the pit-dwellers were once numerous in this district. They are found both along the coast as well as slightly inland by the side of small rivers, and on the shores of the Saruffu lagoon. A well-kept road ooo begins at Otchishi, and goes on to Nemuro. At first it runs over hilly ground and through an oak-wooded country, then [137] through thick forests of spruce trees, the trees standing very close together. About four miles from Nemuro a military settlement—"Hanasaki"—similar to the one on the Shibetcha-Akkeshi road, has been established by the Japanese Government. Here, again, I was struck by the difficulty and the amount of labour involved in clearing the trees off the ground. It will take many years before the industrious farmers will have any return for their hard labour. I do not know what the object of the Japanese Government may have been in starting these two militia settlements in spots so unfit for cultivation, but it seems a great pity to see the Tokachi region, which has all the requisites for successful agriculture, quite deserted, while hundreds of men are wasting their strength and time at other places, where it will take several years to open enough ground for even a kitchen-garden.

Past the long row of houses at Hanasaki the road descends gently, and I arrived at Nemuro, a thriving place of about fifteen hundred houses, on the south-west coast of the plateau-like peninsula ending at Cape Noshafu. The general elevation of the plateau is between sixty and one hundred and twenty feet

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

all mountainous, with the exception of a small valley near Rubets. It is along the banks of the Bettobu River, in that small valley and on those terraces, that the numerous pits of the Koro-pok-kuru are found, and also at Rupets, further south on the same coast. This, however, I have already explained in connection with the pit-dwellers. The two small fishing-stations above mentioned are respectively under the lee of the headlands ending in Cape Ikahasonets and Notoro Cape. On the first headland the mountain of Tsiriju rises to a great altitude. The largest fishing-station is at Shana, on the western side of this headland, and further north, besides Bettobu, is the small station of Shibets. South-west of Shana one finds Rubets, Furubets, Oitoi, and Naibo, the latter in the bay of the same name. There are five lakes in Etorofu, two of which are between Shana and Bettobu, one near Rubets, the other close to Naibo; the fifth is a very small one, fifteen or sixteen miles north-east of Bettobu. The country has a rugged look, and in some places, as near Rubets, where the volcanic mountain masses leave space for low terraces the scrub-bamboo is very thick, as in Yezo, and small and stunted trees form the chief vegetation. Larch is more common on the north-west coast than on the south-east. Good timber is rather scarce in Etorofu, but a fair quantity of it is to be found inland, and also at the south-western portion of the island about Naipo.

Accumulations of sulphur are found at Ichibishinai, and there is an active volcano south-east of Bettobu, besides the beautiful volcanic cone of Atzosa, three or four thousand feet above sea-level. All this volcanic mountain mass, with its warmly-tinted peaks, bears the characteristics of the central portion of Yezo; and there seems to be little doubt that all this row of islands, with the frequent submerged craters and volcanic cones, is nothing but the continuation of the volcanic zone in Yezo. The main resource of Etorofu is the fishing. Four different kinds of salmon and salmon-trout are found, one similar to the salmon common in Yezo, the others somewhat differently marked. Salmon is extremely plentiful, and in July and August enormous catches are made, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where the fish are closely packed together.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows, which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few "bites" my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out

A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

Gilyak RX2

A /39 cont./

532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

G
171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
532
825

Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A
• 172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.
532
825

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
825

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Nitsche Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

/326/

172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [768] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, 223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured

/328 cont'd/

173 swords on Hokkaido. From this conversation I concluded that this was a matter of swords imported from Manchuria and that the name Tondzin they were given can be explained by the fact that a long time ago it was the Tonchi who brought Manchurian objects into the country for the first time.

172 In the following places on Sakhalin known to me remains of Tonchi dwellings can be found:

a) On the western shore of Sakhalin.

1. In the southern village of Siranusi (De Preradowicz, Ethnographische Skizze von Sud-Sachalin, p. 13). 2. At a distance of ca. nine kilometers from the village of Siranusi (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 3. On the river Tei, above the great fisheries (from there workmen brought me two stone axes). 4. Next to the village Poro-Tomari, somewhat to the north of Mauka (according to Siemionow). 5. In Oko Tomari, not far from Mauka, in a place bordering the seashore a stone chisel was found (according to the same Siemionow). 6. Large quadrangular piles of earth on the banks of the river Mauka, situated a little higher than the fishery plants, (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 7. The same type of earthpiles near Kusunay. 8. The valley of the river Dui and the valley of Aleksandrowsk. Both places are mentioned by Polakow in his reports on the research on Sakhalin. 9. The shallow seashore between the villages Wiahtu and Pomr (Ausgrabungen von L. Sternberg, Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 177).

b) In the Bay of Aniwi.

1. At the mouth of the river Susui (Polakow, Berichte uber Forschungen auf Sachalin, p. 19). 2. In the environment of the village and Lake Tschipisani. Laks, the manager of the sawmill there, collected many stone tools and gave them all to the naturalist P.J. Schmidt when he traveled on Sakhalin. 3. Near Korsakowsk (a stone wedge was found there. Katalog des sachalinischen Museums. Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 176).

c) On the eastern shore.

1. and 2. In the environment of the villages Ayrupo and Tunaytschi (according to the Ainu). 3. and 4. Near the villages

/328 cont'd/

172 Dubki and Seraroko, next to one of the caves near Seraroko, a whole pot was found which was given to the Sakhalin Museum. I myself dug for some days in this place, but did not find anything except some fragments which I sent to the museum of the Petersburg Academy of Arts and Sciences. 5. Three kilometers below Naybutschi, not far from Swan Lake (Schwanensee) (De Preradowicz, p. 10).
6. Around the village Mogunkotan (Lopatin). 7. Around the village Siruturu. 8. On the bank of the river Nituj, some kilometers above its mouth. 9. On the bank of the river Kotankes, ca. seven kilometers above its mouth. 10. To the south of the village Kotankes, at a distance of ca. five kilometers from the seashore on a large circumference. 11. Next to the village Tomarikes (according to the Ainu). 12. On the bank of the Black River (in Ainu: Utnaj), a tributary of the Poronaj. Here many stone tools and vessels were found (information obtained from the merchant Larionow).
13. Around the Ainu village Taraika and the lake of the same name (Lopatin, Polakow). I left the fragments which were found there with an Ainu of the village of Nayero. 14. Not far from the Cape of Suffering (Siretoko). 15. North of the Cape of Suffering on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk which is called Karer by the Ainu. (These two places are mentioned by the Ainu.) 16. Around the village Natro at the Niische Bay. 17. Around the village Tschaywo. (16 and 17 are mentioned by the Gilyak.)

d) In the valley of the Tym River.

1. On the road between the villages Rykowsk and Palewo a large arrowhead was ploughed up. The wife of the farmer Schermukschyn preserved it in the belief that it had fallen from the sky and brought luck. 2. To the north of the village Rykowsk, at a distance of five to six kilometers from it, one of the workmen who built the road to the village Dezbinskoye found a stone chisel and a stone ax. Both objects were dug out and the finder kept them with a view to using them for sharpening knives, but lost them soon afterwards. The meadow in the woods where they had been found was sown every year, therefore it was impossible for me to dig there, but I repeatedly found on the surface many pieces of stone that had been worked on.

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place
[194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the
[291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak
[177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
174

/328 cont'd/

174 pottery known to the people of the Kurile Islands that this art was known to the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin, too. For in that case one would be unable to explain why pottery has maintained its place until modern times among the Ainu of the Kuriles while it has been forgotten by all the other Ainu so thoroughly that not even legends are known about it.

• 172 A comparison between the remains of the Stone Age on the Island
174 Nippon and those of Hokkaido showed that the stone period on Hokkaido was much later than on Nippon. Relying on these results, Professor Tsuboi of the University of Tokyo asserts that the Koropok-guru whom he considers the makers of the above-mentioned stone relics had advanced from south to north. Perhaps the expected research of Japanese archeologists in the field of Tonchi remains will furnish the material for proving the hypothesis that the people Koropok-guru, whose descendants Tsuboi recognizes in the Eskimos of today, have migrated from Hokkaido to Sakhalin and from there further to the north.

If a comparison of the stone remains, tools, potsherds, and caves of the Tonchi with similar remains on Hokkaido shows that the makers of the latter have nothing in common with the Tonchi and that the route taken by the Koropok-guru did not lead via Sakhalin at all, there is another plausible conclusion left, namely that the inhabitants during the stone period on Sakhalin and in the Amur region were the same. There is still another factor indicating the identity of the original inhabitants of Sakhalin with those of the Amur region: Among the potsherds originating in the Stone Age Polakow also found bones of wild boars, who nowadays are no longer found on this island, only on the continent. But if at some time there were no boundaries between the animal kingdom on the continent and that on the island, one can claim with still greater certainty that the same human type could easily populate both lands which even today have much in common.

Among others Busse, an expert on the Amur region, in his article "Antike Ueberreste in den Talern Lefu, Daubiche und Ulache" (Berichte der Gesellschaft fur Forschungen in der Amurgegend, Vol. I,

/328 cont'd/

172 Wladiwostok, 1888) has expressed this thesis. The /330/ results of
174 his own excavations in the district of Primorsk and those of Polakow on Sakhalin make Busse conclude that the aborigines of Sakhalin belonged to the same tribe as the Ileu people which is part of the Susihenish branch and belongs to the Tungus race. These aborigines of Manchuria and the region of Ussuri were first described by Chinese historians. According to their report the Ileu tribe lived in the mountains, in woods, was particularly fond of elevations, and lived in caves. For arms they used bow and arrow. The arrowheads were made of stone and soaked in poison. The tribe engaged in hunting and fishing and excelled in great fortitude. Therefore its neighbors had to suffer much from its attacks on land and sea.

An acquaintance of mine, a Japanese, translated for me the following passage on the Susiheni from the book of the Japanese scholar Okamoto Riunosike on the History of the Island Hokkaido and the Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Japan. I quote:

"Susin (also Skucin or Hikusin) traveled on the shores of the Island Hokkaido in matters of trade. They lived in the eastern part of Tartary without forming permanent settlements and often came to Yezo (Hokkaido) with the intention of entering into trade relations with the Japanese. Their customs were very different from those of the Ainu."

These same Suschin are also mentioned in one of the oldest Japanese chronicles Udzi-dzine-mono gatali.

On one of the old monuments in Tagadzo (near the city of Senday close to the harbor of Siogama) one reads that the tribe Skucin, three thousand ri from Miakiken (old name for Senday and its environment) in the Province Mucu (old name for Nippon and the whole Yezo) lives in the northwest. As several educated Japanese assured me, none of the old Japanese chronicles reports that the Ainu used stone tools. Nor do the legends among the Ainu mention anything about it. In Eastern Asia, however, the stone period was very late. Thus the Russian scholar Palladius claims on the basis of Chinese sources that the stone period in several districts of the Ussuri region coincided with the eleventh century.

/330 cont'd/

172 As long as there is no exact comparative examination of the stone
174 remains dug out in the Amur region on Sakhalin and the Japanese islands as well as comparative research on the peoples living in Eastern Asia by which many a hypothesis will be confirmed, others refuted, I myself follow Busse's thesis mentioned above which says that the Tonchi on Sakhalin were inhabitants belonging to the Susihenisih tribe.

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
A Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[175] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[172] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such
[415]

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
G Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
321 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
171
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

/452 cont./

A
172
173
323
192
114

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

F
*648
797
*175
792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A
F
797
*648
*175
796

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōyu* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F
[797]
[792]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

A
[275]

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F
A
[173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

A F 797 *648 *175 776

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F 671 *648 656 *175

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F A *648 681 656 671 *175

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

F A [173]

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyoba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F [778]

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F A [797] [776]

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

848 173 Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

158 155 When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173 ●

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

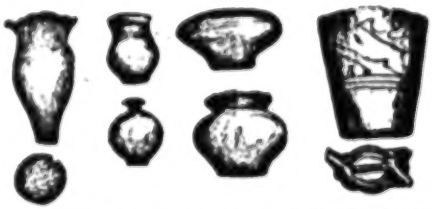
along the seashore, mostly on the plain at the top of the cliffs overlooking the sea, while the rest are situated on the banks of a narrow stream and along what appears to have been a river course. On the same island, at Ru-pets, are several pits of a similar description, and a fort. 172

As the pit-dwellers have disappeared from Yezo and the Kuriles, and only pre-historic remains and relics have been left behind to indicate their former existence, the questions naturally arise: Who were these pit-dwellers? Whence did they come? and whither have they gone? We can place no reliance on the accounts given by the Ainu or by the highly imaginative Japanese, who, moreover, are perfectly ignorant on this subject. Some Ainu say that Yezo was formerly peopled by a race of dwarfs, who were their enemies, and were extirpated by them after many sanguinary battles. The Ainu are very vague as to when and where these battles were fought, but according to their accounts these pit-dwellers, whom they call the *Koro-pok-kuru*—literally "men of holes"—once inhabited Yezo and the Kuriles. They were only three or four feet in height, and some semi-Ainu stories represent them as being only a few inches tall. This of course might be taken to mean that they were very small by comparison. A few Ainu, yet more imaginative than others, go so far as to say gravely that the Koro-pok-kuru were so tiny that when a shower of rain came they hid under burdock leaves for shelter. Others, however, tell us that these Koro-pok-kuru were their ancestors, and much more hairy than the Ainu of the present day. They were strong, fond of hunting, and able to cross the mountains with great facility and speed. According to Mr. Batchelor, some Ainu state that they themselves formerly lived in huts over pits, and that they changed their method of house-building on coming in contact with the Japanese; but if this were the case it seems unaccountable that they should distinguish their predecessors as pit-dwellers. Moreover, if the influence of the Japanese was sufficiently strong to cause them to make this most important change in their habitations and mode of living, how comes it that in other matters they have not adopted Japanese customs? I was unable to trace the slightest resemblance between Ainu huts and Japanese edifices of any kind, either in their general appearance or in any of 172 172 173 172

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make [323] pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, [177] though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?



KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the [173] enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

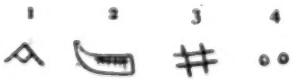
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uekehere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors. 755 [776] [786] [173]

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-sh. ven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

755 776 778 782 [824]

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a besutiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

/326/

172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, 223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[254] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
[113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

/327 cont'd/

173 Therefore the Ainu often waged war against the Tonchi. Though it happened quite often that Ainu and Tonchi who were neighbors visited each other the latter always had their knives ready on such occasions, whereas the former moved their knives in such a way that they landed straight on their knees. Greatest circumspection was observed on both sides. These constant rivalries and wars with the Ainu finally forced the Tonchi to quit. They departed, as they had come, on boats and left the island for good. The inhabitants of the north maintain that the Tonchi went east and that the point from where they sailed had been the "Cape of Suffering" (Kap des Leidens). And actually abundant traces of their presence can be found around this promontory.

The southern Ainu do not tell of the disappearance of the Tonchi with so much certainty: They had gone into the mountains or landed at the other seashore, nobody knew for sure, but one day they had suddenly disappeared. There had been many of them, many more than there were Ainu on the island today. In Tunajtscha, for example, according to legend there lived formerly 120 Tonchi ("Iwanhoc"), still more in Ajrupo, ca. 160. On account of the large numbers of excavated hollows the Tonchi were also called sirukuru vende kamui, i.e. the people that damages the surface of the earth.

Some Ainu assure me that nowadays the Tonchi came to the Seal Island (Robbeninsel) together with the Americans in order to shoot sea-lions and that some Ainu who visited the island for the same purpose had seen them there. As is well known, the company who has acquired the right of sea-lion hunting on the Robbeninsel and neighboring places employs for this purpose mostly Aleutians who are always brought along by the white hunters. Apparently these Aleutians in their outward appearance recall the description of the Tonchi as preserved in legends.

Twice I was told a legend according to which not even the Tonchi were the first inhabitants of the island. Before them Sakhalin was inhabited by winged people, rach koro ajnu. At that time it was warm on the island, and these strange beings thus I was told by an old man from the village of Nayero, did not build houses nor use clothing. The winter was usually very mild, and though it snowed

/327 cont'd/

173 occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [177] these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

/328 cont'd/

173 swords on Hokkaido. From this conversation I concluded that this was a matter of swords imported from Manchuria and that the name Tondzin they were given can be explained by the fact that a long time ago it was the Tonchi who brought Manchurian objects into the country for the first time.

172 In the following places on Sakhalin known to me remains of Tonchi dwellings can be found:

a) On the western shore of Sakhalin.

1. In the southern village of Siranusi (De Preradowicz, Ethnographische Skizze von Sud-Sachalin, p. 13). 2. At a distance of ca. nine kilometers from the village of Siranusi (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 3. On the river Tei, above the great fisheries (from there workmen brought me two stone axes). 4. Next to the village Poro-Tomari, somewhat to the north of Mauka (according to Siemionow). 5. In Oko Tomari, not far from Mauka, in a place bordering the seashore a stone chisel was found (according to the same Siemionow). 6. Large quadrangular piles of earth on the banks of the river Mauka, situated a little higher than the fishery plants, (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 7. The same type of earthpiles near Kusunay. 8. The valley of the river Dui and the valley of Aleksandrowsk. Both places are mentioned by Polakow in his reports on the research on Sakhalin. 9. The shallow seashore between the villages Wiahtu and Pomr (Ausgrabungen von L. Sternberg, Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 177).

b) In the Bay of Aniwi.

1. At the mouth of the river Susui (Polakow, Berichte uber Forschungen auf Sachalin, p. 19). 2. In the environment of the village and Lake Tschipisani. Laks, the manager of the sawmill there, collected many stone tools and gave them all to the naturalist P.J. Schmidt when he traveled on Sakhalin. 3. Near Korsakowsk (a stone wedge was found there. Katalog des sachalinischen Museums. Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 176).

c) On the eastern shore.

1. and 2. In the environment of the villages Ayrupo and Tunaytschi (according to the Ainu). 3. and 4. Near the villages

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river 133
into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side 423
that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the 823
upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was
Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without 619
permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be 423
concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory rest- 823
ing upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

(46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old 173
Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a 619
brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, [823]
like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1, [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchä River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

A
172
173
323
192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E 175 [171]

The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

F EA 121

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

A 114

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

A ●194 A [192]

regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

101 bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are
101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church
114 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aoina. Aoina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the peo-
[776] ple, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown
172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi-
174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the
177 archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and improving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174
103

Place-names.	Japanese.	Aino.
Ine	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Inume	Leaning clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Name tree	Sunan.
Nakuri	Name flat	The cliff by the stream.
Saio	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	do	The grassy plain.
Tanabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Harm in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows [131] them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic 174 period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of [551] the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

lara, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioei*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people.

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai.

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-87.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September,
184 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

184 Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At
●174 any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

172 As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Along the south-east coast the pits increase in number as we approach Kusuri, and at this place the largest number of pits in Hokkaido is found; then they are numerous all along the coast as far as Nemuro; and in the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu the population must have been large, as there are numerous pits throughout. Pits are found in the smaller islands of the Kurile group, and I believe also in Kamschatka. From Nemuro, following the coast-line of Yezo, we find some along the north-east coast of Yezo, and none down the west coast until we reach the narrower part of the island near Sappro. This said, we have two points to consider:— 172

(1.) That the pit-dwellers moved from north-east to south-west.

(2.) That the main bulk of the population settled in Etorofu, Kunashiri, and at Kushiro. Few went further south to settle.

All evidence tends to show that they came either from Kamschatka, or perhaps more probably from the Aleutian Islands. It seems not improbable, looking at the volcanic formation of the Kurile group, that in bygone days Yezo was joined to Kamschatka, affording a land passage to the migratory people; but this we need not take into consideration.

From what one can gather of this race, the habits and customs of the Koro-pok-kuru must have had many points in common with the present Esquimaux. Very likely their pits were roofed over with a snow vault. They evidently lived by fishing and hunting, like the Esquimaux, and all that we know identifies them more with the latter race than with the Ainu.

I believe that the present Aleuts have a striking resemblance to the Esquimaux; and if this were the case, there is no reason why we should not suppose that they in former days inhabited the Kuriles, part of Kamschatka and the north-east portion of Yezo. It is a well-known fact that the Esquimaux formerly lived in corresponding latitudes on the east coast of America, and that they withdrew little by little to the more inhospitable regions of the north, and the same might have occurred here after the Ainu invasion of Yezo. The Koro-pok-kuru were apparently more civilised than their conquerors the Ainu, for they made pottery and worked stone; but owing to their retiring nature and weaker physique, and outnumbered by the savage hairy people, they became extinct. As to the Ainu, 174

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they also are undoubtedly a race of the north. Their music, their decorations, their habits, display characteristics of northern origin; but the Ainu, as we have seen from their structures and customs, were by no means accustomed to so cold a climate as their predecessors the pit-dwellers. In my opinion they did not invade Yezo from the Kuriles, but came from the continent of Asia, probably across Siberia, and descended as far as Sakhalin Island, where many Ainu are still to be found. As the Koro-pok-kuru resemble the Esquimaux, the Ainu have a striking resemblance in many ways to the Northmen of Europe, and this is what makes me suppose that they came across the northern part of the continent, and not from the northern islands of the Pacific. They made their way south, probably crossing over the La Perouse Strait, and the main contingent of them came down the north-east coast of Yezo. I base this theory on the fact that the strong current which passes through the La Perouse Strait from west to east would have made it impossible for the Ainu in their light "dug-outs" to navigate against it, or straight across from Sakhalin to Soya Cape, and in crossing they were undoubtedly drifted far south-east on the north-east coast, probably landing near Abashiri or Shari. Another evidence which made me think that the Ainu came from Sakhalin is, that all knew of another island besides Yezo, which they called Krafto, by which name they designate Sakhalin. Of the Kuriles no one knew except those in the immediate neighbourhood. At one time the Ainu are said to have inhabited the whole of Japan as far south as Satsuma. Archæologists are puzzled by the discovery in the main island of Nippon of various kitchen-middens, which include fragments of pottery identical with those attributed to the Koro-pok-kuru, and also of shell heaps, which some consider of Ainu origin, others as pre-Ainu. No pits, however, have been found near these shell heaps, nor on any part of Nippon. Thus another question is raised as to who the originators of these shell heaps and kitchen-middens were. Is it not likely that, as the Ainu proceeded south, they encountered the Koro-pok-kuru at Nemuro and then at Kushiro, and, having easily defeated them, forced some of them to retreat in the direction of the Kuriles, while the rest went towards the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,[1] only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery. [174]

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. [144] [197]

[1] The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1] 174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may 114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re- 194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu [192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more [286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB 6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 114 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The [115]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [174] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 194 [193]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 96 174 [193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *hetun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro hetunchi chisei* (large *hetunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

/325 cont'd/

174 With regard to the clay fragments that are found in different places, the Gilyak have two versions: some attribute them to the old Ainu, others assert that a long time back, when the Japanese and Manchurian iron caldrons were still unknown to them, their own Gilyak ancestors had themselves manufactured clay vessels, which, by the way, may have been the case. The Gilyak believe that stone axes and other stone tools fall from heaven when lightning strikes.

In 1905 I met in Nikolayevsk on the Amur a Gilyak who lived on the mainland; he confirmed to me that around there stone axes are called lyi tuch, i.e. axes of lightning. They held the potsherds found in the Amur region to be remains of Chinese vessels. As to the earth hollows which there, too, occur not infrequently, they either have nothing to report on them at all or they believe those tulkus to be remnants of huts of their ancestors, who formerly had not built big huts as they are customary nowadays in Manchuria, but had contented themselves with clay huts. From a clever Gilyak living in the neighborhood of Nikolayevsk I heard a characteristic tale about these caves which I can quote in a literal translation.

"A long, long time ago there appeared here on the Amur Russian or other devils who killed the people. They came in big boats or barges and could not cross shallow water. Therefore the Gilyak fled to where there were little rivers, built their clay huts there, and stuck it out for the winter or somewhat longer. Then they went back to the banks of the great Amur. They called the newcomers Kinys, i.e., "devils." By chance I met also in Nikolayevsk three Gilyak who, when asked about the Tonchi, said they had heard that on Tu (Gilyak word for Sakhalin) there lived a people similar to the Tungus and Orok called Tozin. The Tozin language was also similar to the Orok. But it was not known from where this people had come to Sakhalin. Since, unfortunately, I have never revisited this region, I was not able to check on this information more thoroughly or to receive more detailed information from other Gilyak on the above mentioned Tozin.

194 The consonant "z" is completely unknown to the Ainu. Wherever it occurs in other languages related to theirs, they replace it by "c." The Gilyak word yzyn is pronounced in Ainu "ocion," the Russian zima becomes cima, etc. Often the n- sound is inserted.

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak [177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
174

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
[413 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
391] from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
174 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

/328 cont'd/

174 pottery known to the people of the Kurile Islands that this art was known to the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin, too. For in that case one would be unable to explain why pottery has maintained its place until modern times among the Ainu of the Kuriles while it has been forgotten by all the other Ainu so thoroughly that not even legends are known about it.

172 A comparison between the remains of the Stone Age on the Island
174 Nippon and those of Hokkaido showed that the stone period on Hokkaido was much later than on Nippon. Relying on these results, Professor Tsuboi of the University of Tokyo asserts that the Koropok-guru whom he considers the makers of the above-mentioned stone relics had advanced from south to north. Perhaps the expected research of Japanese archeologists in the field of Tonchi remains will furnish the material for proving the hypothesis that the people Koropok-guru, whose descendants Tsuboi recognizes in the Eskimos of today, have migrated from Hokkaido to Sakhalin and from there further to the north.

If a comparison of the stone remains, tools, potsherds, and caves of the Tonchi with similar remains on Hokkaido shows that the makers of the latter have nothing in common with the Tonchi and that the route taken by the Koropok-guru did not lead via Sakhalin at all, there is another plausible conclusion left, namely that the inhabitants during the stone period on Sakhalin and in the Amur region were the same. There is still another factor indicating the identity of the original inhabitants of Sakhalin with those of the Amur region: Among the potsherds originating in the Stone Age Polakow also found bones of wild boars, who nowadays are no longer found on this island, only on the continent. But if at some time there were no boundaries between the animal kingdom on the continent and that on the island, one can claim with still greater certainty that the same human type could easily populate both lands which even today have much in common.

Among others Busse, an expert on the Amur region, in his article "Antike Ueberreste in den Talern Lefu, Daubiche und Ulache" (Berichte der Gesellschaft fur Forschungen in der Amurgegend, Vol. I,

/328 cont'd/

172 Wladiwostok, 1888) has expressed this thesis. The /330/ results of
174 his own excavations in the district of Primorsk and those of Polakow on Sakhalin make Busse conclude that the aborigines of Sakhalin belonged to the same tribe as the Ileu people which is part of the Susihenish branch and belongs to the Tungus race. These aborigines of Manchuria and the region of Ussuri were first described by Chinese historians. According to their report the Ileu tribe lived in the mountains, in woods, was particularly fond of elevations, and lived in caves. For arms they used bow and arrow. The arrowheads were made of stone and soaked in poison. The tribe engaged in hunting and fishing and excelled in great fortitude. Therefore its neighbors had to suffer much from its attacks on land and sea.

An acquaintance of mine, a Japanese, translated for me the following passage on the Susiheni from the book of the Japanese scholar Okamoto Riunosike on the History of the Island Hokkaido and the Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Japan. I quote:

"Susin (also Skucin or Hikusin) traveled on the shores of the Island Hokkaido in matters of trade. They lived in the eastern part of Tartary without forming permanent settlements and often came to Yezo (Hokkaido) with the intention of entering into trade relations with the Japanese. Their customs were very different from those of the Ainu."

These same Suschin are also mentioned in one of the oldest Japanese chronicles Udzi-dzine-mono gatali.

On one of the old monuments in Tagadzo (near the city of Senday close to the harbor of Siogama) one reads that the tribe Skucin, three thousand ri from Miakiken (old name for Senday and its environment) in the Province Mucu (old name for Nippon and the whole Yezo) lives in the northwest. As several educated Japanese assured me, none of the old Japanese chronicles reports that the Ainu used stone tools. Nor do the legends among the Ainu mention anything about it. In Eastern Asia, however, the stone period was very late. Thus the Russian scholar Palladius claims on the basis of Chinese sources that the stone period in several districts of the Ussuri region coincided with the eleventh century.

/330 cont'd/

172 As long as there is no exact comparative examination of the stone
174 remains dug out in the Amur region on Sakhalin and the Japanese islands as well as comparative research on the peoples living in Eastern Asia by which many a hypothesis will be confirmed, others refuted, I myself follow Busse's thesis mentioned above which says that the Tonchi on Sakhalin were inhabitants belonging to the Susihenisih tribe.

/xxxiii cont./

T 114 His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [114] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/"/untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A 611 614

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
G
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
114
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 188, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
Gi
101
174
A
[439]

A
G
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J.
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3

K 175 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101]

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
● 174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu, the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
648 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
131 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move
103 farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

Ainu A8C
Golbi RX3
Orok
Fukugi Japan N02
Sakhalin Island

A 174 184 433 131 /130 cont./ where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

Gi 175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after Gi [231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J. Gi 175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them. [101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, [103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

Gi 131 175 F.J. 175 [126] 3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. [114] dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
E conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
[492] dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
Gi the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
492 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
174 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
171 whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
Gi times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter
177 adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

A 325 114 174 648 /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,

G 174 167 648 and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G 174 648 325 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi 325 171 Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K 823 A 439 823 186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A 439 435

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

G A K 439 17 325

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

G
R
174
325

/572 cont./
of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

G
714
G
[192]

If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

G
[192]

One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

G
114
714
192

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

1: Takakura AB6 Ainu

●175
648

/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

CONTENTS

000

PAGE

1. The development of Russian colonization 48
2. The development of Japanese national interests in the Ezo area 49

II. The growth of a government policy in Ezo 51
1. The importance of a native policy 51
2. The attitudes of the government toward Ezo 55
3. Government organization in Ezo 56
4. Appendix 57

III. The colonial policy of the Japanese Government 58
1. Improvements in the trade 59
2. Encouragement of industry 62
3. The management of the Kuriles 63
4. The management of Karafuto 64

IV. The native policy of the Japanese Government 67
1. Ceremonial arrangements and protocol 67
2. Relief measures and policy 69
3. Medical treatment 70
4. Guidance 71
5. Education 72
6. Law 76
7. The alteration of customs 77
8. Summary 80

Bibliography 82

101

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

101
133

175

then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[TEXT Continues bottom of P.4(B)--Analysis]

agricultural settlements reached farther and farther north until by the end of the ninth century the Tsugaru Straits had been reached although not until the end of the twelfth century was the entire area of north Honshu pacified, while the great remaining frontier area of Hokkaidō was not brought under complete control until the nineteenth century. Yet while it took the Japanese centuries to consolidate their grip on the islands, and while this slow northward struggle had the most momentous consequences for the history of Japan, this frontier, with all it implied, often escaped the 175

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

records or even was ignored by the historians. This is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns were fought in the ninth century when history was only an official annals dominated by an inward looking court, and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to great events which took place so far away from what was regarded as the only possible fount of history—the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese have been indefatigible historians—few men have approached the subject. It is as though in American

175 114 175

114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed
and never studied in detail and as though there had
175 never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, a carefully wrought major history of the final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the island of Hokkaidō but one which surveys the history and society of the last resistors to the pressure of
114 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore much more than "the history of native policy within colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a painstaking reliable analysis of a part of the history of Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime aquiring the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts, topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world literature on the subject. To his work Professor Takakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that, during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but] as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an accurate understanding of its historical development." He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and completed it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in revision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my research until I concluded that only by living in Japan and having access to the materials could really sound research on this particular phase of Japanese history be done. This was out of the question and I realized that a good translation of Takakura would be of more value than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much time to it as I could from teaching and from administrative tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length of time taken was due in large measure to my concern that a complex subject should be made as clear as translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long as the text by incorporating it within the text, and finding accurate equivalents for many archaic and local Japanese words and for many native terms, some of which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology. 114

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliograph· are translated. At the end of page 208 the history the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is a. . nd, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but [175] weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan.

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity [122] enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion.

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance 114

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan NB3

PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF Clan Government

E 175

INTRODUCTION

The *SHS*[2] delimits this period[1] from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enfoefment from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

E A 698 175

On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654–661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.[a]

E [101]

[1] *SHS* 2: 2-3 [A Revised History of Hokkaidō--ANALYST]

[a] *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

PART ONE

The Early Period of

CLAN GOVERNMENT

EA 175 C48

This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakkatsu.[2] There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo[3] and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.[4] We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.[5] On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

E [10]

---

from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

[3] During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remunerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Imirimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

[4] *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin.

Ruijū Sandai Kaku [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kammu. *Nihon Isshi* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

[5] *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

[P. 10 (B)]

A E 175 648

the government [6] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[9]

[6] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

A [172]

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2–3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[9] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6 Early Japan AB3
AE
175
C48
A
[177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A
[162]
[101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

EA
[226]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

EA 628 175 648

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57–58.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] [685] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 224 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 226 [224] Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

Early Japan AB3

A 105 64 [175] Look at the region along the Ishikari River for example, before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

A E *175 *648 [563] The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai*[a] and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

A E *175 *648 614

000 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

[a] *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IV

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

In writing about Mr. Anra, the haunted man, I had occasion to mention his persecution by supposed giants, dwarfs and Japanese warriors. I had never before heard of a race of giants from these people, and until some definite tradition is forthcoming, one can not treat of them. But the warriors and dwarfs are different matters. For in all probability, traditions concerning these, and hereditary instinct, among other things, suggested these beings to his subconscious mind, and formed the basis of his mania.

That the two races, the Japanese and Ainu, were not on friendly terms at the beginning is natural and is proved by oral tradition as well as by ancient Japanese records. Besides reading of massacres in olden times, we are told of many hard contested battles between the two peoples. There are quite a number of mounds to be seen in the north of Japan which are said to contain heaps of the bones of those unfortunate Ainu who were slain in battles there. We read that the aborigines made very determined resistance against the invaders for many centuries after the latter had established themselves in Yamato, and we can very well believe this to have been so. The Ainu were a brave race and very fierce withal. In the year A.D. 720 they are said to have made so strong and determined an attack on the Japanese as to render it necessary to call out the soldiers of no less than nine Provinces to keep them back. In the end, however, they were effectually checked in an assault on the Japanese stronghold and driven back to the north of Sendai.

648
175

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged 175
by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve 539
fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

lers, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioei*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people. 174

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows: 174 172

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai. [175]

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-87.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,554	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. 648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1] 241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu 241 177 182 [171]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

182
241
177
771

INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and [184] common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu ●175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa* [622] *uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim [114] to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 [224] [226] [231] [412]

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175

INTRODUCTION

648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and [412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and [294] Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, [434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are men- [177] tioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred [623] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114 1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich
[113] morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

114

the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175 648 census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) ~~1964~~ AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[4], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [439] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i. e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [464] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857–58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6–7).
177
[10]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

[p.90]

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under governmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

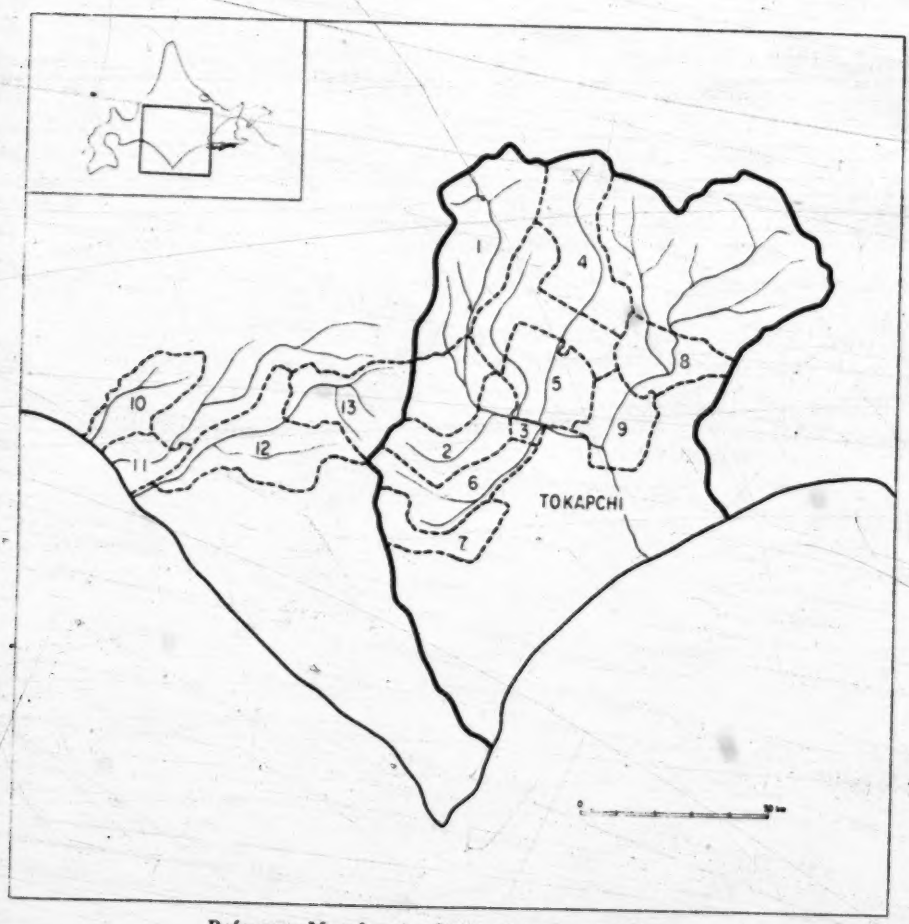
Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

175
361

For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102
175
648



Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six 175 361

1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175 361 342 103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukéshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

(The river forked here into two streams)			
Aneshum	6		
Nutabeto	3		
Urahoroputo	2		
Obekkohashi	9		
Betumoshiri	3		Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11		Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai			A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.

Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

16 houses in total

Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

21 houses in total

Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

27 houses in total

Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet

13 houses in total

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shiinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Ishikari River		
The main stream (in descending order of location)		
Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

175 361 103

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. 621 [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest
175 research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained
114 in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduc-
[177] tion from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

2: Schrenck--152 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2). I mention it now only because one can gather
648
361
[113]

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J.
636
175
648
464
A
648
464
175

Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

F.J.
175
636
648
466
A
175
648
466

laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

/74 cont./

originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

F.J 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1),

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 648 464 464 22 A 175 175 464 648 /75 cont./

During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on

FJ 175 636 439 443 648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy

F.J. 648 636 175

their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RY3

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

A
Gi
101
174
G
A
[439]

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J.
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

F.J. 175 /122 cont./

G 131 175 [361] [563] Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648] Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 175 [198] [563] /122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether G [174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half A 175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. 131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

E.I. 175 187

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

A [113]

2: Schrenck--256 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

A
175
13
[113]
EJ.
175
10

/123 cont./

1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

A
131
175
648
EJ.
648
175

2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

A
EJ.
175
648

in the first two provinces south to 36° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J./123 cont./Many
175 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled
648 across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The
A
[167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince
E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the
[361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in
729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

A
EJ
[177]

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.
A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the
E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were
F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely
175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to
654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

Ainu ABC
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

FJ. 175 654 [113]

/123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175

The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, François Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

A [197]

A [101]

A [113] [114]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/124 cont./

175 [113] [114]

2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

175 101 [113] [114]

in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

175 101 113

4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

/124 cont./

4. (cont.)

175 101 113 themselves are said to call this island (A Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp. 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

/124 cont./

•175
101
113

4. (cont.)
Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaĭ, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

175
101
Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

[113]

1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

2: Schrenck--262 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/125 cont./

175
10
[113]

1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

175
103
Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

175
103
114

3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

[13]

/125 cont./

3. (cont.)

175 103 119 [113] under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Apercu général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832), in which (p. 187) there is also mention of the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariïn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity [113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

/125 cont./

175
103
114
[113]

3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

175
103
[113]

It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands,
103 Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

175
114
103

3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï, " whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar'/Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

/126 cont./

175 131 [648] centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 131 721 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

[113] 1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

2: Schrenck--268 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

K 175 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ the next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101]

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

2: Schrenck--269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu ABC

A
K
175
563
484

/127 cont./

with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

A
K
114
101
175

/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K
103
175

And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A
101
175
114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A
175
114
101
103
113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

A
175
114
113
101
103

/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A
K
101
175

Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A
K
[114]

He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP CIT., P. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

A
FJ.
103
114
175

/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kurumisi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

OOO explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A
175
101
G
[101]

/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakã, Eluntschun, and Kuã," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

A
175
114
101

1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuã as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A /129 cont./
175
114
101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A
101 Similarly, The
175 archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuä" (Ainu) among the
[648] peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A
[113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A
[113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A
[113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
G [103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G
[113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A
101
175
G
101
103
113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000
G
A
101

after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G
A
[101]
[103]
[114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A
G
[439]

2: Schrenck--409 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB

000 /192 cont./

"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 F.J. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S. [113]

K SS. FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

2: Schrenck--410 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

A
FJ.
101
175
[113]

/193 cont./

1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A
FJ.
[113]
[114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A
FJ.
[113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krascheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

A
FJ.
101
A
FJ.
[114]

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

/333 cont./

●175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

175 342 354 352 177 171

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--472 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/333 cont./

●195
342
354
113
352
199
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195
342
352
354
[199]
[171]
detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin
[184] those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]
6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

/411 cont./

000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.
G 302 171 Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-
000

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A 302 177 It may be pre-sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A ●175 302 177 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

2: Schrenck--617 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as
A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
A
[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A
[113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

/419 cont./

304
113

2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

304
184

among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

304
175

3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

[113]

2: Schrenck--634 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3

A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

A [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

/453 cont./

361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the 226 262 [361] Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 648 464 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175 648 464 113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/620 cont./

175
648
439

Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately, escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay
[622] their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A /621 cont./

175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G. time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

2: Schrenck--976 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

/622 cont./

000
G
175
648
622
292

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater

A
175
648
622

importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

A
175
114
648

2: Schrenck--1184 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

G /734 cont./

*796 184 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tymv Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A 175 796 /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed A 796 114 accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

A [113]

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113]

2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

A [113]

3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō. that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

E A [221]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal [177] skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

288 177 Those areas which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, tools, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] 119 and even of this wealth they possessed little. 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women [286] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

● 177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, [291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

---

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shinwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P.14(A)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
[323] tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakótan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[297] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[492] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*175
*648
439

The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[9] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

F
[226]

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

[9] *Unjō* payments.

[9] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Tsuen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

[15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

A
F
[177]
[226]

[P. 31(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*175
*648
439
436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
*175
*648
226
177
A
[501]
A
*175
*648
251
177
439

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki*.

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

A
[227]

A F *175 *648 251 177 439 A F *175 *648 [412] 464 439 A F *175 *648 439 A [426] A F *175 *648 177 441 226 [420] A [251] A F *175 [452] *648 177 226 439

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[20]. Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[21] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[22]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[23]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[20] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[21] *Ibid.*, 410.
[22] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[23] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 439 [94A]

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [437] A F

The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

*175 *648 439 452

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F [439]

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F *175 *648 439

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

A F *175 *648 433 554 437

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A E *C48 *175 439 178 527

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

A E [576]

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

A E *C48 *175 439 527

A E *C48 *175 439 [177]

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[65] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[66] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[65] *Tōyūki.*

[66] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A F *648 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to A [162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[50] The reasons for this decline of A F *648 *175 161 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa [164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government A F *648 *175 ●177 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there A F *648 *175 651 is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in A [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799. A F *648 *175 177

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

[50] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 685

In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokumi was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F [627] *648 *175 681 [622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

A *648 ●177 *175 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

F A *648 *175 491 The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *C48 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

A *C48 621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *C48 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

A F *C48 ● 177 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran* . . .

[P. 46(A)]

A F *648 ● 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end ot this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
441
177
A
F
171

From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Historical Russia RA2
Feudal Japan AB2
H
C48
175
A
[239]
[177]

the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.[13] With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

F
*C48
*175

Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185–1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.[14]

[13] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku . . .*, 87.

[14] As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenarai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175

to the records of the Bakufu investigations in 1791 and 1792 the situation was even worse than before the revolt and in fact the bad administration of the Matsumae never improved.[24]

It was clear then that the problem of Ezo could not be left to a small clan. On the basis of the investigations of 1791 and 1792 the Prime Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu was preparing to open Ezo when, in 1792, the Russian envoy Laxman came to Japan and the Bakufu, busy with coastal defense, put off the plan. Then later, on the basis of a secret report from the Mito clan made by Ōhara Sakingo who, during a visit to the Matsumae clan in 1795–1796, got the idea that the clan might secretly contact the Russians,[25] the Bakufu sent three groups of officials to report on Ezo in 1798. Based on these reports, the Bakufu made up its mind. The first step was to put East Ezo from Urakawa to Cape Shiretoko with the adjacent islands under direct control. This was ordered to be done for a period of seven years in 1799. Later the region from the east of the Shiriuchi River to Urakawa was added and in July, 1803, East Ezo came under the permanent direct control of the Bakufu. In 1807 all of Ezo was placed under the direct control of the Bakufu. It is clear then that the cause which precipitated direct central government control over Ezo was a desire to prevent Russian penetration and to add the resources of Ezo to the Japanese economy.

II. THE GROWTH OF A GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EZO

A
F

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF A NATIVE POLICY

*648
●177
*175

As has been made clear in the preceding part the motive for direct central government control over Ezo was the prevention of Russian aggression. It was therefore quite natural that the government concentrated on defense activities and ordered the Nambu and Tsugaru clans to fortify their territory. To accomplish this aim the government provided transportation facilities, built roads, established inns, set up a postal service and provided for post houses, kept government vessels at sea on patrol, developed sea routes and, in order to make best use of these facilities in event of emergency, kept both land and sea routes under government control. However, since the island was vast and, of course, surrounded by water, it was difficult to fortify the area against foreign invasion with the handful of people sent there. In addition it was formidable from the standpoint of climate and provisions to station troops there. Therefore, the government announced that Ezo was a Japanese colony and in order to meet the expense of administration not only lifted the prohibitions against free entrance to Ezo but actively encouraged immigration and colonization. But a great many laborers were

F
[168]

[24] *Ibid.*, 370.

[25] Mori Seizō, *Kindai Bungei Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in the literary history of recent times), section on Ōhara Sakingo.

[P. 51(B)]

A
F
*648
179
*175

needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

A
[161]
F
*648
*115

This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"* but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

A
[243]

A
[226]

* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

A F *648 *185 products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772–1780 have forseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.[4]

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."[5] A F [111]

F [114] Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ōhara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gūdan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages: F *648 *185

1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

A [243] 2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

[4] Seiiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 2: 171.

[5] Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.

F
*648
185

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

A
●[177]

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[262]
[273]
[276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[821]
[776]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A
F
*648
*175
185

lence"[6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods,"[7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful"[8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

A
F
*648
●177
*175
185
A
F
[439]

Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hokikyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 A inu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
●177
*175
185

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

A
[565]
[595]

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

F
[657]

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

F
636
175

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

F
636
*175

ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

A
F
*648
621
●171
*175

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [Village head'man].

A
[622]

[P. 56 (B)]

A F *648 62 177 *175 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [L24] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *648 *175 [273] [206] At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

A F *648 *175 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 ●177 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] [301] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A [681] F [826]

A F *648 *175 177 627 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

A F *648 *175 177 627 [692] hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchinchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*. A F [692]

5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 671 681 177 A [624] A F *648 *175

6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up. F [923] A [177]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
*195
●177

7. It is desired to introduce Japanese-style houses and to this end the Ezo are encouraged to work hard. Clothing should also be earned and saved. And since there will be no custom of atonement in the future, it is not necessary to hide such treasured goods as cups in the mountains. These things should be kept in the house. It is suggested that in the future the Ezo move into Japanese villages in groups. We need people to till this broad land. The use of a sickle is a tedious and fruitless business whereas if the grass were simply burned in autumn not only would a lot of labor be saved but the ashes will serve as fertilizer to yield a better crop. Now at present, the Ezo live separately and isolated from each other and this makes it difficult to organize them and help them. Furthermore, the custom of hiding treasures in the countryside makes it impossible to burn off the grass. It is not necessary to move the Ezo at once but do it gradually. When it is done the labor situation will be greatly improved.

A
[464]

8. There are bound to be some lazy and idle ones among the Ezo who will not work as well as cripples who must be given special work. These people will be given empty rice sacks by the posts and they will be taught to make straw sandals. Since the post will buy all their work, it should be of some help to them, enabling them to buy sake or whatever they wish with the money earned. These rice sacks will be given to anyone on request. The *Otona* should make this clear to all so that even fishermen during the periods of stormy weather or the winter months when they have extra time can make use of this time by weaving straw ropes and nets.

The above instructions are hereby given for the fifth time through the interpreters to the *Otona* and *Kozukai*.

August 1799 Ōhashi Zenshirō

F
*648
*195
114

This instruction is just one example taken from the Tokachi *Basho*. Its content simply ignores the sentiments of the natives and its reasoning in many instances is self-complacent. It is doubtful whether the intent of the officials was understood by the Ezo. However, we can see what policy was adopted and also that the officials were earnest and serious in their attitude.

A
F
*648
*195

III. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

The Bakufu took extreme care in executing its policy. For example, when the decision was made to assume power, orders were issued to the Matsumae stating that those managers, guards, and interpreters who wished to do so could retain their positions, that the Matsumae had to settle all accounts with the Ezo, even if such settlement involved prolonged negotiation, in order that the Bakufu inherit no disputes and that a statement be issued forbidding mistreatment of the Ezo.[1] The Bakufu particularly cautioned its own officials as to their attitudes and when the Commissioners were appointed they were under instruction to make native relations their prime consideration.[2] Furthermore, in

[1] Higashi Ezochi goyōchi ainari sōrō ni tsuki kore made aitsutome sōrō tsushi bannin e moshiwatasu sho (Instructions to former interpreters and guards on the occasion of East Ezo becoming a Bakufu estate), Habuto Seiyō, *Kyume Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 542-543.

[2] Ezochi goyogakari no ōse watasarare sōrō kakitsuke (Written orders concerning the placement of Ezo under the Bakufu), *ibid.*, 323.

[P.58(B)]

A F
*648
*175
436

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A
[438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

A
[199]
[511]

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

---

[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsûyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chohyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chohyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A02

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

---

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
	(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
	(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A02

A F *648 *175 241

and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.[27] It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,[28] and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

A F *648 *175 177

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.[29]

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

---

[27] The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no Nōgyō (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

A [243]

[28] "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . . ."

[29] Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

[P. 63(B)]

F A *648 *175 511 *195

Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

> The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

A F *648 *175 439 A [184]

The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

F [675] F [202]

[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

F [656]

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

A F *648 *115

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

A F *648 *115 939

A [111]

---

[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki,* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari.* The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

A [323] [DN]

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 439 177

and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.[38] The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.[39] Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orokko for animal skins. The Orokko would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sōya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.[40] Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.[41] The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,[b] similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

A [480]

A F *648 *175 439

F [456]

---

found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

[38] *SHS* 1: 79.

[39] "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[40] Karafutō narabi ni santanjin no gi moto hanin e aitazune sōrō kakitsuke sashiage sōrō ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kōki* 7 in *SHS* 5: 806 ff.

[41] "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764.

[b] J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.

1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
*175
439

the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.[49] This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

F
A
C36
●177
439

I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

A
F
*648
*175

1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to

ni Santanjin no gi aitarune sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

F
[436]

	1802	*1809*
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

[49] *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

[P. 67(A)]

A F *648 *175 A F *648 *175 ●177

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

A F *648 *175

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

A [484] A [221]

---

[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

F [636]

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 1: 9.

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A F *648 *175 ● 177 185

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

A [595] A [681] A F [577] A

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

F *648 *175 576 A [554]

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

F A *648 461 577

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

F
A
*648 the formation of groups was prohibited and one who
681 informed the authorities of such illegal societies was
to be exculpated from his own offenses including even
656 membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed
671 that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to
the managers any disputes which they were unable to
*175 settle among themselves.[30] It is a very difficult thing
to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law
is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist
only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people,
A they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the
F original purpose of the laws.

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to
671 avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is
● 177 doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among
the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing
*648 their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority
*175 in their own villages and they were the law, and control
[622] of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse
681 antagonism by destroying through law any ancient
customs and it intended to work through the chiefs
rather than to snatch their power from them. The
death penalty in article two presented an awkward
problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was
distasteful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when
A he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that
F an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion
[671] since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles
[177] conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall
A have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work con-
[681] structing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

[30] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

Feudal Japan 1802

F
A
*698
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*698
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

---

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami. . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan.*

[P. 72 (B)]

Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

I
F
648
797

As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

A
[671]
A
[656]

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

F
799
*648
*175
346
797

F
[656]
A
[769]

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804[35]

F
799
797
*648
*175
[177]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōbi*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

A
[964]
[177]

F 1179 1491 * 648 * 175 [177]

ploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.[87] There are, however, no records of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to prosylyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288–1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824–833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku[88] went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokuwa*:

A F [1788] A ● [177]

> There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

F * 648 1491 * 175 1792

It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkoji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather then disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.[89] He is also

[87] *Dai Nihon Shi* 242, Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutsu.

[88] Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku Natazukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

[89] I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*698
797
*175
792

Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith [41] and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers." [42] The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yawa* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakiudonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done." [43] Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

A
[177]
[264]

F
*698
797
*175
792

> the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

F
[795]
[577]

[41] (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Itsuka* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tanashikine Ikutsuku Pirikano Kentomo Otsuta Shitsukasuman Nehita Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

[42] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 15.

[43] *Kokutai* No. 1.

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki ōani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōbi*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

A F *648 ●177 *175 On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114] meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Komui* (the god of disaster).

[58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [796] [224]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [301]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

A [484] [562]

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *698 ● 177 *175

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

A [184]

A [489] [562] [177]

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kazukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*G48
●179
*175

similation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshû (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.[62]

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of a race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

---

A
[178]

[62] "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkauchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyumei Kôki*, Suppl. 7, Kunáshirito ittai no gi moshiage sôrô kakituske (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), *SHS* 5: 802–803.

[P.78(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*698
179
*175

people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."[63] Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Otoshibe and Nodaoi "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekkakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.[64] When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.[65] It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.[66] Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

> It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōya-yoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

> it was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

[63] Ezo goyogakari. . .

[64] "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezochi Kikō*.

A
[576]

[65] The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fūzoku Ryakuki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

[66] See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

[P. 79(A)]

A E *648 ● 177 *175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A [291]

[67] Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

A [302]

A [156]

[71] *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaikogi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F
*648
●177
*175

It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki;*

A
[101]

The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

---

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

A
[241]

1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *698 ●177 *175

ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, means Japanese.[73]

In Yamazaki' Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

> The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

So, although the natives preferred to be called Ainu instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed *"murakata,"* they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattooes on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannen Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatasu Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo *Basho* in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

A [307]

8. SUMMARY

With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

F [636]

[73] Italics by Takakura.

[P. 80(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
●177
*175

in the Japanese language and the natives were educated with the aim of "eventually turning them into Japanese" while farming methods were taught in order "to accustom them to the ways of the Japanese." Humane ways were preached and schooling given to "develop their culture gradually." To those natives who wished it, Japanese clothes were given, their heads were shaved, and permission was granted to follow the customs of Japan. Efforts were made to abolish such practices as polygamy. But this hasty policy of assimilation too often ignored the pride of the Ezo and, at least on the cultural side, it was dropped. This did not mean a return to a policy of non-assimilation but a more cautious and gradual carrying out of parts of the assimilation policy. The attitudes of the natives were respected. Trade was regularized and conducted in good faith in an effort to abolish the past evils of trade, while medical and other relief facilities were improved. These changes were inevitable because Ezo was changing from a commercial colony to an exploited area with a resultant need for government control, for the maintenance of native manpower and for convenient use of that labor power. The sudden adoption of this new policy was a result of the foreign situation developing around Hokkaidō at the turn of the nineteenth century—a situation which resulted in the assumption of direct control by the central government of Japan. There was every fear that Russian expansion included this area and that a prime Russian tactic was appeasement of the natives. But from the economic standpoint, these measures went too far. While it was undoubtedly necessary to establish a new administrative structure the attempt to assimilate the natives into the Japanese way of life while at the same time expanding the market for Japanese merchandise, increased the difficulties of using the natives as a labor force. The intelligence level of the native population was raised. The encouragement of agriculture gave the Ezo the means to furnish for themselves certain important goods such as tobacco, sake, and clothing hitherto imported from Japan. The Ezo manpower devoted to agriculture deprived the Japanese of native manpower for use in newly established Japanese industries. Above all, since the profit was realized not in the Ezo trade but in the Japanese market for Ezo goods, there was no need to expand the native market for Japanese goods. Actually this assimilation policy was a policy of national defense and it was not based on sound economics. For this reason of defense the Bakufu was most careful not to enforce assimilation and it trod so carefully in this matter that in 1802 it instructed its agents to call off the policy of encouraging agriculture and of changing native custom. The general effect of the policy change plus the improved fairness in trade led to an increase in native labor power available to Japanese industry on the island but uneven enforcement of this later policy

[P.81(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
AF
*648
●177
*175

made it most difficult to raise the general living standards of the Ezo.

It was out of sheer necessity that the central government took over the administration of Ezo and because of serious financial difficulties it could not afford to carry out desirable administrative and fiscal-economic policies there. The original estimate of expenditures had been 50,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for official salaries, and 5,000 koku land rent to the Matsumae per annum. By 1802 it was necessary to economize on these sums and the Hakodate Magistracy had its budget reduced to 25,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for salaries, and 3,500 koku for the Matsumae. Of the total amount, about 20,000 ryō was realized from Bakufu income in Ezo and the Hakodate Magistracy, in an attempt to cover the remaining sum, thought to establish a self-sufficient economy by buying rice for the island from the clans, reselling it, and using the profit to cover the deficit. Until this got underway, however, Hakodate had to depend on government subsidy. However, the Fiscal Agency of the central government decided to cover only the 5,000 ryō deficit in administrative expenses and to place the sum needed for official salaries and the Matsumae subsidy on a separate budget. In effect the major portion of the expense of governing Ezo had to be met out of the income of Ezo which is the very reason why the Ezo policy of the Bakufu, no matter how ideal in intent, suffered under severe restrictions placed on it by economic factors. Therefore, when tensions with Russia lessened and when it seemed apparent after the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 that Russia's colonial policy was not necessarily based on peaceful means and consequently the importance of appeasing the natives was reduced, it was but natural that the government shift its policy from one of appeasement to one of making a profit. This transformation is reflected in the abolition of the direct trade in East Ezo and the gradual relaxation of administrative controls in favor of economic benefits. In the end all policies were cast out except those which conformed with the economic principles of the central government. Obviously the concomitant expansion of industry and the increasing importance of exploiting the economy of Ezo changed the native picture.

It is not my intention to write that the various policies of the Bakufu were ineffectual. Through the efforts of the Bakufu, a native policy was established, Japanese sovereignty in Ezo was confirmed and an administration of a fair degree of order was erected. The evils of the preceding period were ended while the installations of that period were continued with a view to protecting the natives. The beneficial efforts of the Bakufu took deeper hold in those remote areas of East Ezo-Kunashiri, Etorofu, etc., where the Bakufu had concentrated its efforts, than in Western and Northern Ezo where the Bakufu faced greater difficulties.

[P. 81 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 563 *Woman.* Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark me off from the Japanese as a being apart from themselves and they look down on me as something inferior.

Self. What makes you think the Japanese look down on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat untattooed people better than they do those tattooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Self. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it was begun when I was very small and continued till I grew up.

Self. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise herself to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo marks kept her back. And even when I told her that, did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no greater stumbling block to her than the blackened teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case, she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the young women at times don their ornaments and paint each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is over they go and carefully wash it all off again and return to normal. We have often seen this done in the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 177 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self up against a very difficult problem, and had to go along with great caution. Later on, when the women brought their babies to me to name, I used to say, "Do you want your child to be brought up like a Japanese girl or an Ainu maiden? If she is to be tattooed like an Ainu and so kept out of sisterhood with the Japanese, I will give her an Ainu name, but if you prefer to have her like her Japanese sisters she shall have a Japanese name and not be tattooed." This worked the miracle and soon they began freely to ask for Japanese names, and thenceforth the tattooing became far less frequent and has now ceased altogether.

I suppose one will never get to know the real origin of the custom. Sitting by the Ainu hearth, I have heard the matter discussed. But not with much satisfaction. Thus I heard one person say to her companion, "Our grandmothers tattooed themselves because the old pit dwellers of Hokkaidō were so ornamented. Our people thought it so beautiful that they imitated them." "No, not so," said the other, "but when our ancestors fought with those pit dwellers, they took a lot of the women prisoners and tattooed them as their wives were, so as to know them again if they ran away." And so the controversy went on. But leaving further stories till later, I will now show how the tattooing is done.

Some birch or ash bark is taken from a tree and put into a pan where it is well soaked. After this a fire is made under a pot into which all has been put, and it is well boiled. When done, more bark is brought and burnt under the pot till the bottom is well blackened. When this has been thoroughly done, a woman takes a small sharp knife, cuts a few gashes into the part to be tattooed, then takes some of the soot from under the pot on her finger and rubs it well in. She next takes a piece of cloth, dips it into the decoction in the pot, and with it washes the part operated on. The centre of the upper lip receives the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I was seeking information about tattooing. So I said to her. 304 888 [115]

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *euchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom. [757]

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper 304 [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[125] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

Ainu. Skinning it for supper.

Inn-keeper. How is it you have only got half a hare?

Ainu. My master shot it.

Inn-keeper. But how only half?

Ainu. He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

Inn-keeper. But how came you to get only half?

Ainu. Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper. Oh, how so?

Ainu. Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

Inn-keeper. What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying *"Chikushō"!* (beast) Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177 797 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told them seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177
117 sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

But sometimes the people, some of them at least, 117 used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism. 764 [783]

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that. 177 764

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *nusa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inau*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inau-sah-guru*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.

NUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.' 754

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, imprisoned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross." 177 754

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two sculls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange. 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIII

ABOUT AINU HEROES

One day, after having been away on furlough for a few months, I returned to Piratori without first sending word to the chief that I was coming. Upon arrival, I was surprised to find my little room (six feet by nine) occupied by a small earthenware idol, standing about two feet high, and very ugly. It was made to resemble a Japanese warrior and was dressed *cap-a-pie* in full armour. It had the regulation two swords stuck into its girdle, and sat prepared for any emergency. 177 778

As soon as we had finished our somewhat lengthy salutations, the chief apologized for having put the image into my room, and Mrs. Penri hastened to carry it off and stow it away in her godown with the millet and vegetables. I found out afterwards that when my visits were over and I went elsewhere, the idol came out and was installed in my room for the convenience of such Japanese as might be passing through the village, but when I returned, it always found its home in the storehouse.

Knowing that the Ainu never made images of human beings for worship, I asked the chief how it came to pass he had this one in the village. This is his reply. "It is altogether a Japanese affair, made by Japanese and set up by them. The idol itself is about a hundred and twenty years old. It was brought to Piratori and set up in a tiny shrine on a point of the mountain close to our river. One day while you were away, a big storm of wind blew and sent the shrine,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to escape the sword of his brother, many years ago. Please pardon me for putting him in your room when you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogeho) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, 177
if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and im- 174
proving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two 177
distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, 648
working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a 174
reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that 103
they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220-245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a run- [531]
ning design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rubus*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[413] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The pecul-
413 iar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 These fe-
#11 rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 84. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

#11

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

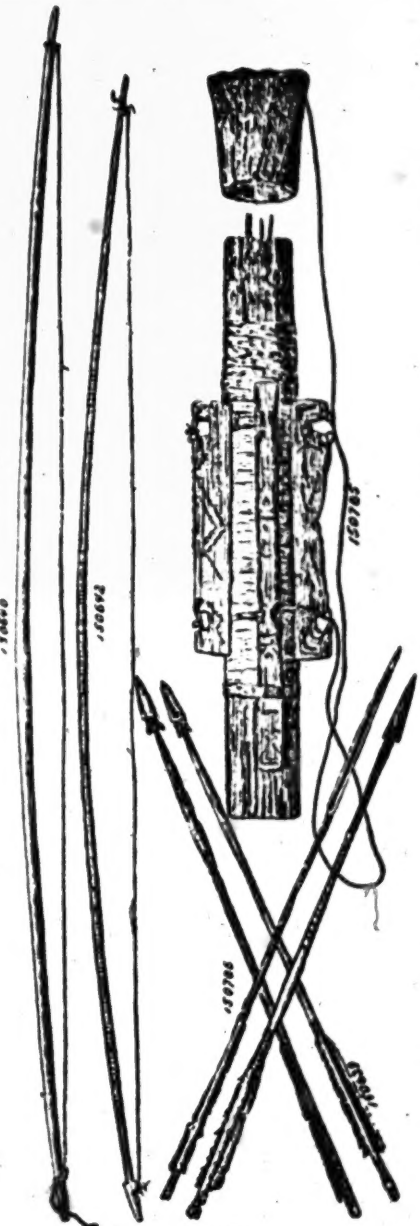


Fig. 84.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground. 778

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos. 621 776

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton." 776 777

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast. 778

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house-god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, ii, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

746 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

746 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[765] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
539 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
777 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking. 773 177

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD. 773 539

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

501 together with the fibre of a kind of vine. The concave bottom is all of one piece—a partial "dug-out"—to which are added the side pieces, of three planks each, sewn together at an angle of about 170°, and made to fit the sides of the "dug-out." Two more pieces, one aft and one forward, meet the side planks at right angles. The length of these canoes varies from 10 to 15 feet, the width from 3 to 3½ feet. Two pieces of wood are then lashed horizontally, which answer the double purpose of strengthening the sides of the canoe and, being provided with pins outside the canoe, of allowing it to be used as an outrigger when rowing. Canoes are either rowed or sailed. The oars are made of two pieces firmly lashed

FRONT VIEW OF LASHED CANOE.

AINU OARS.

together. A hole is bored in the part which is to be passed through the pin in the outrigger. One person is generally sufficient to row an Ainu canoe, and he does so standing. There is no steering gear or rudder, and when rowing the oars are used for that purpose. Ainu canoes are not decked, and therefore cannot stand heavy seas. They are alike on both sides, and in most cases the two ends of the canoe are also shaped alike. There are, however, certain canoes which, in [177] my opinion, have been suggested to the Ainu by Japanese boats, and which are flat at the stern. These are generally larger, and used for sailing. A square mat sail is rigged on a

SAILING CANOE.

short mast forward, and the steering is done with one of the oars at the stern. The sailing qualities of these canoes, however, are not very great, and the slightest squall causes

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them 184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely 301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese [177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142] [302] [304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in 291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, 229 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make [323] pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, [177] though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the [173] enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrirrurran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu.

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market.

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck—of the "Kamida Maru"—a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to
177 those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of
531 tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds
893 of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all.
301 Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

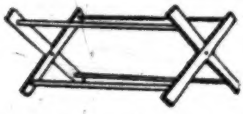
The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu
764 are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

152 not understand of course frighten them, like eclipses of the sun or moon, or as my revolver did when I was attacked by them at Horobets; and also when I appeared as a black-winged rider on the north-east coast. In the latter case, unfortunately, I was too far off to see their faces clearly, and in the former, after the attack they showed more sensible submission to the inevitable than true cowardice. What I chiefly saw then was here and there a face with wide-open, undecided eyes heavily frowning; while some of the others shrugged their shoulders and closed their eyes, waiting for the loud report of the revolver, which unpleasant noise, heard before from Japanese guns, always gives a shock to their nerves.

152 200 When an Ainu wishes to show that something cannot be done, or that he cannot prevent someone else from doing it, he neither shrugs his shoulders like a Frenchman, nor shakes his head laterally like an Englishman; nor does he throw out his hands like a Neapolitan, but, quietly standing erect, and with his head slightly bent forward, he gently lifts it up, and slowly winking his eyes, says that he cannot do it.

When children are sulky or displeased they frown and protrude their lips, making a nasal noise similar to this—"Ohim"—without any of the vowels clearly pronounced.

201 Our way of nodding the head vertically in sign of affirmation and shaking it laterally in negation is not known to the thoroughbred race. Those, either Ainu or half-castes, who [177] practise it have learned it from the Japanese. The right hand is generally used in negation, passing it from right to left and back in front of the chest; and both hands are gracefully brought up to the chest and prettily waved downwards—palms upwards—in sign of affirmation. In other words, their affirmation is a simpler form of their salute, just the same as with us the nodding of the head is similarly used both ways.

152 It is quite enough to look at an Ainu's eyes to see at once whether he consents or not, just as it is quite enough to look at a monkey's face to know if it will accept the apple you offer it. Slyness and jealousy are well marked in the Ainu face, and the former is seen in the glittering, restless eyes, the latter in the sulky glance and protruding mouth. Slyness is a very common characteristic among Ainu men; jealousy is recognised and frequent in women.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.
264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu
513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
177

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

291
[177]
[281]
[286]

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

[p. 245]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either
100 adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atsis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atsis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atsis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atsis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atsis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atsis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

291
100
53

BACK OF ATZIS.

291
294
53
562
294
53
291
[184]

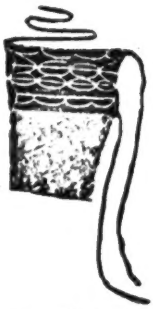
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARSA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

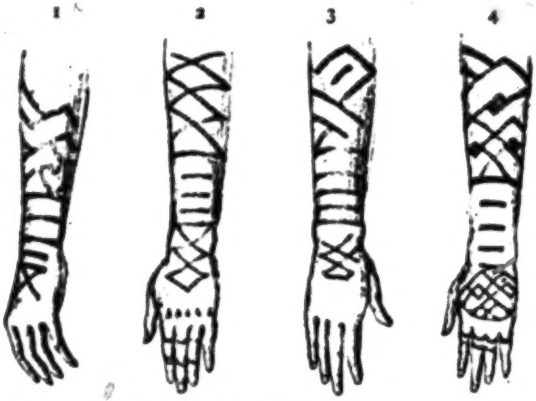
The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori. 304



[531]

TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2. 304 [77] 184

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves 304

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the 533
end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—

The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the keynote generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain 533
form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the 538
folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu— [177]
are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, [212]
it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539
rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538
repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am in- [177]
clined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533
by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533
illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755
spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [753]
when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration. [121]

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing. [147] [128] [147]

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered. [391] [197]

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long [142] [513]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

582 out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one [602] another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

831 The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for 853 children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children 844 till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn 842 fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

165 There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe 847 exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The [165] greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for [373] alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from [199] the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old 162 men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
177 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

● 177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head- 177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

648 177

[657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

241 177

[184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

241 177 182

[171]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

[195]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175

INTRODUCTION

648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and
[412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and
[29] Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated,
[434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred
[177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu
[623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to
177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed
[464] as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the
[251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
179
302
142

PLATE 1. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

●[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[784] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a trigod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). [776] Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. [439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and [177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine qual[illegible] Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer [844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

422 [353] [523] [177] [342] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and 422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, 411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least [531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when [755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden 789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value [777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike [773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from [532] *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes 342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre- [513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), [264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the 342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-hem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing 574 (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB5 Ainu AB6

574
538
769
[177]

small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives
[203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders
[782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays
[178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave. 764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north. [778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that 765 184 [291] [302]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is
[759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the
[791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to
[611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to
[554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it
[192] also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The
[764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may
[611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being
769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced
[177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu
[103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-
[182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[298] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
849 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[191] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out

A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/327 cont'd/

173 occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [117] these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak [177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely 493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on 174

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
493 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
291 from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
174 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the
free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form[2], the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs; Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i. e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [164] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 648 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857–58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 648 177 [101] (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6–7),

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The southwestern and coastal Ainu, who had been in long and frequent contact with Japanese, were already in the initial stage of using firearms (matchlocks). The use, however, was still quite limited; on the upper Tokapchi, in particular, the native Ainu continued depending on their traditional hand- and spring-bows with accompanying poisoned arrows.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduction from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

[177]

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU ABO

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J./123 cont./Many
175 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled
648 across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The
A
[167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince
E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the
[361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in
729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

A
EJ
[177]

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.
A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the
E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were
F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely
175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to
654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

2: Schrenck--258 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABC
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

FJ. 175 654 [113]

/123 cont./

6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

A 175

The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

A [177] A [101]

A [113] [114]

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/126 cont./

175
114
103

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/."-- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" selʼsko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

[113]
[101]

175
[10]
[177]

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

[131]

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--472 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/333 cont./

195
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195
342
352
354
[177]
[171]

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[184]

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

Gi 291 294 177 415

/406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439]

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

/411 cont./

000 G 302 171 000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Oleha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A 302 177 It may be pre-sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A 175 302 177 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

2: Schrenck--618 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/412 cont./

302
171
177
[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul'; Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302
177
648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302
177
413

and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

A 302 199 413 /412 cont./ with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi 302 171 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ

Gi [184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's

M 302 648 656 171 /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by

000 the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

M 113 302 648 171 656

2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

2: Schrenck--626 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABL

T 302 171 179 [131]

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G GT TS 302 171 179 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A
G
Gi
SS
T
302
171
177
648

/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G
301
171

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

Gi
[301]

Gi
301

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

[See Category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

G 323 171 A 323 [177] A [175] [172] [415] /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju, i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they

G 321 171 K 323 415 [113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [172]

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/454 cont./

226
179

Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

226
171
113

5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old [251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack 177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
177

A
[465]
[648]

3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
Gi
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
175 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
226 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
262 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period
264 of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish;
ooo and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi
[113]

4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[291] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
[177] infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdōjin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
in trading, to control large amounts of property. The
556 rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich]
while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those
565 unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position.
The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū*
called "The song sung by the God of owls himself,
around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have
proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to
stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a
necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . .
says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with
both wealth and virtue would treat men and women,
old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking
to the gods].

Regulations came more and more to be based on
178 actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and
the chief had no power of control over each individual
except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the
head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone
else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*,
written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family
affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village
chief and the approval of the chief was called for only
when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk.
Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one
of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the
more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those
with a large number of relations should extend their
power over several villages and the pressure from the
Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union
from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power
among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
point where it could support a permanent political
64 organization and when they did acquire, from the Jap-
anese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the
Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political
control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt
to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 579 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tôyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [273] [276] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem marim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

A F *175 *648 439 431 A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and A [273] be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyāki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

F
*648 except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved
*175 to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo
656 and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers,
swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These
439 people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[19]

A
F
*648
*175
● [178]
439

The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

A
F
647
*648
*175

[19] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *C48 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

A *C48 621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *C48 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

A F *C48 177 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[P. 46(A)]

Feudal Japan 182

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may
be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought
in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever
since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
576 here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been gen-
671 erous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The
reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is
A F to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate
the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
*648 erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by
671 the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated
and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor
diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
A F preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare
time.

[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been
done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona*
goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the
Otona when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited
to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to
violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make
one's language follow that of the guards.

[302] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been
noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many
mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[657] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all
unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family,
and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, re-
ported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate
via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even
subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or
unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately
and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not
to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly
to the guard posts through any villager capable of inter-
preting. Any other business which requires either im-
mediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported
to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and
report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch
shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other
type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the
mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his
people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all
A people.[7]

*648 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
576 changes from that of the previous period. Previously
527

[7] *Eso Fūsoku Iken* 2: 1.

178

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*648 the central character had been the *Basho* contractor.
576 Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony
529 and its connection with contractors becomes slight.
This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where
direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in
previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing
●178 of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in
importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing
accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In
addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was
beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection
tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives,
A
gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked
hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers,
[657] those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This
ceremony was carried out with great regularity after
the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies
carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates
or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar
nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

F
2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

*648 While various means of appeasement were utilized
*175 by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts
657 was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example
431 of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai,
is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

A
However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor,
*648 the needy, and the widowed. The following article
*175 which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi*
Kikasesho [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on
657 Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

---

[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Hrishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

[P. 69(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
AF
*G48
177
*175

similation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshû (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.[62]

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of a race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

---

A
[178]

[62] "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkauchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 7, Kunashirito ittai no gi moshiage sōrō kakituske (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), *SHS* 5: 802-803.

[P.78(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

161
162
178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu- 304
land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, 563
was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being [178 ●
tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melanesians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. 171]
As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a [178] very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! ● 178 But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But do not let it be supposed for a moment that the Ainu are cannibals, for they are not so now, whatever they may have been in the past. Then the lady added, "Supposing a polygamist gets rid of any of his wives, ought he not to make them handsome presents, and should it not be by mutual consent?" I left the question unanswered. And so this case which the young lady quoted is but an echo of the Ainu past. I will add, however, before leaving this subject, that in the mind and reasoning of this lady there was a certain twist, for she said, "Surely it would have been better for that missionary, had a millstone been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea! For he caused a little one to stumble, did he not?" 119 [266]

It has been my great privilege to spend quite a long time among this peculiar and enigmatical people, and we have had a number of them educated. It has been a most interesting thing to watch how the old ideas of an uncivilized people come into contact with and then are partially abolished by modern thought. I am well acquainted with an Ainu woman who has been given a good Japanese education, who can play the organ nicely, and who has even been to England. For some time past she has been reading books on what is called "New Thought," of which, by the by, the present generation of Japanese are very fond. We have had much discussion on many points raised, for some of them are not in line with what is termed orthodox Christianity. She is a young lady who does not by any means always take things on trust and so we are at times unable to see eye to eye. One day after a long discussion she said to me; "Sir, I perceive that you are one of the *Genrô-in*" (i.e. Elder Statesmen). 178

I thought this rather strong. Nevertheless it is the spirit of the age. What a change! And to come as it did from an Ainu woman! It shows progress. However, I let it pass and at once replied: "Yes, yes, just so. Have it so if you wish. But remember this at all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale is as follows.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the
[178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told 339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival. 231 527

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years. 178 527 321

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish." 527 231

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person [178] born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [775] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march
231 along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which
[178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

226 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they
227 called an *urai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrow-head, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 114

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]

Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.

Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.

Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.

Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his in- [122] vestigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562]

 [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
778 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
782 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
574 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-J. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and
[554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn [844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-
[789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*
778
[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
● 178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

789 *Variants in Funeral Customs*

775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in
[171] these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
•178

5. See L.Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

532
825
•178

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

[113]

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825
[171]
[114]

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[85] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[29]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[311] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
[134] no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet.

22 182 433 178

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[49].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

[361]

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

[178]

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [178] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66. Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group. 796 [461]

67. Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

F.J. 175 /122 cont./
G 131 175 [361] [563]
Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]
Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A
G /122 cont./
131 began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for
175
[198]
[563]

4. See above, p. 154.

A
[648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G In summarizing everything that has been said about the
131 Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
175 far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable
G change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
[174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going
175 back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
131 Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
184 particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern
A ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan
E.J.
175
187

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voorthrengs. der Aino-landen

A
[113]

A 224 714 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance G A 224 with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads G [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

288 Those areas
177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware
323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and
411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only
224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet
227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs,
411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were
501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their
556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar-
119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little.
181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women
[286] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkenki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of
181 Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen
[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse
177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and,
[291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

---

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes*.

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* **99** (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P.14(A)]

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[74]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[74] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat
562 with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and
[181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *nupe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *sake* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LVI

A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY

Kutri of Crag-top was the most handsome man in his district and was highly regarded by all. He had lovely locks of fine wavy black hair and a delightful beard. He was as strong as a bear in his prime, and as bold, and he knew not what fear was. He was as swift of foot as a deer, as clever as a wily fox, as keen-sighted as a hawk, and as quick and sure in his movements as a weasel pursuing his prey. He never returned from the hunt empty-handed and was never known to miss a fish with his hook or spear. His club for killing salmon sounded three times to any other man's once. In shooting, his aim was so true that his arrows invariably hit the mark, and he, above all others, knew how to track animals in the forest. He could wind the instrument for decoying deer so well that when he blew it, the sound he made was so sharp and clear as to be indistinguishable from the call of a doe for its young, the cry of the young for its mother, or a signal of distress or alarm. He was wonderful! The man was like a demi-god among his fellows. He was also very eloquent of speech; he could roar like thunder when he was angry, and when at peace his voice was like the rippling of a gentle stream of water running among the pebbles in its course. No one could stand before him. He was the pride and hope of his race, and good-tempered and humble withal. The maidens delighted in him and all the young men envied him; for, did not everyone praise him? and did not the chiefs and elders of the people extol his virtues?

539
831
181

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful
831 maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as
●181 straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where
831 Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the
584 path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a pecu-
[145] liarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

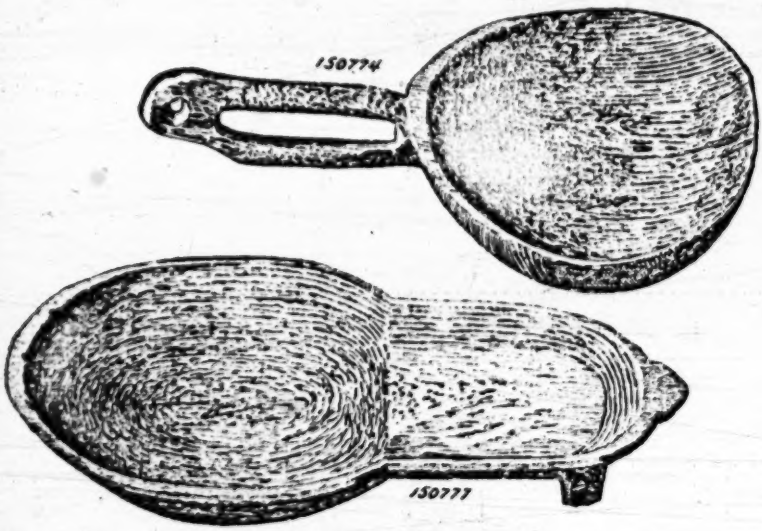
181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels.

I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they 142
are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant [181] and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.



[N5]

Fig. 88.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women [582] grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the 304
mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

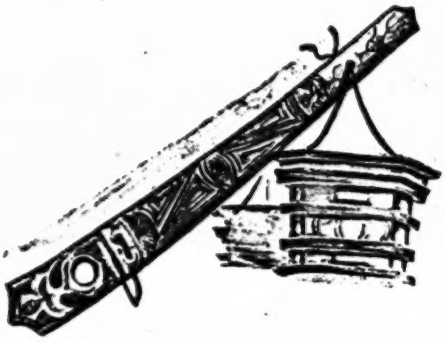
Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.



AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

276
531

AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by eär only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect 153
blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas 805
of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme 802
difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, 153
and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their atten- 152
tion, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects 181
have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi 157
River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

192 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu atheists, or
776 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact trans-
792 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are
192 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

795 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

●181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

A 224 714 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance G A 224 with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads Gi [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[176] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, [181] which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
[182] tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[183] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss) is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
774 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu."—"And how can a little stick talk?"—"It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree—that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,*—a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
782 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. 648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1] 241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu 241 177 182 [171]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 825 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other [796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am [182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave [787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names. 184 182

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river. 778 776 184 354 [562] [858]

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut 778 782 184 [114] [755] [243]

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women
[804] independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. 769 These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

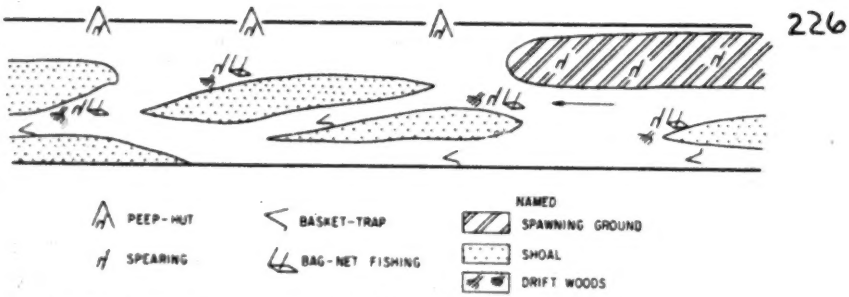


Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent [182] salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, 226 the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to December[29] (p. 53). 221 Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

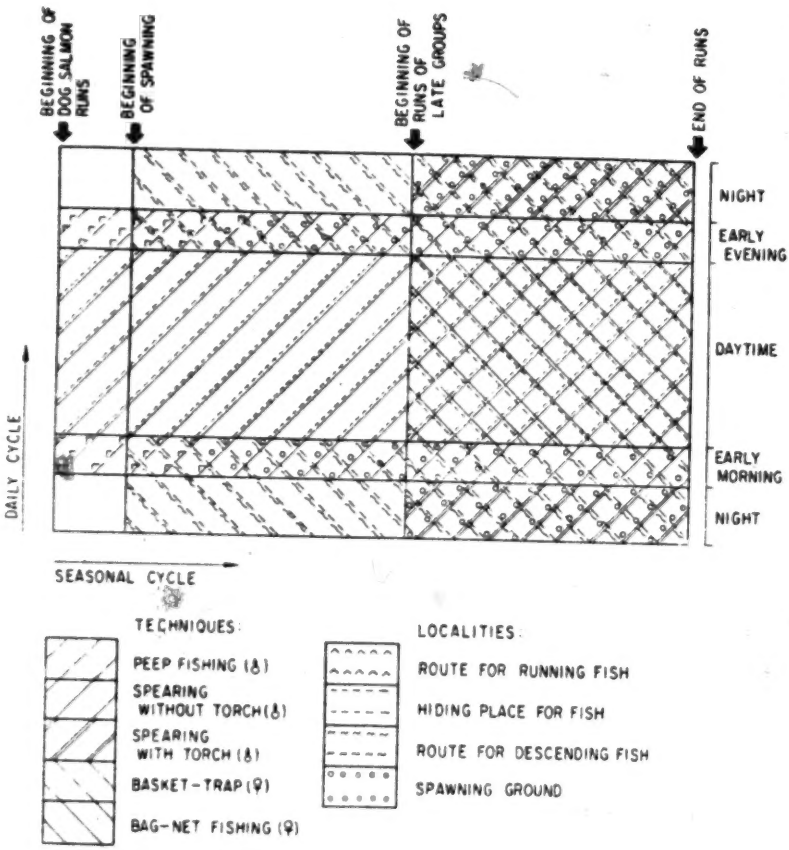


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During
spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the
Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected.
Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [46]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain
kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though
not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collect-
ing activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow
poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and
collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet.

22 182 433 178

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[49].

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

224 476 [602] [555]

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
idg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.56]

V

TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS

A territory here is defined simply as an area defended and protected by members of a group against intruding members of other groups. Though various types of territories were held by the Ainu, all were concerned with the exploitation of natural resources found thereon. Ainu territorialism was a part of the spatial structure of their community which had a direct relevance to their adaptation to habitat. The maintenance of a territory could be an important factor in relation to the distribution and spacing of groups and to group activities (cf. BARTHROMIW and BIRDSELL, 1953). 423 [182]

Territories as held by the Ainu fall into two categories: one, the territory inhabited and utilized exclusively by a river group as a whole (p. 16), and the other, inner-territories stewarded as gathering sites by individual groups within the river group, i.e. local groups, cooperative groups and simple families.

The Territory Held by the River Group.

The territory occupied by each river group formed itself on the basis of a *pet* or a river as prescribed by the Ainu themselves and its surrounding area (p. 16). So far as the territories surveyed by the present writer are concerned, this covered an area bounded in partly by mountain ridges forming watersheds for the adjoining rivers, *pet*, and partly by tributaries of the river or adjoining rivers, as seen in the case of Otopuke, Tokapchi, Tushipet, Azuma and Saru[48]. As regards the Shikot the actual line of demarcation is unknown except for that interior part which was bounded in by the crest lines forming the watersheds for the adjoining rivers. As far as the present writer has examined, the actual lines of demarcation of most of these territories, as shown on Map 2, present some difficulty in identification, especially in the lower regions, although it seems doubtful whether such ambiguity had actually existed or the memory has been lost to available informants. 423 619

Attention must be directed to the fact that a river group and its territory were not necessarily based on a geographically defined river system as a unit. Sometimes a single river group and its territory evolved around a river system, as with the Azuma; sometimes more than one river group and their territories developed around a single river system, as with the Tokapchi, each evolving around the main stream or one of the larger tributaries.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river 619
group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae 628
for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against 423
possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part 182
of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by 423
certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[10]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[10]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

(53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, however, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

Yanke tomari and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1, [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[176] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. Cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, [181] which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery mossj is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

423 hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring
226 bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in
226 Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki*
[224] *Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band
[476] and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

476 This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

476 There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they
183 built their own houses, cutting down available trees and
[426] grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes,
[341] they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It
[297] has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after
[261] the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had
[264] to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For
[858] the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal.
[888] Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter
[276] how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After
[273] one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of
226 the villages went out to fish during the salmon season
224 and distributed their catch among all and when someone
431 killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the
[602] hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

A E [183] [273] [276] When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A *175 *648 439 431 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over.

A [805] A [273] A [178] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

157 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according 183 to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon [685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; 697
neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in ●184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei nō ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of the death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three
nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most
[692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed
696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in
684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which
● 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East]
562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punish-
684 ment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*
[60] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 237.
[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.
[62] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241.

A
E
*648
*175
439
[184]
[291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A
E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

---

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

A F *648 *175 166 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to A [162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of A F *648 *175 161 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa [164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government A F *648 *175 177 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to A F *648 *175 651 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in A ● [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

A F *648 *175 177 When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

A F *648 *175 577 661

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [584] [579]

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184]

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island.

A F [587]

Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466]

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
436
[233]

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

A
[184]

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

A
F
*648
*175
457
436

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

---

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

A
[932]

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

F
A
*C48
179
*195
511

Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

A
F
*698
*175
439
A
[184]

The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[20] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[21] It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[22] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

F
[675]

F
[202]

[20] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[21] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[22] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

F
[656]

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 657 759 465

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

A [184]

A F *648 *175 [871] 100 185

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

A F [759] [657] [675]

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

A
[184]

A
[484]
[562]
[177]

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kozukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A 539 648

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

G 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

A 764 184

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

A [441 171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me
[762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places
[184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

higher forms, paradoxical as it may appear, it is looked 761
upon as both spirit and matter, substance and attribute, at one and the same time. It is not the essence that changes but its manifestation. The personal spirit itself is the principle of life behind the life—the very indestructable quintessence of being. Unless one knows this to be their faith, he will find that there are many little things in their daily life which he can not hope to understand.

It is this faith, indeed, handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, that has produced such an enigma among us. An enigma which cannot in the nature of things last much longer in this age of progress. There is now no place left in the world for either material or spiritual atrophy.

I used to think that this people had a very great fear of death, but during my long sojourn among them, I have had to modify my opinion on this matter considerably. That some do fear it immensely is as true with them as with other individuals among other [184] races, for I have been with many of them at the time of death and seen that it is so; but then there are many others who do not seem to dread it at all. I will give just one concrete example.

I went to a certain village one day where there were many Christians. As soon as I arrived I was told that a poor woman was then in the act of dying from pleurisy. I asked why they had not sent for the doctor, and was told that he was away and would not be back again for a week and that they could not afford to send to a distant village for another. Would I come in to see her? As her pastor, I did so of course. When I got in I was greatly surprised to find her sitting by the hearth, well bolstered up with mattresses. She could hardly breathe, as she suffered agonies when she tried to do so. I counted sixteen women sitting about the hut, very busy indeed making garments in which to dress her corpse before burial. This was going on

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

completely paralyzed. The members of his family 761
would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people said they were sure he was dead and that his answer [764]
had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day.

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best 764
clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse.

A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at 184
Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I 764
gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave.

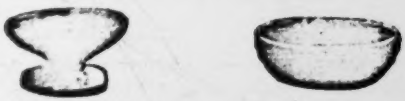
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *amen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

[415]



A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *saké* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus 533
and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an 144
admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, [184]
the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there 539
were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, 'cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

184 301 [777]

[142] [302] [304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

291 283 227

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits ; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs ; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River ; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135 . In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [342] 189 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital. 184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair. As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

On the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

begun (*Ciuta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half a dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

322
415

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone 341
beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent 189
varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru 342
River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched 189
with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider 342
how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less [184] severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own 342 architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all [476] hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter [352] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds 399 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a 517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping 412 accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not 415 practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation. 532

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak. 532 322

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design. 532

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character. 532 184 412

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A 532 412

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either
177 adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

291
177
531

BACK OF ATZIS.

291

294
531
562

294
531
291

[184]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING. DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARSA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

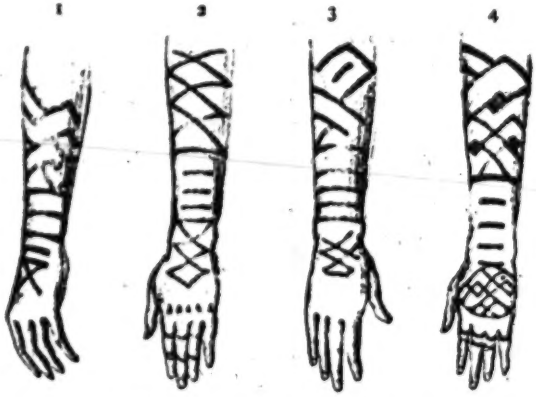
291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [600] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori. 304



[531]

TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2. 304 [77] 184

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves 304

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among
149 the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the
184 Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and
203 thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

582 Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent,
149 but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large per-
[149] centage die when very young: those who live are generally
[581] malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and
[151] hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

14 The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-
563 breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-mataínu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*huchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-mataínu* were called *ir-mataínu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-mataínu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-mataínu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-mataínu* and *ir-mataínu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *huchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

241 177 182 [171]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

[175]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa ako hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shinurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quantities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*nusu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuha-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-hara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *paw kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau neṭoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942, 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called ***shian shutu inau*** (Pl. III, fig. 1). The ***ekashi inau***[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged ***inau***, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged ***inau***, his being called male (***pinne***) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (***matne***) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (***shutu***) ***inau*** are interesting. The male one resembles the ***ekashi inau***; the female recalls the backward-shaven ***inau***, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the ***inau*** offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown ***nusa*** in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral ***nusa***, crowded with winged ***inau***. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The ***ekashi inau*** mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title ***ekashi*** here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (***pinne*** and ***matne***) ***inau*** are ***shutu*** (ancestral) ***inau***.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*, and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, ***kinashut kamui inau***, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) ***nusa***, are ***inau*** of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) ***inau***, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called ***ekashi inau*** (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-mau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

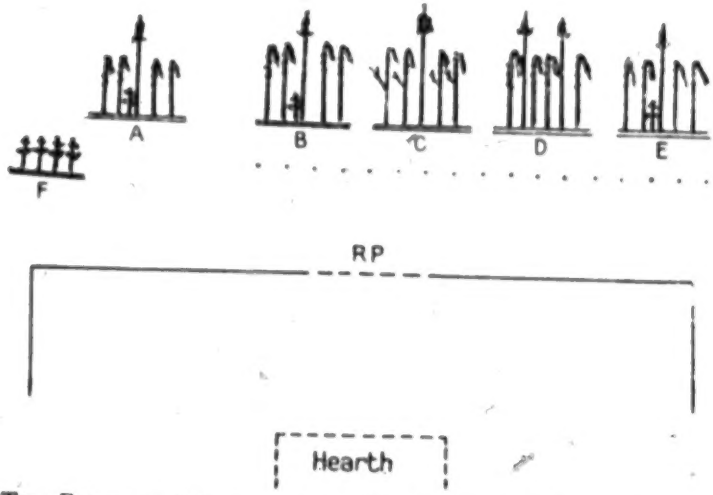
In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
● [184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost. 778 782 [184] [114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
532 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
778 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
776 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-
184
[796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*inakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1906-1942) 196
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
776
778
[184]

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunui). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

[576]
[782]

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

778
776
[774]

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778
776
796
782

7:Munro & Seligman D E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *'ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

342
527
782
554

from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342
527
778
782

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776
782
184

A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
Kind of decoration.

[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they [192]
have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M.

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

● [184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
782
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [519]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

VARIOUS RITES

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes 755 taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn
[844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
[184] the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[789] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764
778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

765 184 [291] [302]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

765

DEATH AND BURIAL

184 formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may 302 announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her [912] hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages. 769 551 [182]

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted. [782]

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups. 614 301 [4 28]

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1). 292

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult. [184] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 671 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two
[291] up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since
[184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/770 cont./

847 told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well ac-
[184] quainted with the women of these regions that I could have
openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu
tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed
[836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or
refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at
that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which
177 are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries
that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island.
But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods
from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered
people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they
probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they
[648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all
manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I
learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that
[824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a
very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many
methods are used; in view of the fact that in that country the
custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very wide-
spread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri
(Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which
they received on the condition of silence.

845 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the
847 same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of
[842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their
opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such
an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one
to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the
diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the
suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins.
On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the be-
ginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is
mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
●184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of his wife: 582

a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as his wife's 1
(from Memroputu)

b) From other river group than his wife's..... 3
(from Asahikawa in Ishikari)

In the *shine itokpa* group in the Satnai valley at ca. 1880-85, which consisted of 3 local groups with 16 households and formed a single river group itself, the proportion of the number of wives who married in from outside the *shine itokpa* group to the number of wives who were born and married inside the group seems to have been much greater than that in the *shine itokpa* group in the Tokapchi valley which was previously stated. The details will be given in Notes 23-24 on the following genealogical charts. [184]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221

1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[29]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[2] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
458 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4. [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
ıdg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "ıdg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

16 When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

44 1 Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari*
[136] *koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke sotki kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [78] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle- [782] ment." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

/1 cont./

G 101 144 As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

A G 131 175 [198] [563] /122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether G [174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half A 175 131 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan E.J. 175 181

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voorthrengs. der Aino-landen

A [113]

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
● 184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

A 174 184 433 131 /130 cont./ where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

Gi 175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after Gi [231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J. Gi 175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them. [101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, [103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

Gi 131 175 F.J. 175 [126]

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. [114] dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

/333 cont./

175
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

175
342
352
354
[177]
[171]

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin [184] those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont./

302
171
177
[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302
177
648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302
177
413

and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as
A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
A
[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A
[113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

/419 cont./

304
113

2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

304
184

among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

304
175

3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

[113]

A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

A [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

Feudal Japan AB2

A *648 177 *175

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi*: "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 ●185 291

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 491

3 THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[262]
[273]
[276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[821]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
*175
●185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
[651]
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

A F *648 *175 185

treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

A F [439]

However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

A [291]

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

1:Takakura · H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2
A
F
*C48
*175
185

lence"[6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods,"[7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful"[8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

A
F
*C48
177
*175
185
A
F
[439]

Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

---

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hekikyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175
185

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

A
[565]
[595]

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

F
[657]

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting ~~into that, how~~ever, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

F
636
175

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ." it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

[P. 71(B)]

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koro-pok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172 417 251

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *ante*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group

[361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next

614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley

619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more

[186] at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

2: Schrenck--895 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu ABC

/571 cont./

000
K
177
192
174
325

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K
439
325
179
55
823
K
823
A
823
186
439

K 823 A 439 823 186 A 439 435

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 17 325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

[For information pertaining to the Ainu language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 10-11.]

1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*648
177
*175

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241]
A [243]
A [191]

A
*648
177
185
291

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

A
*648
*175

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

F
A
*648
*175
491

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

A F *648 *175 466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 661 939 *175 A [191]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho,* the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi,* No. 276: 901–902.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

A 208 691 871

Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

208 191

Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

T 634 101 131 K 634 101 131

In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

T K [167] T K [162]

T 634 101 131 161 K 634 101 131 161

The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

T 433 634 K 433 634

The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance

621 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms
361 this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter
[166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
[172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family
622 groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the
●192 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

622 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shibankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and
● 192 *Kozukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kozukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*." *"Bankinneshippa"* comes from *"Dankenne Nishipa"* meaning "the leader" and *"Shibankinne"* is from *"Shi-pankenne"* which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:[39]

Ainuto*pake* or to*pake*
Ikiri*pake* (guru)
Utara-*pa* or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)
*Sapa*neguru or *Esapa*neguru (the person who is to become the head)
Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa, pake, sapa*, etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Atpa* (guide); *Punginegurn* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Porochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative, [769] worshipped the common ancestral god.[40] In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.[41] The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.[42] Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word *"Hashio"* probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fūdoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabanekuru* or *Kotankoroponnishiba* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

[39] John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

[40] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōwa; Nihon hen* 1: 384.

[41] Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirosada, *Higashi Ezo Yawa* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

[42] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fūzoku Taikei* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

[P. 17(B)]

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be [192] punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems 627 that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. [696] Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments [787] similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itô Yûichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242-243.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 192 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 "the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient
192 village; a beautiful place." When *Kamui* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix; when to things, it is a prefix.

778 But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,[1] are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

[1] *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut; *kara*, make; also, have.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

792 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or
796 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact trans-
792 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moskiri*, which are
792 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

795 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types. 141 121

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes." 55 192
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT. 141

MEN.	inches.		WOMEN.	inches.	
1.	61	Med. 62 1/16	1.	58 3/4	Med. 58 3/8.
2.	65		2.	59 7/8	
3.	60 1/2		3.	59 1/2	
4.	64 7/8		4.	54 3/4	
5.	61		5.	59 1/2	

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1]
174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu
● [192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
[286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
● 192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
192 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

192 771 774 [828]

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*. [776] [822]

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu. 771 776

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*). [115] [753] [789] [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.

(*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .

(*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

[192]

[1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ehashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chiset*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau*-fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262]

[1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and besceches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made. 778 782 574

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein. 796 769 782 [184]

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration. [415]

[1] The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam hatkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Pirstori. The headman of Pirstori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.
[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

• 192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178

5. See L. Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

11: Watanabe, E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[685]

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both tne habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 192 [776] (58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 224 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

K 175 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

K [101]

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them; for many years they have entered into marriages

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchã River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

A
172
173
323
•192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
171

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

G /576 cont./
224
171 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A
G It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence
224 in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese
A
225 traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of
114 sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat
[192 doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy

and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G A 224 [411] A 411 439 325 178 A 224 181 433 648

The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

G 224 433 G [439]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [774] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 194 [193]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 96 174 [193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

kamui of water,
To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i. e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i. e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakkā ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i. e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

199 If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

● 194 The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrirrurran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

[576]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu.

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market.

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma-

/325 cont'd/

194 With regard to the clay fragments that are found in different places, the Gilyak have two versions: some attribute them to the old Ainu, others assert that a long time back, when the Japanese and Manchurian iron caldrons were still unknown to them, their own Gilyak ancestors had themselves manufactured clay vessels, which, by the way, may have been the case. The Gilyak believe that stone axes and other stone tools fall from heaven when lightning strikes.

In 1905 I met in Nikolayevsk on the Amur a Gilyak who lived on the mainland; he confirmed to me that around there stone axes are called lyi tuch, i.e. axes of lightning. They held the potsherds found in the Amur region to be remains of Chinese vessels. As to the earth hollows which there, too, occur not infrequently, they either have nothing to report on them at all or they believe those tulkus to be remnants of huts of their ancestors, who formerly had not built big huts as they are customary nowadays in Manchuria, but had contented themselves with clay huts. From a clever Gilyak living in the neighborhood of Nikolayevsk I heard a characteristic tale about these caves which I can quote in a literal translation.

"A long, long time ago there appeared here on the Amur Russian or other devils who killed the people. They came in big boats or barges and could not cross shallow water. Therefore the Gilyak fled to where there were little rivers, built their clay huts there, and stuck it out for the winter or somewhat longer. Then they went back to the banks of the great Amur. They called the newcomers Kinys, i.e. "devils." By chance I met also in Nikolayevsk three Gilyak who, when asked about the Tonchi, said they had heard that on Tu (Gilyak word for Sakhalin) there lived a people similar to the Tungus and Orok called Tozin. The Tozin language was also similar to the Orok. But it was not known from where this people had come to Sakhalin. Since, unfortunately, I have never revisited this region, I was not able to check on this information more thoroughly or to receive more detailed information from other Gilyak on the above mentioned Tozin.

194 The consonant "z" is completely unknown to the Ainu. Wherever it occurs in other languages related to theirs, they replace it by "c." The Gilyak word yzyn is pronounced in Ainu "ocion," the Russian zima becomes cima, etc. Often the n- sound is inserted.

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak [177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
174

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news
[203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[611] [283] [428] [869] [182]

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

[804] [428]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 196 174 [193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131 in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
172 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 69 are quite different from
[197 any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515 low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,[1] only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery. 174

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in [144] [190]
the dialect spoken in that part of Japan.

[1] The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus R45
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

S 121 433

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin ~~Island~~
Ainu ABG

GJ. A 101

/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A G [197]

A G [113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A G [113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A G 101 439

so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

VARIOUS RITES

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the skin dried? I should be moving day after day, and it would not be possible to pack it in that condition among my sketches; I had no arsenical soap, and unless I dried it in the sun it would certainly rot, and get spoiled.

I resorted to a trick. I fastened two sticks crossways, and having stuck one up the eagle's neck, I fastened the two opened wings to the two side branches of the cross. The skin was thus kept well opened, and with two additional strings, one at each wing, the frame was fastened on to my back, the feathered side against my coat, while the inside was exposed to the sun and the wind. In wading a river I saw my own image reflected in the water, and I must confess the appearance was strange. A few hours after a group of Ainu were able to certify to this. I was riding slowly along the shore, when I saw a few of them not very far ahead. Two men were the first to notice me, and they seemed terror-stricken. As I approached they stood still for a minute, shading their eyes with their hands so as to make out what kind of winged animal it was they saw riding on horseback. When they [103] discovered that the black wings were on a human being, the two brave Ainu fled, crying out, "*Wooi, wooi!*" the hairy [201] people's cry of distress.

As I got nearer the village, dozens of wild dogs came to 123 meet me, and, barking furiously, followed my pony, while the few inhabitants, frightened out of their wits at such an unusual sight, hid themselves inside their huts. Two or three hurriedly launched their "dug-outs" and put out to sea. When I passed the first hut some large salmon were thrown at me from inside, probably with the idea that I might satisfy my appetite on them, and spare the lives of the trembling donors. Food was not over-plentiful along that coast, so I dismounted and picked up the provisions so munificently provided by the scared natives. I tied them on each side of my pack-saddle, not sorry to be thus saved from the danger of dying of starvation—at least for the next two or three days.

As I was so occupied, a little child about four years old, evading the vigilance of his parents, ran out of one of the huts. I took him in my arms; whereat he cried bitterly, and when the people inside heard it there were screams of indignation and despair.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

152 not understand of course frighten them, like eclipses of the sun or moon, or as my revolver did when I was attacked by them at Horobets; and also when I appeared as a black-winged rider on the north-east coast. In the latter case, unfortunately, I was too far off to see their faces clearly, and in the former, after the attack they showed more sensible submission to the inevitable than true cowardice. What I chiefly saw then was here and there a face with wide-open, undecided eyes heavily frowning; while some of the others shrugged their shoulders and closed their eyes, waiting for the loud report of the revolver, which unpleasant noise, heard before from Japanese guns, always gives a shock to their nerves.

152 When an Ainu wishes to show that something cannot be done, or that he cannot prevent someone else from doing it, 201 he neither shrugs his shoulders like a Frenchman, nor shakes his head laterally like an Englishman; nor does he throw out his hands like a Neapolitan, but, quietly standing erect, and with his head slightly bent forward, he gently lifts it up, and slowly winking his eyes, says that he cannot do it.

When children are sulky or displeased they frown and protrude their lips, making a nasal noise similar to this—"Ohim"—without any of the vowels clearly pronounced.

201 Our way of nodding the head vertically in sign of affirmation and shaking it laterally in negation is not known to the thoroughbred race. Those, either Ainu or half-castes, who [177] practise it have learned it from the Japanese. The right hand is generally used in negation, passing it from right to left and back in front of the chest; and both hands are gracefully brought up to the chest and prettily waved downwards—palms upwards—in sign of affirmation. In other words, their affirmation is a simpler form of their salute, just the same as with us the nodding of the head is similarly used both ways.

152 It is quite enough to look at an Ainu's eyes to see at once whether he consents or not, just as it is quite enough to look at a monkey's face to know if it will accept the apple you offer it. Slyness and jealousy are well marked in the Ainu face, and the former is seen in the glittering, restless eyes, the latter in the sulky glance and protruding mouth. Slyness is a very common characteristic among Ainu men; jealousy is recognised and frequent in women.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890).1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches 261
their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water.

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics 483
were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made.

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not 481
astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the 857
hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. 142
Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided.

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. 206
The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

[201]

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyōki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1 illustration No. 1

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives
[203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Russian Islands R21
AINU AB6

RI
208
212
177
798
[865]
177
[191]
[204]
871
362

brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.[40] Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half-Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.[41] Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'[42]

In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools – only two schools had existed before the war – and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.[43]

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

A
101
131
161
208

When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 106

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

538

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

167 578 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

A
208
691
871

Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

208
191

Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

T
634
101
131
K
634
101
131

In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

T
K
[167]
T
K
[162]

T
634
101
131
161
K
634
101
131
161

The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

T
433
634
K
433
634

The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

/38 cont. /

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
•211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
A
*698
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*698
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Bunridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220-245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen uebar Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

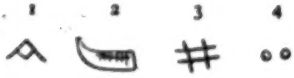
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

●212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the 533
end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—

The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain 533
form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the 538
folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu— [177]
are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, [212]
it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

THE INAU

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
532
212

ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inauuk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

THE INAU

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
●212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that 114
they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. 784
I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketch- 215
ing or taking their photographs, especially when in a 532
nude condition, their natural life was shortened in 291
some mysterious way. The term they used with re- 826
ference to it was *Ainu hatu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have 114
taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

826 "One day, when several men were in the hut with the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise 215 and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is *'ichashkara,'* i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called *'imosh.'* When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called *"tolpuk-un-chiri,"* i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

[p.19]

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
• 22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such import-
121 ant items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.
121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[88]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[1]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet. 22 182 433 178

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[40].

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 184 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food 262 themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

A F *195 *648 579 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

A F [183] [203] [206] When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F *195 *648 439 431 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

A F *195 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. A [273] There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A F *648 *175 A F *648 *175 177

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

A F *648 *175

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

A [484] A [221]

---

[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

F [636]

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 1: 9

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year pripr to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [22]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away.
The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving
to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the
autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool
used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted
in merely walking through the gardens and pinching
off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw
standing. A little later the women and children would
go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes
and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden,
whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground
he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich
the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so.
When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was
very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you
profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would
have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them
manure! Will they not of their own free will give you
the increase they intend you to have? Do you think
you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they
will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

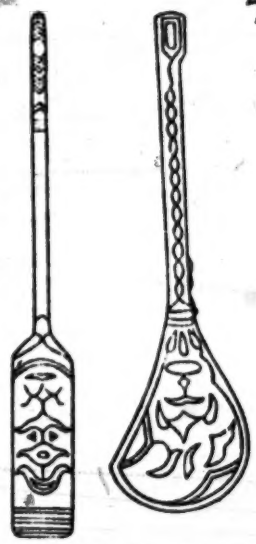
221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 171] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and so paving their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
● 221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXV

A GRANDFATHER, GRANDSON, DEMON AND DEMI-GOD

Thus runs this very remarkable old world story: 539

"I was brought up by my beloved, aged grandfather, and we lived together. He was a man who spent his days hunting seals, which he brought home for our daily sustenance. On a certain occasion when meat had become scarce, he set off again to hunt. But when he returned at his usual time that evening, I saw that he had made no kills. On entering the house he said, 'I went to my usual hunting grounds where I have hitherto never failed to get seals, but today I was surprised to find that there was not so much as one to be seen. But I could hear far out at sea the cries of many, both male and female animals. This being so, I thought thus within myself, "The old seals have evidently migrated to some other island and thus it is that I am unable to meet with any. This is the first time I have ever been unsuccessful."' So said my dear grandfather. Hearing this, I retired to bed but could not sleep, through having an ardent desire to go off to the place where he said he had heard the animals crying. [221]

"Before very long, as I saw my grandfather was sleeping quietly, I went down to the seashore. Here I found the boat which he used in his hunting. This I quickly laid hands on and entered. I pushed off, and directing my course toward the offing, I rowed straight on. By and by I saw an island in the distance, to which I steered. I rowed hard till I came near and found a

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [142] [302]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short 291 184 tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

278 and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase
[776] Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of
[782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such import-
121 ant items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
● 221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[25]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 *(or ichanui) koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity.
Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might
be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622] the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscend- 512
ing shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

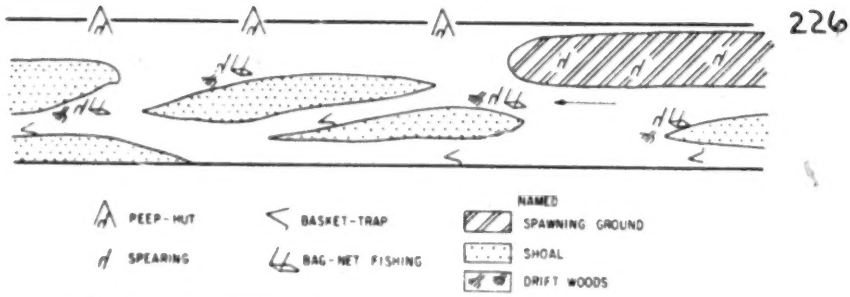


Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent [182] salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, 226 the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to December[29] (p. 53). 221 Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226
221
512

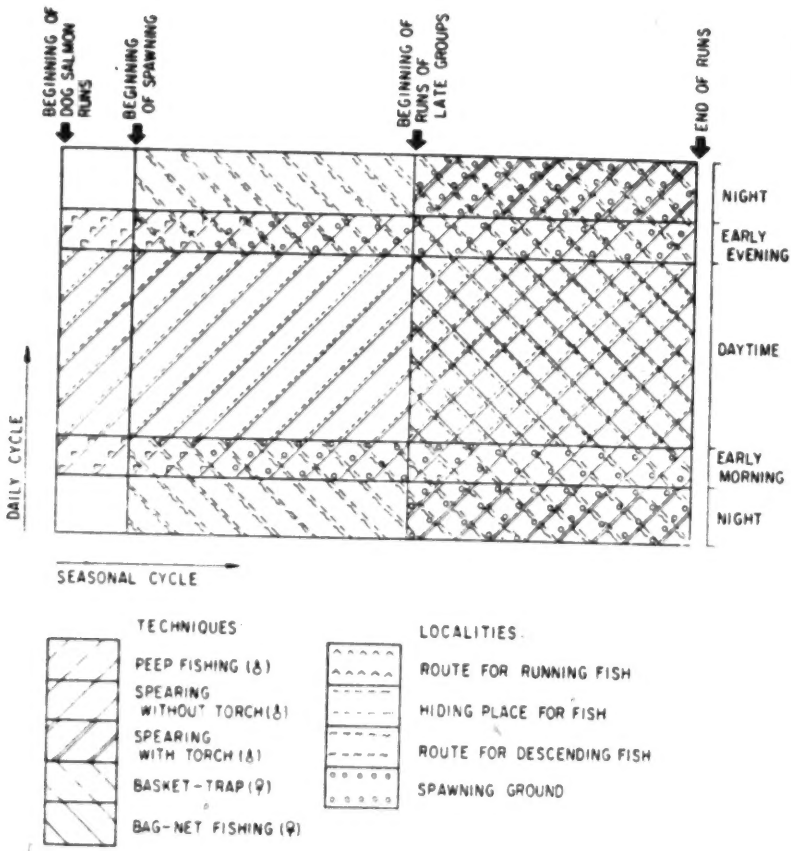


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
22 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[41] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[42]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417] wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231] which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[38]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Muki	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1. [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

462

Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male
Processing of Gathered Materials	
Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
402 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supuh*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221 stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461 techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574] filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221 and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311 lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182] idg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184] changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221

Phenology of the Activities of the Ainu

Ainu Month (cf. Note 25)	Phenomena in Ainu Habitat	Activities of the Ainu
Shunean chup	Middle part: repeating light snow falls; bears begin moving into deep mountains seeking dens for hibernation. Snow-ice lumps on rivers when it snows; first run of *meorun-chep*.	Middle or last part: bear hunting with spring-bows begins in the mountains. Torchlight fishing of dog salmon begins.
Kuekai chup	Early or middle part: most bears already in hibernation. Last part: some base snow on the fields; no more deer seen on the fields. End of salmon runs.	Early or middle part: bear hunting over; most hunters home from hunts. Last part: end of deer hunts on the fields; removing of spring-bows from deer fences. All bear hunters left behind return home. Dog salmon fishing over; post-run ceremony for the fish.
Zuurup chup	Early part: base snow deep on the fields; deer already gathering in winter quarters. Births of bear cubs during this month and the next.	Early part: deer hunting in the hills by part of hunters. Collective activities in bear ceremony between this month and the next.
Toetanne chup	Middle or last part: snow on the fields hardens.	
Haprap chup	Early part: mountain snow hardens.	Early part: bear hunters enter deep mountains, begin hunting bears and their cubs in hibernation. Middle part: deer hunters go near wintering quarters, begin hunting game by driving them out on hardened snow. Last part: most bear hunters back, the first having returned half a month earlier.
Kiuta chup	Middle part: no more base snow on the fields; deer scattered out of winter quarters. First note of Japanese bush-warbler[44]; first scattered bears out of hibernation dens. Last part: rivers swell with thaw; first appearance in the Sahorun, a tributary, of Hucho perryi.	Middle part: deer hunts in the mountains over; bear hunters go into mountains to set spring-bows; collecting of edible plants begins. Last part: beginning of river fishing with appearance of Hucho.
Shikiuta chup	Middle part: first note of Himalayan cuckoo[44]; most bears out of dens from hibernation.	Middle part: end of spring bear hunts: hunters all back home.
Momauta chup	Early part: first note of Japanese Cuckoo[44].	Early part: preparation of field and then collecting of roots (Cardiocrinum) begins.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221

Ainu Month (cf. Note 25)	Phenomena in Ainu Habitat	Activities of the Ainu
Shimauta chup	Early or middle part: run of cherry salmon in the main stream.	Early or middle part: cherry salmon fishing starts in the main stream; pre-fishing ritual and setting up of weirs.
Moniorap chup	Early part: flowers of *kuttara* in full bloom; cherry salmon having run to the upper water course of the Sahorun.	Early part: cherry salmon fishing in the tributary starts; part of the local group move to fishing huts for the purpose.
Shiniorap chup	Last part: end of cherry salmon run to the Sahorun; Magnolia-tree shedding leaves indicates the approach of dog salmon runs.	Last part: end of cherry salmon fishing in the tributary; fishermen return home. Repairing and preparation of deer fences. Harvesting begins.
Urepok chup	Early part of this month or late last month: first run of dog salmon. Middle part: deer's coat begins turning into winter fur, and the meat gets greasy.	Early part of this month or late last month: dog salmon fishing starts; pre-fishing and first salmon rituals of the local group. Middle part: deer hunting on the fields starts; setting of deer fences. Harvesting ends.

221
462
311

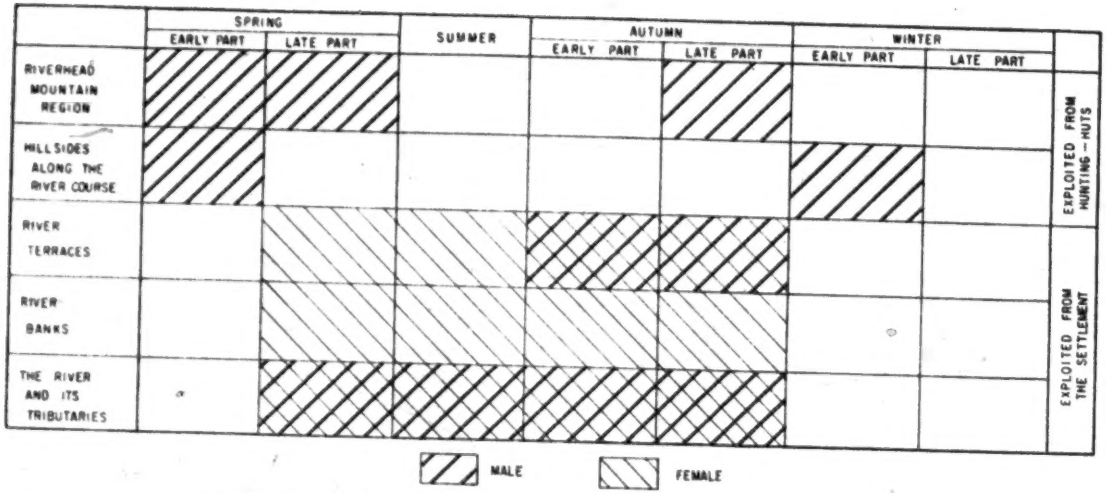


Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

621 423 311 [103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
[127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup, shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioncd and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific [825] variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

Nor is

there any proof of nomadic wanderings without fixed habitation, although 361
they had the habit of seasonal migrations from fixed homes to fixed huts for 221
hunting or fishing. As regards seasonal migrations among the Ainu, an inference has been made of those between inland dwellings for summer and seaside dwellings for winter (ibid., pp. 112-113); a report has been made also of migrations of male members of each family in the home settlement to mountain huts in winter, to seaside huts in summer and to riverside fishing-huts in autumn (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 214 and 229). In either case, no attempt was made to analyze the mechanism of migrations or the relationship between them and the community activities in general.

In the earlier stage of his field survey the author made a report that, as 221
far as the inland Ainu were concerned, there is no trace of seasonal migrations ever taking place between the inland and the coasts except for labour migrations by some to Japanese-owned fishing grounds (Notes 6 and 9) and seasonal visitings for trading purposes; that, shortly after the land allotments, some male members of certain coastal settlement families migrated in spring and autumn to their seaside fishing huts in order to occupy themselves exclusively in stretch-rope fishing (WATANABE, 1955; Note 53). Later investigations have increasingly convinced the writer that, save for the labour migrations to Japanese fisheries, no seasonal migrations to the coasts were attempted by inland Ainus. As for the coastal Ainu, on the other hand, only fragmentary information has been obtained for the period subsequent to the land allotments. As regards the inland Ainu at least, their seasonal migrations to fishing huts on the inland waters were in no way a general phenomenon. In the upper Tokapchi area, for instance, a section of the family members of its settlements had a habit of migrating each summer to huts for cherry salmon fishing on one of the tribulets (p. 27); but no such group habits are observable among the neighbouring lower settlement group or any of the upper Otopuke or upper Azuma settlement groups. Again, in dog-salmon fishing, usually practised in the main streams near each settlement, there is no instance from any river valley of regular group migrations to such fishing sites and of erection there of fishing huts to pass the season in. Huts were sometimes built in relation to their fishing activities in main streams; however, those were usually for the purpose of taking rest or warming by turns on weir fishing or net-trap fishing which was usually done at night. In fact some members of certain individual families made fishing expeditions going a long distance from their settlement and staying the season out. But those are exceptional cases as far as dog salmon fishing is concerned (p. 64). It might be concluded that seasonal migrations common to all the inland Ainu groups investigated by the present writer were only those undertaken by certain members of families to their hunting huts in the hills and mountains.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-
[132] looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
• 222 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417] wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231] which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[38]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[357] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43][3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
458 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4,[Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Collecting Areas. 222

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable 311
from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for 314
the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an area[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members [628]
from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited.

1. [Errata: the word "area" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

A F *648 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end ot this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting. and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions. was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
• 223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[237] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

Those areas

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be 226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota* [685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [195] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
204 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

B
*175 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing
*648 grounds were actively worked.[16]

439 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring
A
*175 roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers
*648 of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (accord-
939 ing to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi*
433 (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal,
[316] bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

A
F
*175 The original method of the contractors was to trade
*648 with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly
439 native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the
436 natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The con-
F
[661] tractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* **1**: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

A
[136] [20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

A
[224] [21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, seal-
[226] skin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

[P. 32(A)]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 177 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [562]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

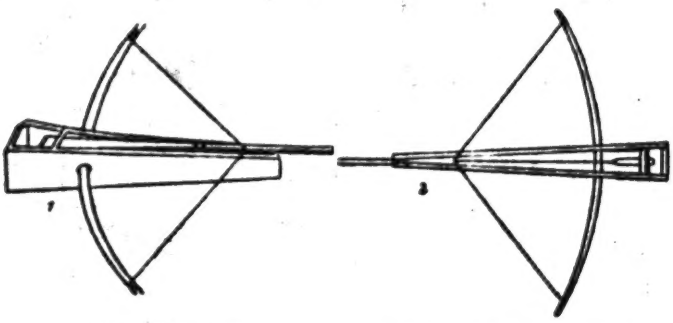
were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 080
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224] ●
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A favourite way of catching rats among this people was by a trap such as the following. It consisted of a sort of oblong box having a bow so placed as to close a slide firmly to the end as soon as the animal pulled at a bait placed inside near the bottom. The slide catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside and the hind quarters outside. There is no noise made by the animal. I have taken as many as seven, one after the other, in the course of an evening, and found another caught fast in the morning. But it is a bad plan to allow other rats to see one thus caught. They seem to take the hint and seek healthier quarters at once. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap ready set, and Fig. 2 reveals the string inside to which the bait is tied.



RAT TRAP, SET RAT TRAP, UNDERVIEW

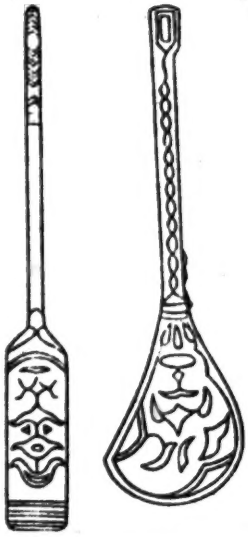
Once about midnight Penri gave a most fearful yell, jumped up very suddenly, and rushed across to my sleeping place. Arrived there, he pushed open my sliding door and asked me why I had slipped across to his place and given his hair a pull! I was greatly astonished at this and asked what he meant. But he stuck to it that I had got up a short time ago and had come and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

> When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

000
231 and clever." A little later the creature's claws became so strong and painful to those who played with him, that he was put into a cage and there well fed by Mrs. Tee till it was time to have the festival and kill and eat him.

● 224 When hunting bears, Tee told me that he and his dogs used to go and look for the place in which one was hibernating, and then he would settle how to attack and kill him. He said that in the snow which covered the den, there was always just a small yellow discoloration made by the warm breath of the animal. The dogs were very clever at finding this, and when found, they would stand round it and set up a great baying till he came to them. He and his dogs then worked away the snow from the entrance of the den, and, when the hole was sufficiently big, he himself would crawl in on his hands and knees, carrying a long knife with him. The dogs would stay outside to watch the entrance. They were there to check the animal when he made the rush into the open. And "they knew their business."

"But," I said, "is it not very dangerous to crawl like that into a bear's den?"

"Yes," he said, "there is always danger, but bears at that time are in a state of silly drowsiness, and do not seem to like to kill anything in their dens. And when they rush out the light confuses them. In the den they stretch out a paw and thrust an intruder roughly to the back of the place. When I get there, and I sometimes have done so without being seen, I prick the animal from behind with my knife, and, not liking this, he makes a rush for the open, where the dogs bait him till I come and kill him."

Tee was a very brave man and had a superabundance of cool courage and nerve. I admired the man. He was one worth knowing. He told me also that in the event of being hugged by a bear, the only escape was by no means to draw away, but to press well in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife 224
into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch!

I was always on the look-out for curios when among 441
the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow.

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times 224
on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up [278
spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track 411]
where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him.

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at 797
Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

204
291
137

CHIEF PENKI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

[P. 304]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
411
133

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food,
as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and
venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly
relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour
of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon
as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she
was quite a small child she took her father's bow and
arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she dis-
covered feeding near her home. Her brother's name
was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They
would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close
by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of
very cold water I have ever come across. The next
thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along
the banks of which, but not too near, they built their
homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was
from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have some-
times occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its
manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me
and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 the roots should be dug up in the spring, peeled at once,
278 and then put in the sun to dry. When well dried, they were pulverised between two stones. Some tobacco leaves and, if possible, a capsicum should be soaked in water and the powdered roots moistened with the liquor. He also told me that a little fox's gall should be added if procurable, for this rendered the poison very efficacious. But I have a suspicion that the gall was added through superstition, the fox being regarded as a particularly able creature. When made, it was put again in the sun to dry and then stowed away, wrapped up in a leaf and a few fetishes, till needed. When wanted for use, it was again pounded and made soft, and sometimes mashed spiders or some part of the water scorpion added. The poisonous part of the "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (*Arisæma*) was also used in its manufacture. Some of the men buried it in the ground for a few days, for this was said to add strength to it.

When a person wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If right, it was said to produce a peculiar sense of tingling first and then numbness. If too much was taken, it caused drunkenness and sleep. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it was said to be unnecessary. Others tested it by placing a little between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. It here caused a burning sensation. If the poison touched the lips, the skin very soon peeled off, I was told.

When applied to the arrows, a person first dipped the arrow-head (which was generally made of bamboo) into pine tree gum; he then carefully stuck the poison into the proper place and pressed it well home with his thumb. When this had been done, he once more dipped the arrow-head into the gum, then tied a leaf round it for protection and placed it in his quiver.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 539 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kerep-Turuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison, and went and found deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not 539 278 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea, they were very loth to speak about previous journeys or of any sea adventure. When the women went to work in the harvest time, they would never tell stories of the sun, moon or stars, for fear these luminaries should be offended and cause it to become so dark that they might lose their way home. So superstitious were they all. 821

Pine-martens were caught by snares very like those set up in England at times to take rabbits and hares. They were placed on the trunks of trees which had fallen across streams, and at the holes in which these animals lived. The spring bows which were used for killing the larger animals stood first in importance, and after them came the traps for catching foxes, racoons and otters. They were all made of wood and were very simple. 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

"When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

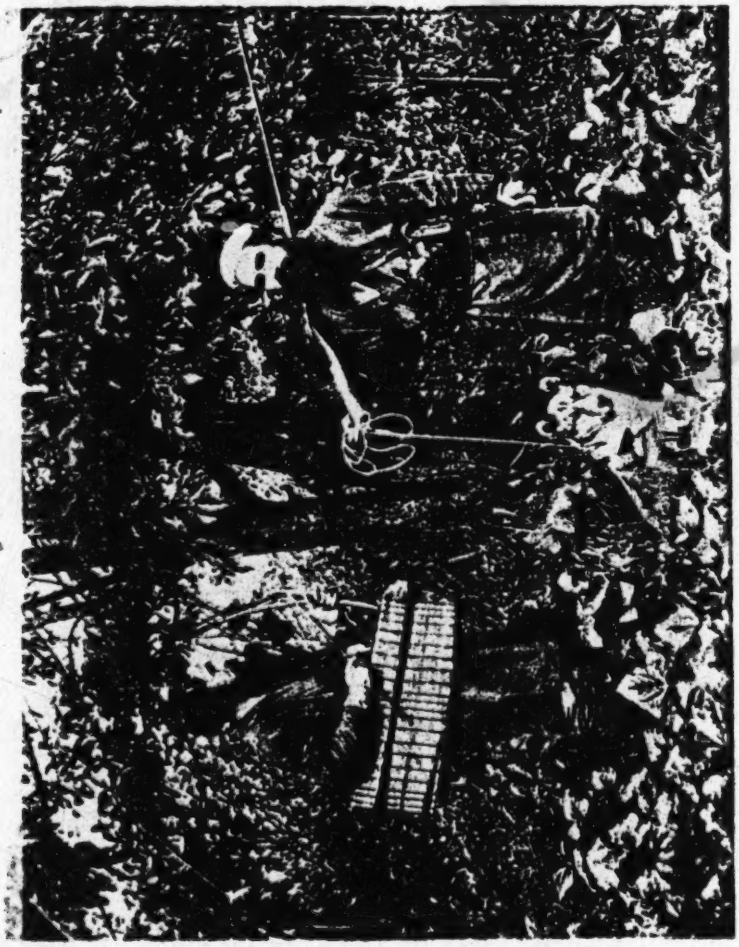
"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them." 824 224

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said, 776 771

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of 782

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231



MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "If you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news. 117 [224 ● 225]

Another incident happened very near our home in Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 825 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 783 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour, for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

765 Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

681 In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [695] [682]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

224 Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- [136]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

These fe-
rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 84. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

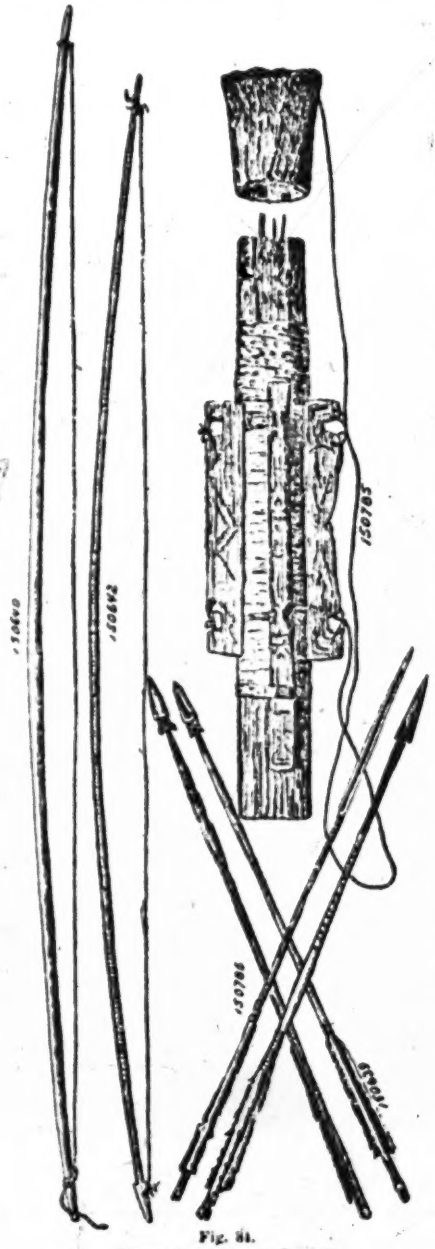


Fig. 84.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side. 441

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII. 224 441

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows: 278 441

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation. [287]

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead. [224]

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875-76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278
411

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

224

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

226
[442]

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

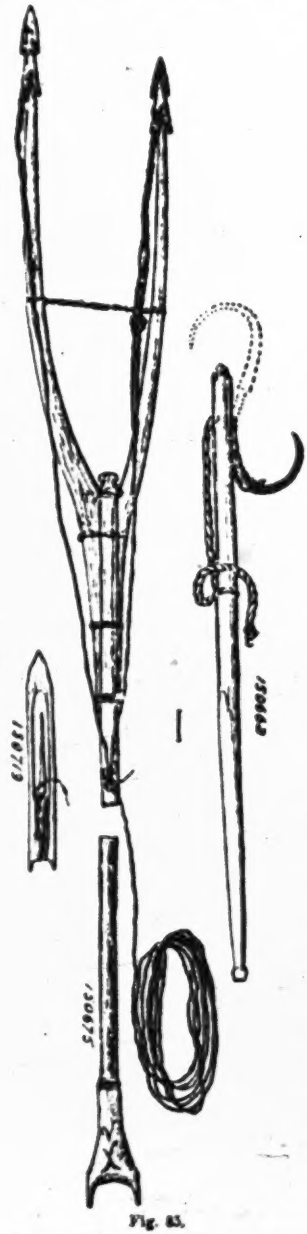


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

532
224

HUNTING SCENE, SET-BOW.

[Facing p. 470]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 [157] flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

123 609 136 224

594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and [136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

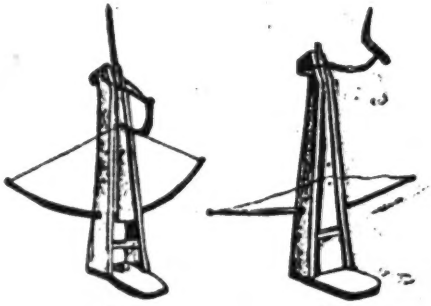
A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

gave a terrible squeak on the plate, and half a leg, a wing, or a carcase was fired right across the table into one's plate, if not in one's face, or on one's lap.

"*Honto taihen muskashi*"—"Really it is very difficult"—said the wit of the party, helplessly putting down his knife and fork after trying to separate the two parts of a wing. "This bird's bones have lost all their joints in the cooking."

My hosts were extremely kind, and were, besides, so clever and bright that I enjoyed their good company immensely. At the same time I gained from them valuable information as regards the neighbouring country and the Kurile Islands.



SEMI-AINU RAT TRAP.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
171 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and [782] the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825
224
[782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825
224
789
198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776
224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304 789

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
224 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out

A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
• [224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
•224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about. 224

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2). 224 417 [31] [476]

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396). [114]

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental 224 342 [343]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

11: Watanabe E-4;5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 221 [825] over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished, in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting; besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

[262] [237] [439]

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are concerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

[133] [361]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[30]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[31]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[34]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[34].

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or 224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) and/or their families. [555] These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1. [Errata: the word "food-gatherang" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3 1 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42. 621 476

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there (Fig. 8). And even the party that had gone after bears, if 224 476 [462] [561]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224
226
476
592

Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[41]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer-Fence	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing: Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing: Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing: Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	 B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

224 226 476 592

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shic sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch. 224 476

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work 226 476 [462]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

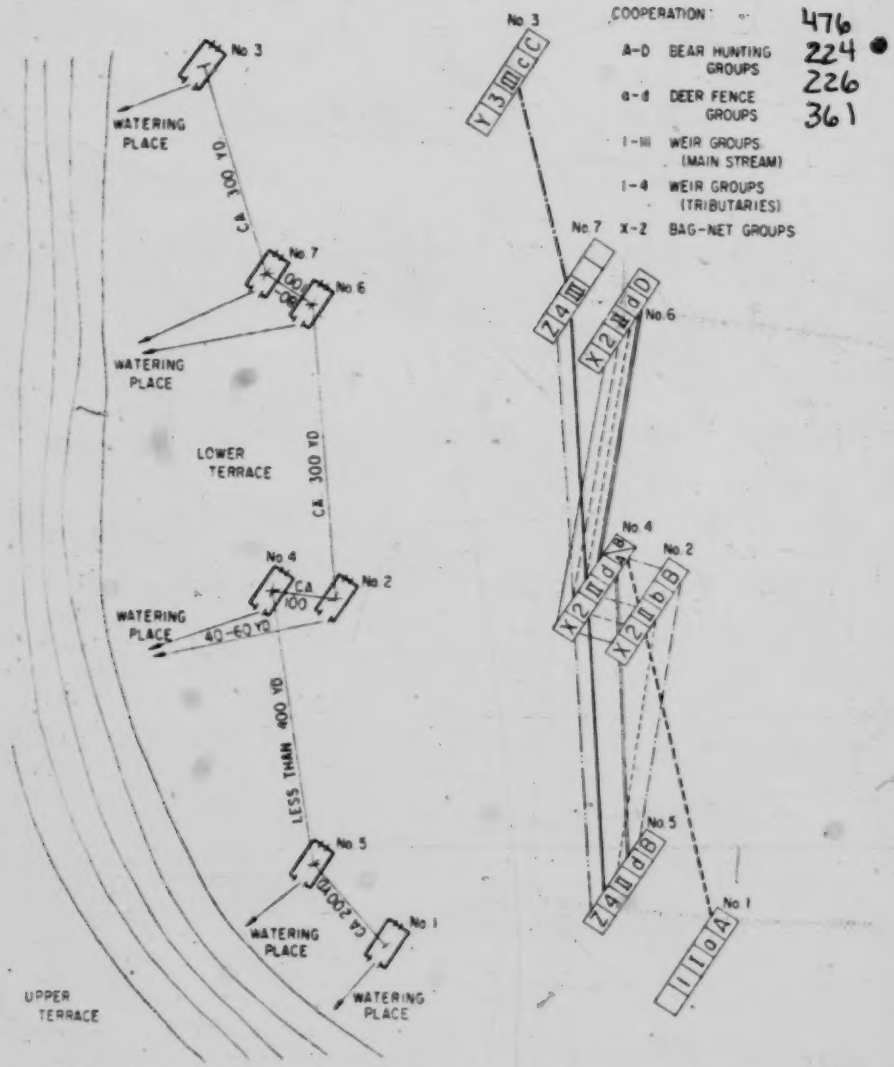


Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, 226
a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon 311
in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there 628
was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the 224
foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the 311
groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 season to concentrate on one region of its territory, a favourite wintering
311 quarter of deer on the Appenai.

Deer hunting with the hand bow was conducted also on and around the same sites near each settlement as fence-grounds and wintering quarters. They were seldom carried out into the area customarily covered by neighbouring settlement members. This meant the absence of such necessity, although any hunter with hand bow, like spearing fishermen with their movable instrument, might with justification enter an area covered by members of a nearby settlement. An exceptional case may be cited with the members of the settlement of the upper local group in Otopuke who concentrated on the area near the Wop settlement, where, alongside with local members, they chased with hand bow the deer gathering on the marshy grounds for mating.

Organized bear hunting was conducted by every river group on the uppermost reaches of the river, that is, the inmost recesses of the mountainous region where were hibernation centres of the bear. It was customary with every river group to send out their hunters in seasonal migration concentrating on the area. This does not always mean that every local group of the river group sent some bear hunter or hunters to the area. Among the Azuma river group, bear hunting parties were sent from two interior local groups, Tonika and Azuma, to the Shoruma and its surrounding area on the uppermost reaches of the river, but there is no evidence for any bear hunting party from the coastal local group, Spun, who it is said had no bear hunters. Of the Otopuke river group, the upper local group periodically sent their bear hunters to the riverhead area but the lower one did not, though some members of the latter group occasionally hunted bears while engaging in deer hunts on the neighbouring hillsides. As for the Tokapchi river group, the upper local groups, at least the uppermost *shine itokpa* group, had a number of bear hunters whose activities covered the riverhead area every season, while the local groups in the middle course had less bear hunters, who to all appearances went out in search of bears to the interior territory of the Satnai river group or that of the Otopuke river group. A few of the bear hunters from Pipaushi and Sanenkoro, both the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, went out of their river group territory into the area around the Sohshupet in the interior territory of the Saru river group, and some bear hunters from Kuttarashi, another local group on the upper Tokapchi, to an area on the upper reaches of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari river. No information is available for the lower local groups on the Tokapchi. Information from Shikot, Mukawa and Saru shows that bear hunters of the generation before my informants, even those from some lower local groups, went to the areas on the uppermost reaches of their own river.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 A'nu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear [illegible] lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupuri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari. 825 776

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65]. [778]

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing. 224 [231]

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in 231

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers. [224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and [226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining 175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged 648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857–58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is 648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6–7).
177
[101]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10). 136 224 [103]

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned. 136 224 103

(34) Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer 224

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 hunting was by use of arrows poisoned with aconite, whether for hand-bow or spring-bow, is confirmed by a study of INUKAI (INUKAI, 1952). He reports also of a mass technique employed by hunters working together, or driving a deer herd by using dogs down a precipice and then clubbing them to death, and another of capturing the game after driving them into a lake or the sea. Setting the noose on a trail was also practised in some areas, but this does not seem to have been common.

136 35) The species Ursus arctos are distributed over Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands excluding the middle part, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, the Maritime Provinces, northern Manchuria, Siberia and even Europe. Some of the brown bears in Hokkaido reach as large as 2 ms. or more in length and 300 to 400 kgs. in weight (INUKAI, 1933, p. 57).

36) Ursus arctos of Hokkaido.—Its ethology and ecology concerning Ainu hunting will be summarized from zoological descriptions given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933 and 1934) as follows.

a) When the snow on the lower damp places begins to melt and the surface of the ground begins to appear in spring, bears come out of their dens one after another even though the snow still remains on the mountains. There are some fluctuations in different areas and in different years; however, in any case, they begin to leave their hibernation dens in late March and are mostly out already by the end of May (HATTA, 1911, p. 34) or by mid-May (INUKAI, 1933, p. 63). At about the time their winter fur turns into summer fur (ibid.).

b) When the base snow reaches 2 or 3 inches deep, every bear retreats into a den. In most years and areas, the base snow forms in Hokkaido between mid-November and mid-December (HATTA, p. 35). It is also reported that most bears start hibernation in November and there is a tendency of bears with cubs or in pregnancy retreating earlier than others (INUKAI, 1933, p. 59). INUKAI states that their winter fur begins to turn into summer fur about mid-May and the summer fur back into winter fur in November (ibid., p. 63).

c) Bears, excluding cubs, usually hibernate each in a separate den (HATTA, 1911, p. 36; INUKAI, p. 63). The cubs are born in the dens in January (ibid., p. 37) or during the period from January to March (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64). In most cases, the number of cubs at one birth is 2 (HATTA, 1911, p. 37) or 1-2 (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64).

d) Usually the dens are natural caves. However, holes under the roots of big trees, or under rocks, or in the earth are also utilized (HATTA, p. 35). There is also contrary information that most bears dig the holes themselves though some make use of natural caves or holes of big trees (INUKAI, 1933,

[p.133]

IV

159 592 224 41 Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 42 Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her
[224] daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

(44) 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 184 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kitun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 182 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[130] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari*
[136] *koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 192 [776] 58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 224 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group: To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows: The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

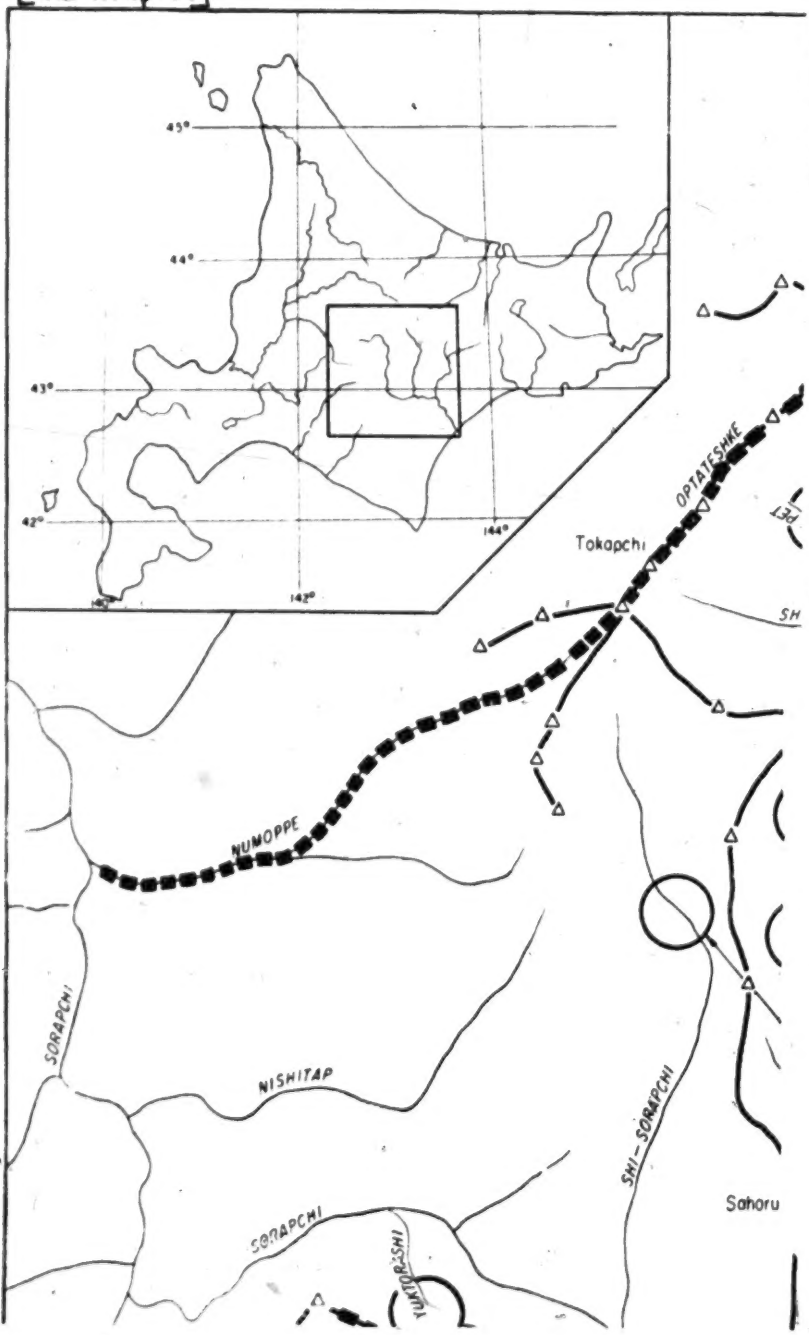
102
103
133
361
224
226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

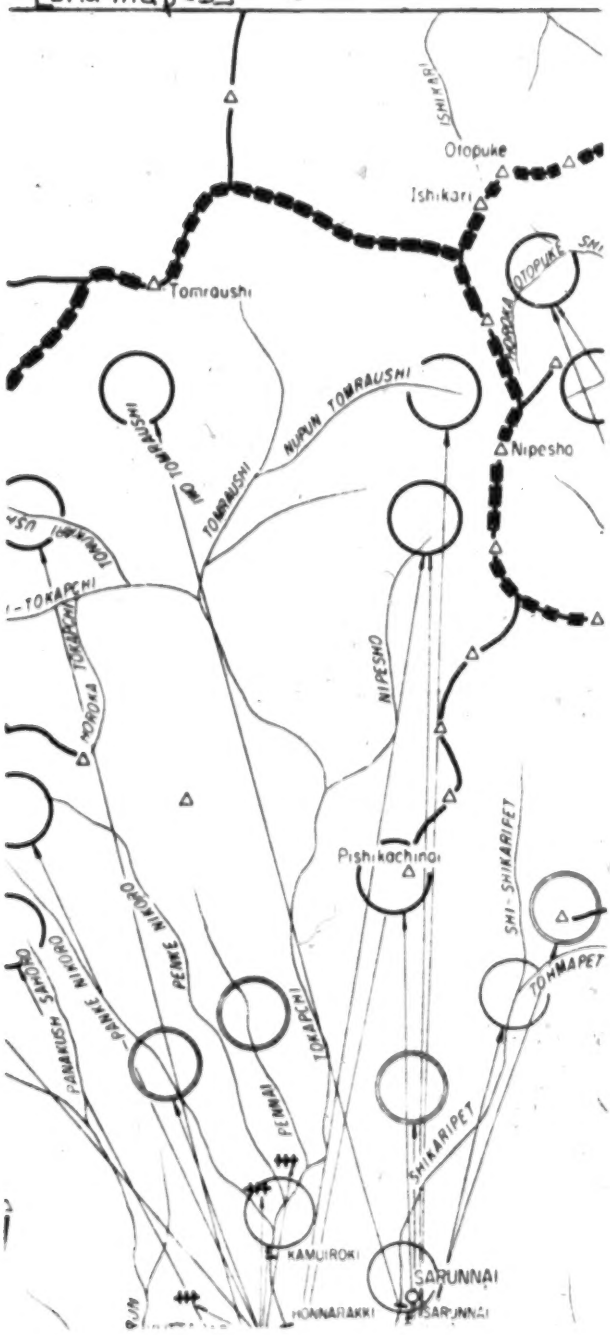
[End map-A]



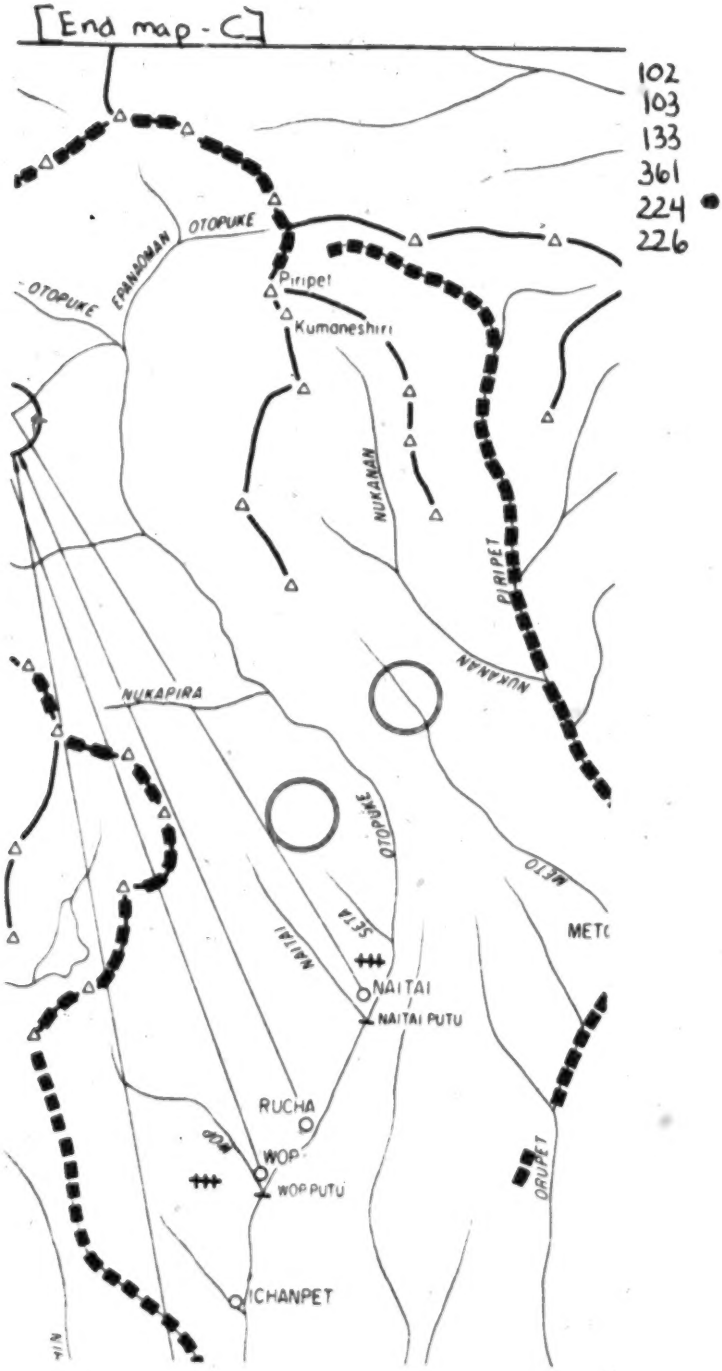
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-B]

102
103
133
361
224
226

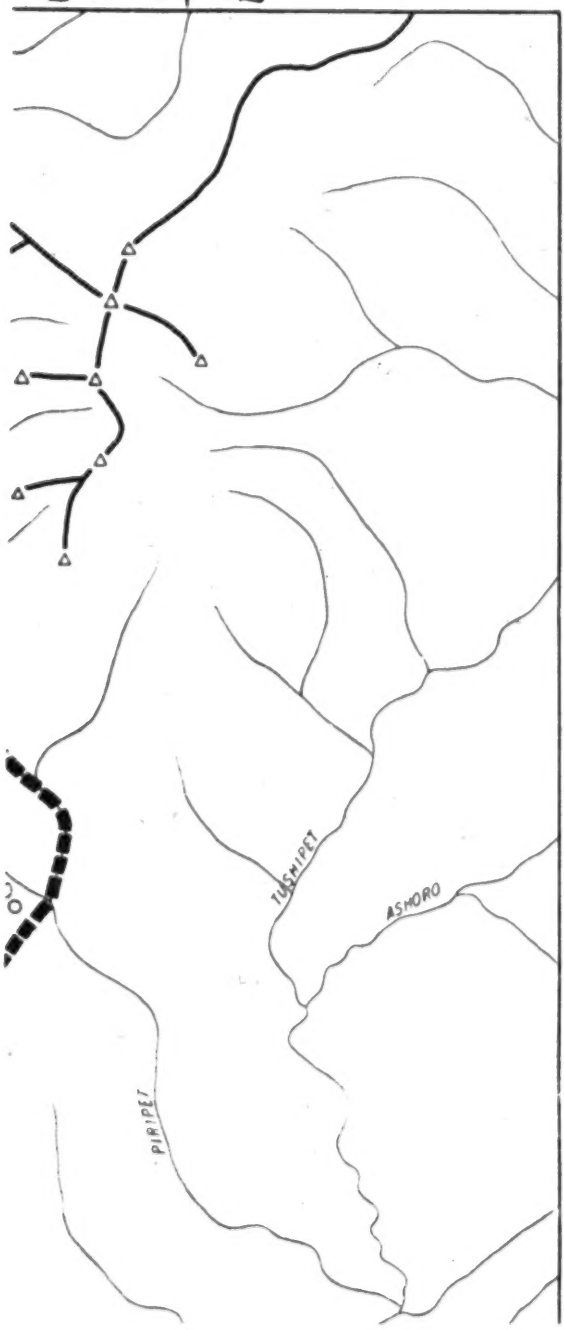


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



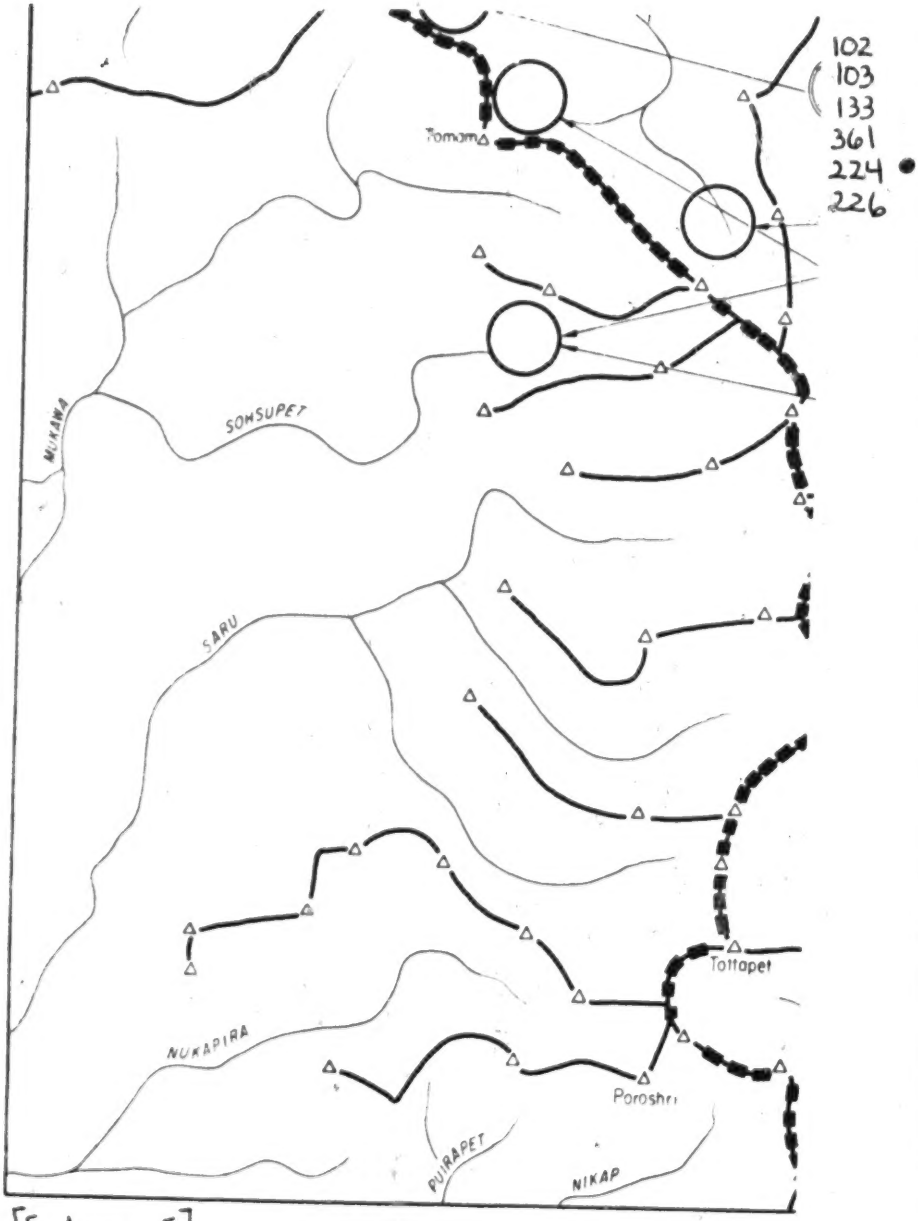
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133
361
224
226

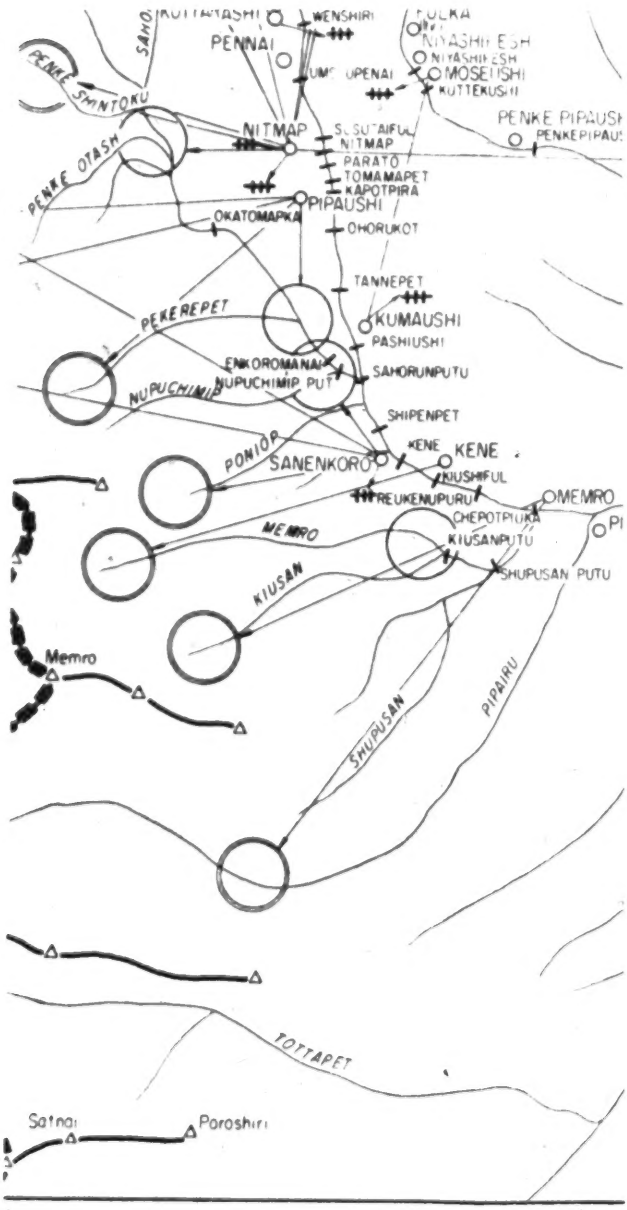
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

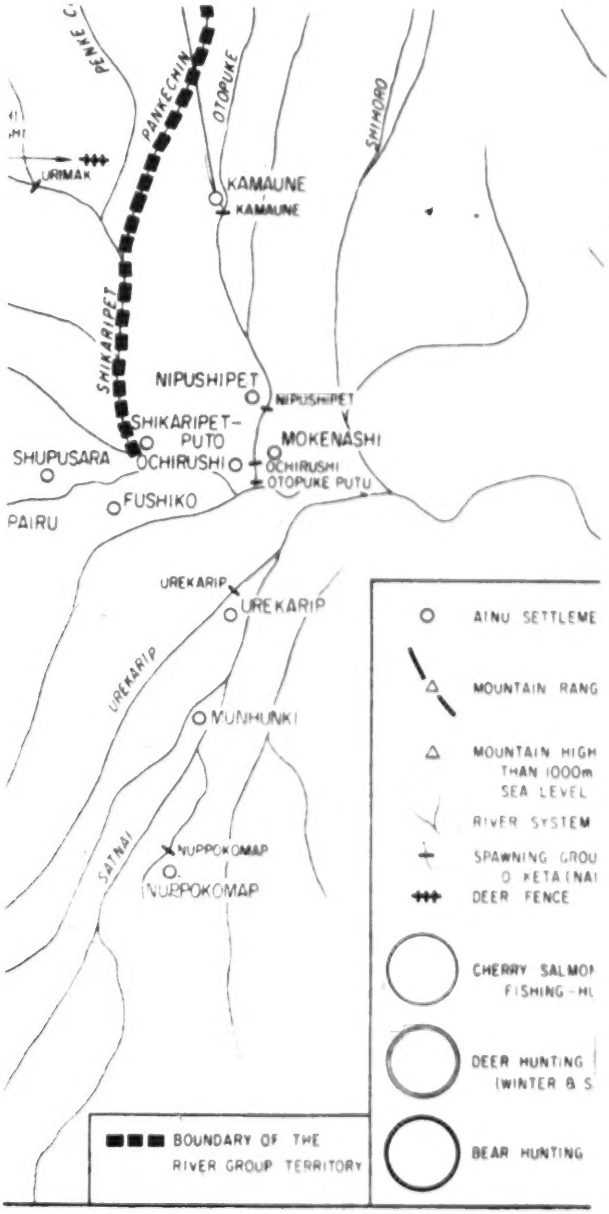
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

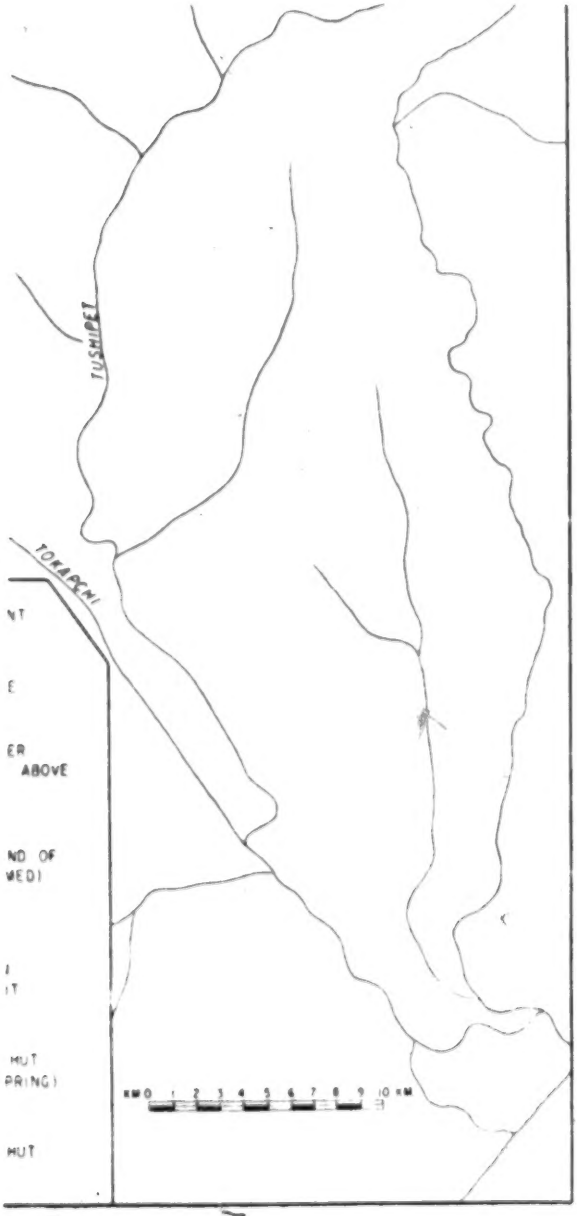


102
103
361
133
224
226

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: **Watanabe** E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



102
103
133
361
224 •
226

[End map-H]

G /576 cont./
224
171 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A
G It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peo-
224 ples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a
A taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese
225 traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of
114 sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat
[192] doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy
224 and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of
714 the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up
[192] snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the
musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance
G with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am
A inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a simi-
224 lar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among
A them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein-
[411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, ex-
cept that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was
A mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear
411 pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to
439 them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging
325 skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant
178 lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded
as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and en-
A couraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however,
224 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure,
181 not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood
433 chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give
648 them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy
and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them,
too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more
abundant and better existence through a more active practice
of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account
in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi The situation is different for the other neighbors of the
224 Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for
433 hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious
and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers
between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have
remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads
Gi in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely
[439] necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy them-
selves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting
along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from
sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
● 225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. 226
Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This 225
two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large 226
fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone 226
and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of [283]
the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage [248]
the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, [237]
or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

225
501

SPEARING SEAL.

[Facing p. 472 (A)]

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
[439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
226
262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

G 275 825 /546 cont./

seals was very inconvenient for me inasmuch as, because of it, I was unable to obtain perfectly whole and intact skins of the seals of the Amur region.

A 225 Just as among the Gilyak, seal-hunting also plays an important role among the Ainu living on both coasts of Sakhalin and is practiced by them in quite similar ways. Thus, according to Mizul's information (2), the above-described, long-handled

2. Op. cit., p. 130.

harpoon, the Gilyak lych, is also used among them, and even Mamia Rinsô mentions /547/ that they put in the water small wooden floats onto which the seals crawl and are then killed with javelins (1).

1. Mamia Rinsô, "To-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

Gi 225 Among the Tungusic peoples of the Amur region it is possible for only a few, because of the location of their habitation area, to turn to seal-hunting among other sources of subsistence, or to practice it at all. The former is the case in par-
Gi [439] ticular among the Orochi of the coast, who do not practice seal-hunting merely to satisfy their own needs for seal furs, skins, and oil, but also get from it important articles to barter in trade with their western neighbors, the Goldi. Nevertheless, even among the Orochi seal-hunting falls far behind the preferred
Gi [361] hunting of forest animals. The Olcha, too, though to a lesser extent, have an opportunity to devote themselves to seal-hunting within their own borders, thanks, on the one hand, to their dwelling sites on de Castries Bay and, on the other hand, to the ascent of the seals in the Amur River far into their territory.
Gi [191] [177] There can be no doubt but that they practice it in exactly the same manner as the Gilyak, who here again are their teachers.
Gi 225 221 361 Finally, the Negda, though living at a distance from the sea, annually travel in some number from the Amgunj, and especially from their northeastern dwelling sites on Lake Orell and

G /576 cont./
224
171

In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A
G
224

It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

A
225
114
[192]

A
[113]

2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 G48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

E A [226]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

[P. 11 (B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C98 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

E A [221]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

EA 628 175 648

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57–58.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be 226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota* [685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> 224 There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basko* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isōtaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript oi talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[406] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sri no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

A E
*648 *175 439 661

the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

> Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

A E
[436]

> During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

A E
*648 *175 226 439 661 [423]

3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

> Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

A E *648 *175 ●226 439 Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

> As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

A E F *648 *175 439 [136] Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] F [316] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

A F *175 *648 628 Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

---

[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 439

The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[8] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

F [226]

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

[8] *Unjō* payments.

[9] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Issen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

A F [177] [226]

[15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

[P.31(B)]

B
*175 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing
*648 grounds were actively worked.[16]

439 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae
E
*175 were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers
*648 of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (accord-
439 ing to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi*
433 (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod,
[316] sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

A
F
*175 The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly
*648 native goods which could be sold in the markets of
439 Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the
436 natives and sell the native products for the highest
F price obtainable in the mainland markets. The con-
[661] tractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

A
[136] [20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*

A
[229] [21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, seal-
[226] skin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*

Feudal Japan AB2

A *175 *648 439 436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

A *175 *648 226 177

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A [501]

A *175 *648 251 177 439

---

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

A [227]

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yōranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[20] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[21] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[22]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[23]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[20] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[21] *Ibid.*, 410.
[22] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[23] *Igen Zokusō* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A F *648 177 *175 needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

A [161] This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. A F *648 *175 Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"* but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. A [243] Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. A ● [226] But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

A
*648 since manpower during the summer could not be dis-
[221] pensed with.[4]

*175 After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

A
*648
431
433

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

F
A
*648
576
431

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

A
[576
431]

A
[206

[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

● 226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

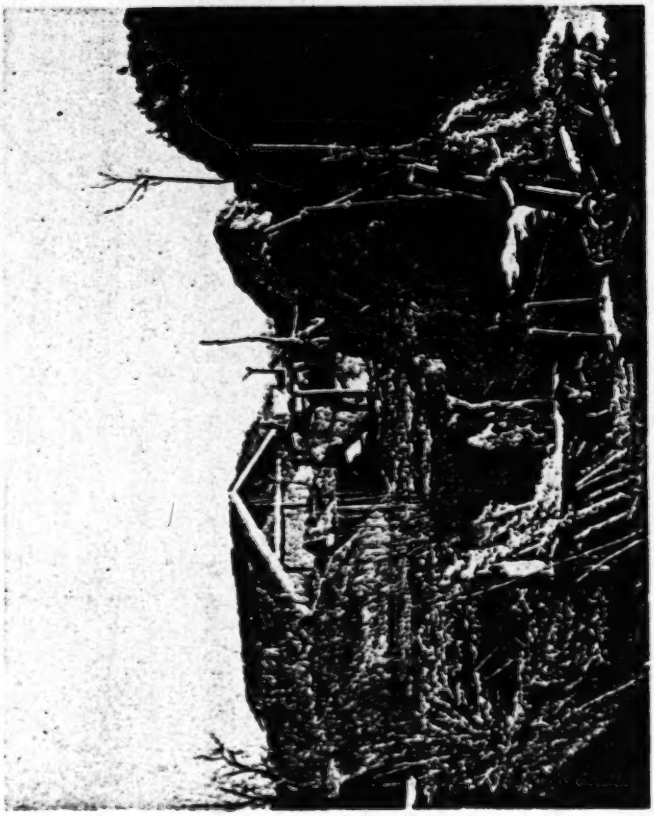
"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

[221 226 262 231 251]

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
226
342



A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

[p.296(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262
worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 732
due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them 778
and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778
shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226
lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea- 226
side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

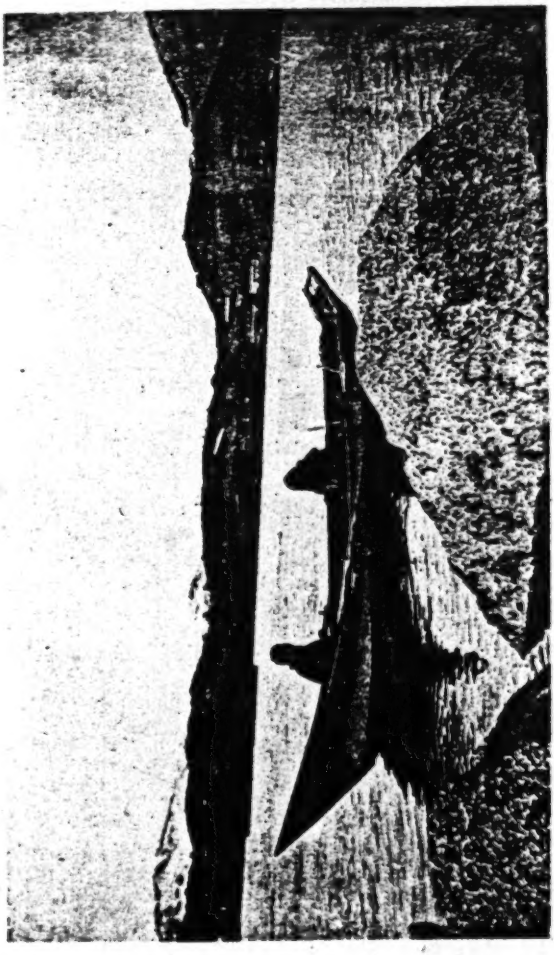
226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] 527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
133
501



A FISHERMAN IN HIS SEA-GOING FISHING-BOAT

[P. 298(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 776 [539] a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible." And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 476 There is just one more word I would like to write about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 776 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226 ●
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

539
226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

habit it." Thus we have another illustration as to how worlds were brought forth.

539
226

Many of the people would not, I found, eat eels, and when I inquired the reason I was told it was because they were so much like snakes. The tale was this:

"In ancient times, when the divine Aeoina was upon this earth, fish were so numerous in the rivers that the people were able to catch more than enough to live on. But the bears multiplied so greatly that they came down from the mountains and killed the salmon so fast that they became very scarce indeed. It was so bad that the people stood in danger of being starved out. Then men were very angry at this state of things, and came and accused the bears before Aeoina. Upon hearing of the trouble, the Divine One smiled benevolently and said, 'Fish were made by God and placed in the rivers in the beginning for men and animals to eat. But the bears are taking too many. What then shall be done to help you and keep those animals from killing the fish off? I will look into the matter.'

"He then returned to his house and twisted straw and grass into wisps which he caused to become eels. These he placed in the rivers. When bears next came down from the hills to catch fish they saw these long creatures creeping about. This astonished them and put fear into their hearts, so that they ran away again and let the fish alone. The people were then once more able to catch fish and eat."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 231 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which [178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

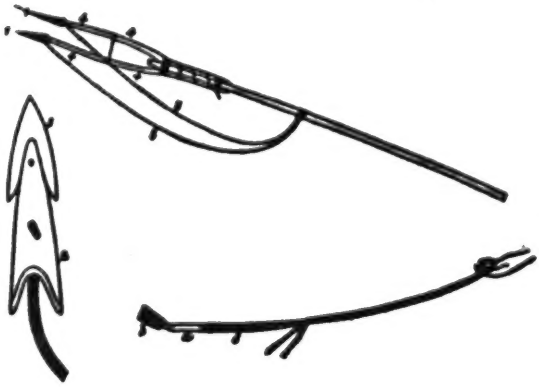
226 227 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they called an *wai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrow-head, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry. 226 227

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again. [225]

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226

mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people
226 of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

136 (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and
252 it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu
262 name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ing nothing more to eat and being very hungry, I came here today at a venture and have taken this. Is it a real fish, I wonder, or is it a demon playing a trick on me? Is it a god who has transformed himself into this fish who has ordered me to draw him out of the water and kill and eat him? If it be a god, is he a good one, I wonder, or one of the evil divinities? I must have a care.' 539 226

"Thinking so and supposing that in all probability it was an evil one, he took out his dagger—a dagger which had a hilt inlaid with bone—and began to cut him up fine. Then the fish once more said: 'O sir, cut me up quickly, squeeze me hard and fast. Eat me up quickly, begin at once.' So he hastened and cut him up very fine. When he had finished cutting him up, he cast the pieces to the trees of the forest, to the birds of the air, and to the undergrowth. He then went home.

"During the night he slept well but had a dream, which was as follows. One said to him, 'Sir, until now there have been plenty of fish on thy estate. But this year not so much as one has come up. This is not, however, because thou hast been wicked. I am the famine god and have brought about this condition of things simply to please myself. I have made it so that not even one fish has entered thy waters. It was done to try thee. When thou wentest to thy lake yesterday to angle, thou didst not go of thine own accord. It was I who caused thee to go. When thou wentest and didst angle, thou wast able to take nothing. But when I saw thee about to give up and return to thy house, I allowed myself to be caught. I am not a real fish but the demon of famine. Wishing to try thy understanding, I purposely transformed myself into a fish and allowed myself to be hauled in by thee. If thou hadst shown thyself to be a man of no understanding and hadst partaken of my flesh, thou wouldest have died. But as thy guardian angel was a mighty one, he caused thee to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy
226 me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected
778] thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278
411

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

224

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

226
[412]

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

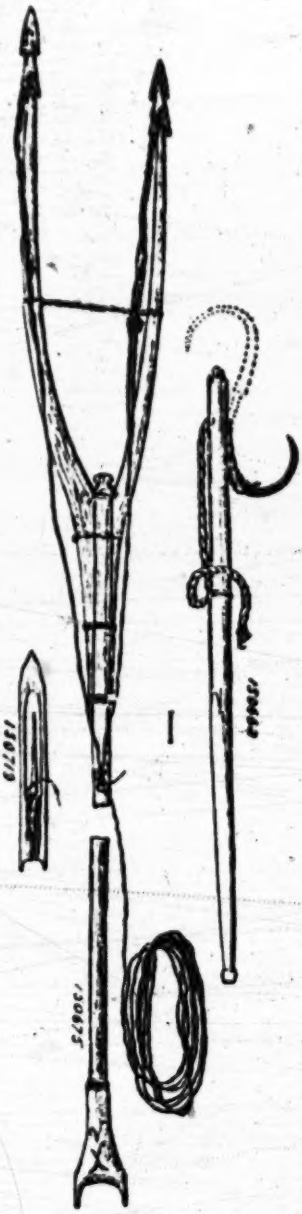


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral. 226

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes. 225 226

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose. 226 [283] [648] [237]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tosikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are
776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house
[778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against
297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a 501 distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people 226 in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white [291] cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take 133 a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

131 The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

680 The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

826 Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions. The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

this deserted shore. Ten miles further on, at Chukbets, I found a couple of huts; then I walked and dragged the pony on the cliffs for about four miles; then again I resorted to the beach; and finally I entered Hamboro, a small village, or rather a picturesque group of sheds and huts, and a capital fishing-station. *Shake*, salmon, *mashe*, and herrings are caught in abundance at the mouth of this river. A short distance from here hundreds of carcasses of seals were scattered on the beach, whence emanated pestilential odours. On account of the slowness of my pony I had to-night a modified repetition of last night's experience, but neither was the sea so rough nor the trail so narrow at the bottom of the cliffs; and though my wretched animal was naturally in a worse condition than before, I was able to push on to Tomamai that same night, where I arrived at a small hour of the morning.

At Tomamai, the coast, which had described a long curve, the two ends of which are Ikuru north and this point south, turns sharply in a southerly direction, running straight for many miles from north to south.

From Tomamai southwards the coast is not quite as deserted as it was further north, for here and there are villages of fishermen's houses. The population, however, is a migratory one, and when I went through, the herring-fishing season was over, and consequently most of the houses were abandoned and the people had migrated south. The winter weather is very severe, and the houses have to be barricaded with thick piles of wood as a protection against the strong westerly gales. The boats had been drawn far on shore, where they were well fastened to posts, and rough sheds thatched with grass built over them.

Along the coast there was a string of these habitations, hut after hut, storehouse after storehouse, but hardly a soul to be seen. It was like going through the city of the dead. Many of the fishermen's huts were built on the side of the rugged cliffs, and they stood on piles about fifteen feet high, the back of the house resting on the cliff itself. Twelve and a half miles further another row of houses, similarly deserted for the winter, stood along the shore-line at Onishika. In this part of the coast salmon are very scarce, and the chief industry is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 "No, your honourable," said he, drawing in his breath.

"You did not look for it in the right place," said I, and up to this day the landlord does not know where the right place was.

● 886 The Ishikari is one of the great salmon rivers of Yezo. About the end of September the salmon enter the river to spawn. They are in such abundance then that the stream is crowded thick with them, and it is quite sufficient to have a hook fastened to a stick to pull out a large fish each time it is dipped into the water. Millions of fine salmon are caught within a few days, and the banks of the river are packed with dead fish, while the whole population is occupied in splitting open each fish, taking out its inside, for preservation.

The same method of netting as is practised for sardine fishing is employed for salmon. Eighteen or twenty excited men vigorously row the boats out into mid-stream, and after describing a semicircle, return to the bank. The nets are hauled in, the fish flung out on the river banks, and the same process begins *de novo*. A man in a "dug-out" watches when the salmon are more or less plentiful, and signals for the boat to start, while he himself spears them with a harpoon. At the right time of the year as many as 1500 or 2,000 and more good fish are caught each time the net is hauled in. This grand take of course only lasts a few days.

Though good, the Yezo salmon has none of the fine qualities of the salmon of northern European rivers, and it is not quite so good as that of the Canadian rivers. It does not keep so well, and in colour is much lighter than our salmon.

133 The Ishikari River opens to the north, and runs parallel to the coast, leaving a flat tongue of sand between it and the sea. Following the course of the stream against the current, it goes winding south, then sharply turns to the south-east, following this direction for about fourteen miles. Then again it winds up to the north, and then to the east for a distance of over one hundred miles, where its source lies in the very heart of Yezo.

The Ishikari carries a large body of water, and it is nine hundred and twenty feet wide near its mouth. Its "drainage area" has been estimated to be over three thousand square miles, including mountain slopes, while the actual valley does

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the pain was not nearly as acute as it had been the first fifteen or twenty days.

As the road was good, and there was nothing interesting to me on this portion of the journey, I tried to push on rapidly towards Mori. Unfortunately, at the last minute my patience was put to a trial. I hired a horse, and it was lame. No others were to be had that day for love or money. The animal had been lame for two years, they said, and though uncomfortable to ride he did not suffer any pain. This I ascertained afterwards was true, for that day the sturdy brute carried me 48½ miles without once requiring punishment. It is needless to say that what I suffered that day by the continuous jerking is beyond description. I rode fourteen hours in a fearful storm of rain and snow, and my feverish anxiety to reach Hakodate soon, so that I might receive letters, and have news of my parents and friends—from whom I had not heard for five months—helped me to pull through all the fatigue and worry of the way. The road between Oshamambe and Kunnui is fair, getting still better towards Yurap and Yamakushinai. But to shorten the journey and lessen the jerking I followed the sandy sea-beach, which, describing a smaller circle than the road, necessarily diminishes the distance. From Yamakushinai the road is very good and wide, and it has nicely-built bridges over the Otoshibe and Nigori Rivers. The small fishing villages, though not so imposing in appearance as some of those in other parts of Yezo, add to the picturesqueness of the bay, with its beautiful volcanic cone of Komagatage towering in the distance towards the south-east.

The fishing in Volcano Bay consists mostly of mackerel, sprats, halibut, and herrings.

I reached Mori late in the evening, and was received with a friendly greeting by the people of the tea-house in which I had stayed on my way up at the beginning of my journey.

The place was brilliantly lighted with numberless candles, and opposite the entrance was a kind of altar decked with flowers and cakes. A few *bonzes*, with their shaven heads and long, thin, depraved fingers, were saying their prayers and beating with a small wand on the round wooden bells. With the gods of Japan you must ring a bell or clap your hands before you begin to pray, or else the god will pay no attention

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 [224 226 231 412]

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789
224
226
[782]
[825]
[774]

BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411
789
774
224
[422]
[211]

The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825
782
224

If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
192

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

226 782 789

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building. [784] [192]

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise. [262]

Boat-building

396 789 782

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for [778]

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

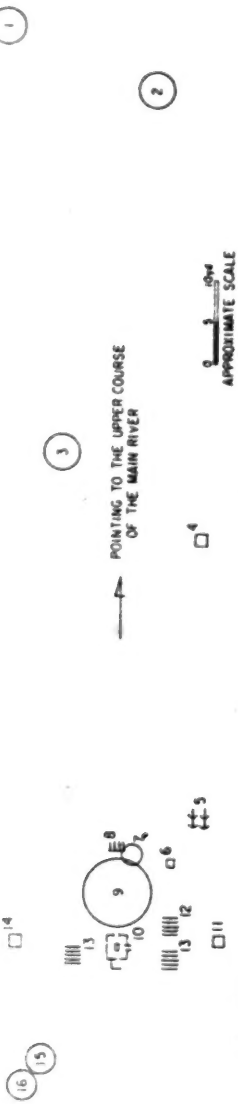


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

[p.19]

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important
121 items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[85]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu* (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
226 227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[324] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the [374] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working [462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki-ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a [592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same [324] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used [476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.
227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.
221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscend- 512
ing shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11; Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 512 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 221 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 221 184 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 221 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers [251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly [262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226

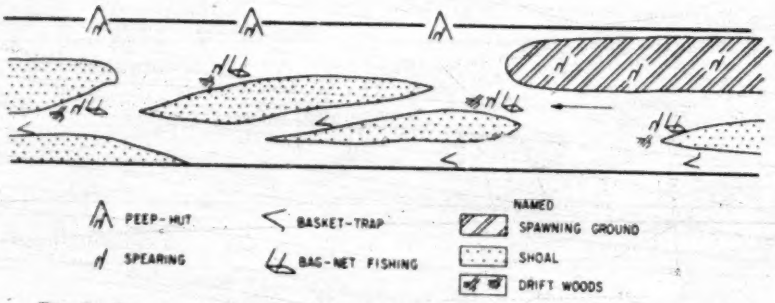


Fig. 3. Diagram representing the distribution of dog-salmon fishing sites.

Dog salmon migrate and ascend rivers in large shoals in order to spawn. Various conditions restrict their spawning sites, in search of which dog salmon come gathering in specific areas. As a result, the relationship between the Ainu and the fish grew up and was maintained with these spawning grounds as centre. The spawning habits of the dog salmon[28], e. g. the parent [182] salmon standing by their spawning bed while in breeding, their spawning in comparatively shallow water, and almost regular recurrence yearly of spawning grounds at the same places, may be regarded as limiting factors in the group ecology of the Ainu in regard to salmon fishing.

At least on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke as well as on the Azuma, 226 the Ainu fished the salmon during the period from around October to December[29] (p. 53). 221 Each local group began its salmon fishing with the arrival of the fish near its own settlement. The methods and the sites of fishing changed as the season wore away (Figs. 3 and 4). Observance of a ritual before the first run marked the beginning of all Ainu dog-salmon fishing (p. 72). Meanwhile, there came an interval between the first run in the area about the settlement or settlements of each local group and the first spawning in the spawning grounds near their settlement. For example, about Kuttarashi and Nitmap on the uppermost Tokapchi there were scattered spawnings 3 or 4 days after the first run; near Naitai settlement on the uppermost Otopuke spawnings occurred sporadically 4 or 5 days after the first run. It is ichthyologically known that the spawning of the dog salmon, like that of the cherry salmon, occurs gradually from the upper down to the lower reaches in the same river course (Note 28). For instance, it usually began about 2 days later about Kumaushi settlement than at Nitmap which lies directly above it; at Sanenkoro settlement 3 or 4 days later than at Kumaushi which lies above it (Map 2 and p. 61). The result was that the lower the settlement the longer the period of runs with no spawning. During this period Ainu males speared fish with the *marek* at peep-huts set up on the running course.

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226
221
512

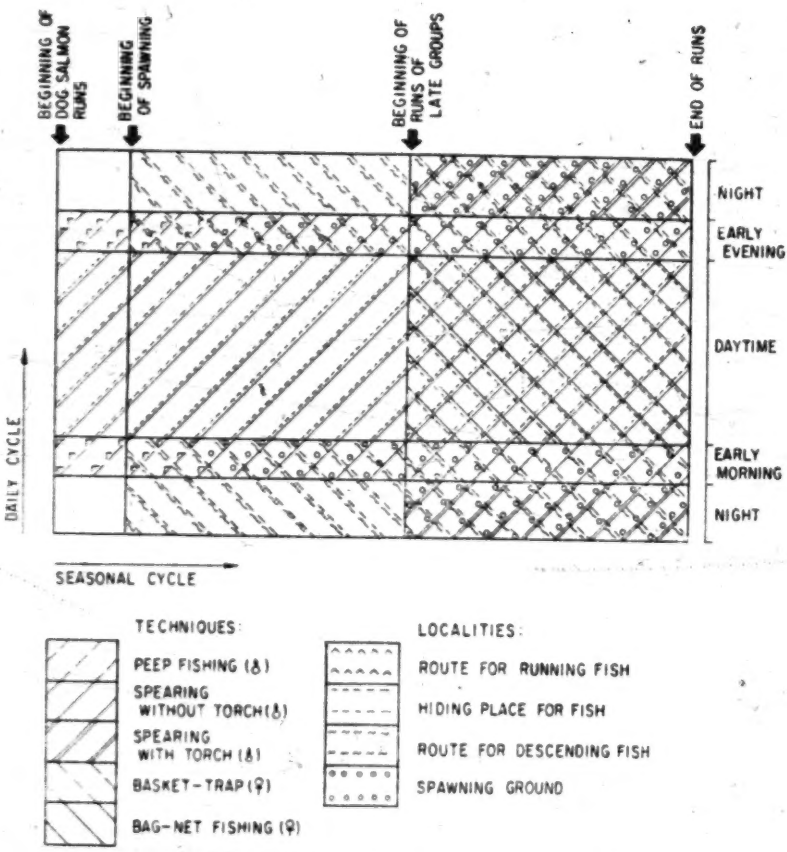


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

224
226
476
592

Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[11]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Deer Hunting				Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon)				Bag-Net Fishing Group
		Group	Location of Hut	Deer-Fence Hunting		Hunting in Winter Quarter		Main Stream		Tributary		
				Group	Location of Deer-Fence	Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Weir	Group	Location of Hut	
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

226 476 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 476 462 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 184 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). [226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, 463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational 438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4. [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

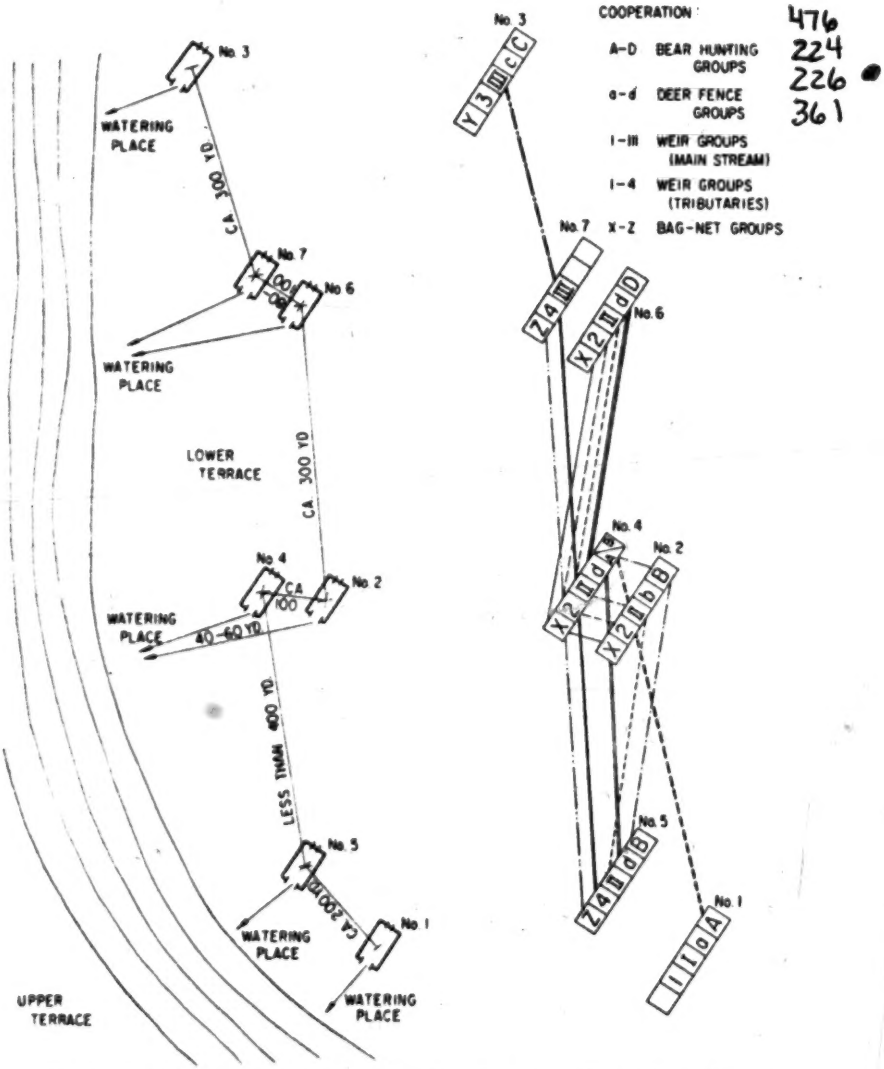


Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources. 423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon 619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission [628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, a local group on the Shikaripet tributary of the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.
628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 796
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[63]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
423 of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423
226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[10]

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

[P. 121]

III

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 221 136 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawning in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO, 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the [127] middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were 136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup*, *shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioncd and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* [825] in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

indentity with our variety. He writes: "Meuren-chep, n. Silver salmon. Same as Mat-chep" (BATCHELOR, 1926, p. 283); "Mat-chep, n. Silver salmon. Oncorhynchus kisutch (Walb)" (ibid., p. 278). The silver salmon, O. kisutch, also known as 'coho,' occurs in great quantity in the area extending from the North American coasts to Alaska, but it seldom appears in the territorial waters of Japan (ŌSHIMA, 1940, p. 249). It is a very rare species in Japan and has been caught only several times so far in the rivers of Hokkaido (HIKITA, 1956, p. 31). The *meorun chep* or *mata chep*, then, seems a different variety from the silver salmon but may be identified as the 'silvery salmon' on the following evidence. The *meorun chep* or *mata chep* was distinguished by the natives by its silvery colour as against the spawning colour appearing on the common dog-salmon, by its smaller size generally and its arrival with the cold season, that is, late in the period of dog salmon run. It will be seen that all these features are in agreement with those of the variety known in Japan as 'silvery salmon'. The latest researches indicate that the silvery salmon, or 'ginke-sake' as it is called in Japan, is also known as 'mejika', 'ginpika' or 'gira'; it arrives at the end of Oncorhynchus keta's runs in all the rivers in Hokkaido and other regions of Japan ascended by O. keta; the majority found are not full-grown but are fairly small-sized; it undergoes no change of colour for spawning but retains its silvery colour into maturity; finally, its arrival signifies the end of O. keta's runs (SANO, 1947, p. 43). Inference is made that the variety is of the same species as the common dog-salmon but that some physiological variation has brought out the apparent difference (ibid., p. 44). *Meorun chep* is regarded likewise by the Ainu as the same kind as "*shiipe kamuichep*" with the runs that precede it. In the river Chitose or Shikot today at least, the silvery salmon arrives each season mingling with the common dog-salmon and then gradually increases in number till it predominates at the end of the season (SANO, 1946, p. 40), though the ratio of mingling and the time of its appearance varies in different rivers (SANO, 1947, p. 41). For the other Hokkaido rivers no report is available; only it is informed that in the Tokapchi in ca. 1946 a fairly large amount of 'mejika' or silvery salmon were witnessed ascending during December and January in the area around the Chiyota salmon fishery. Such runs were known as "last catch"; but in recent years they have almost ceased to be seen (oral information obtained in 1959 from the Tokapchi Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery).

A case of night-spearing by torchlight employed for a specific species of salmon is found also among the Klallam Indians on the Northwest Coast of North America. The Indians use this method for silver salmon that run from October till December and not for dog-salmon and other species that run earlier (GUNTHER, 1927, pp. 198 and 201). No further details are made known.

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves. 159 592 224 476 [226]

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut. [226]

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu; [226]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
[226] shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

(44) 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a 423
division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of 621
sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop 423
and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the 621
spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens re- 226
spectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i. e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must [431] be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory,

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 621 226

un ichan (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[130] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

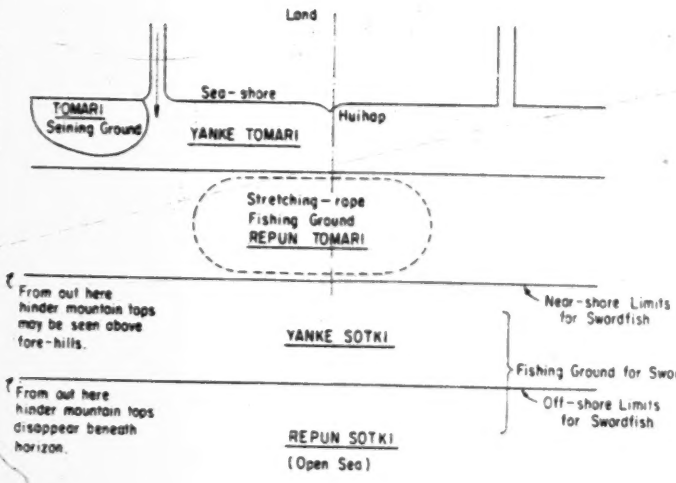
Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu (a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle- [782] ment." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constituted a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63) Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area). *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2, [Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
133
361
224
● 226

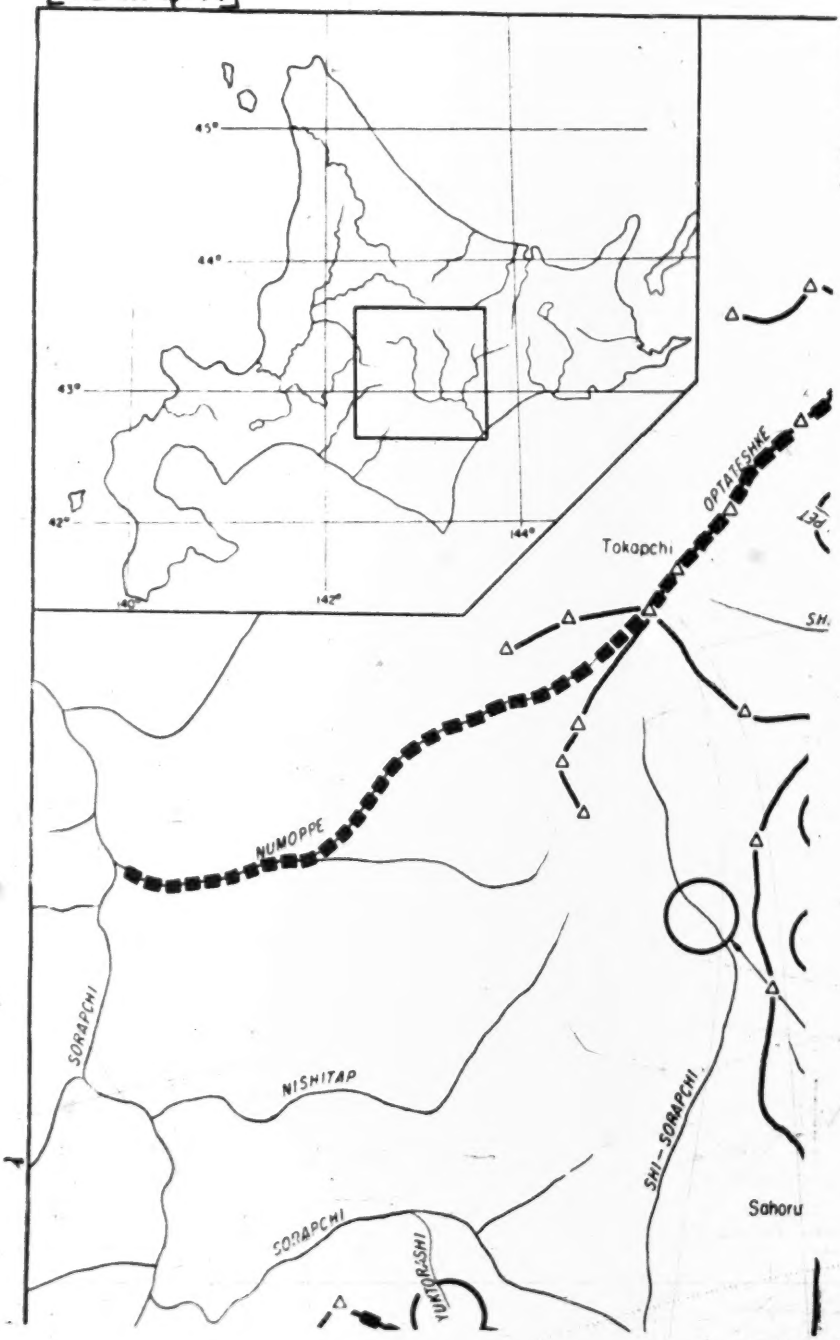
A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

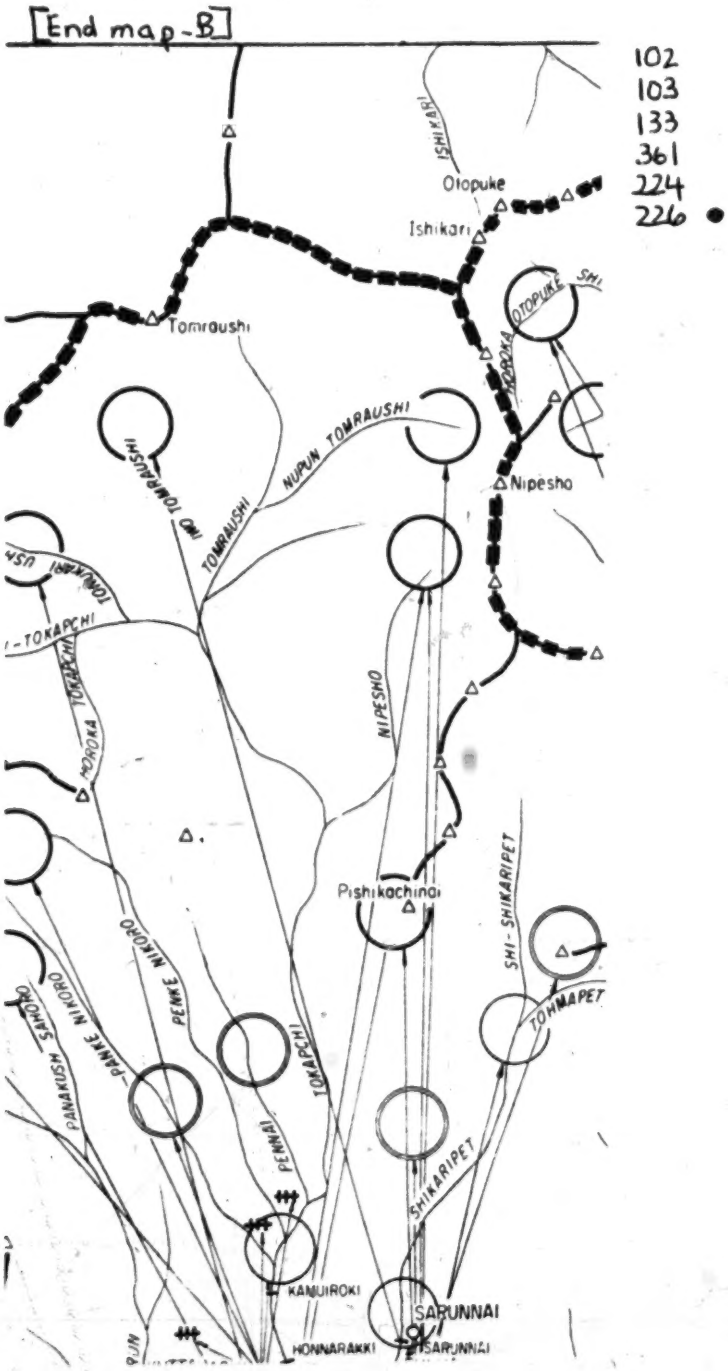
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-A]

102
103
133
361
224
226

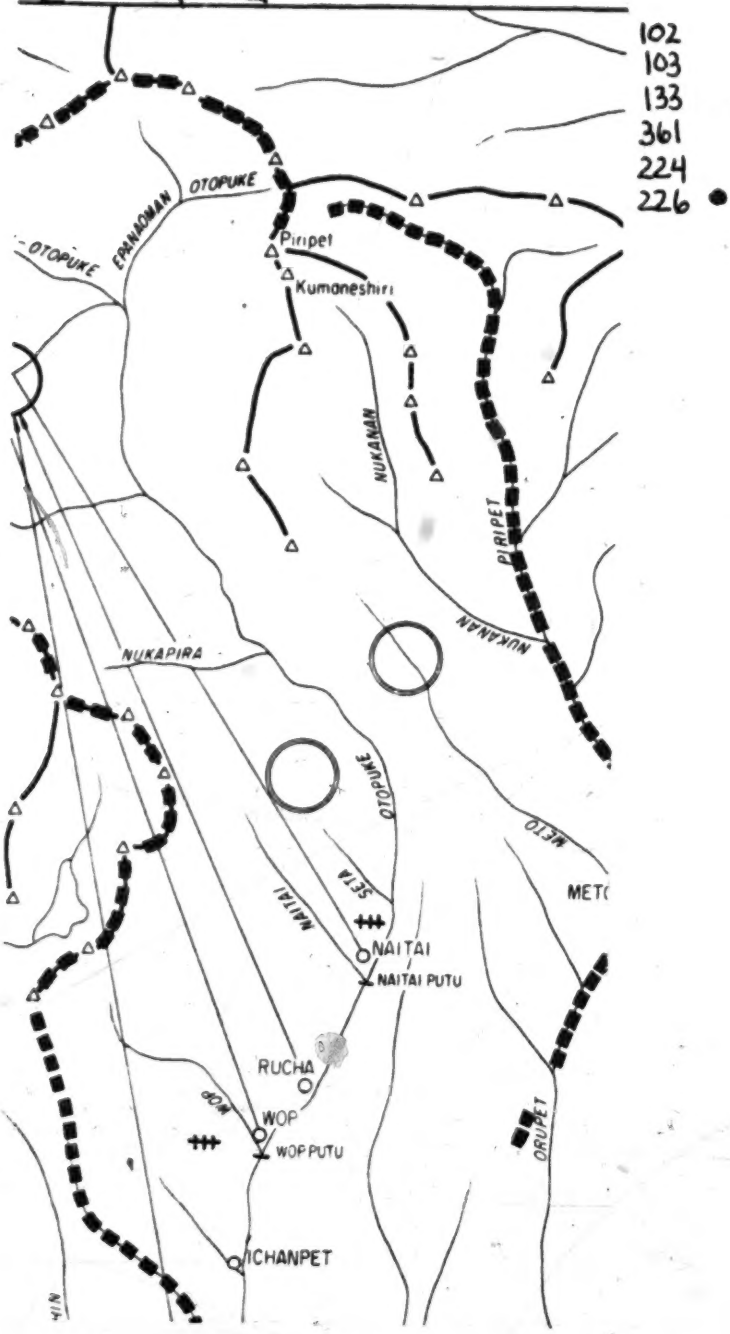


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



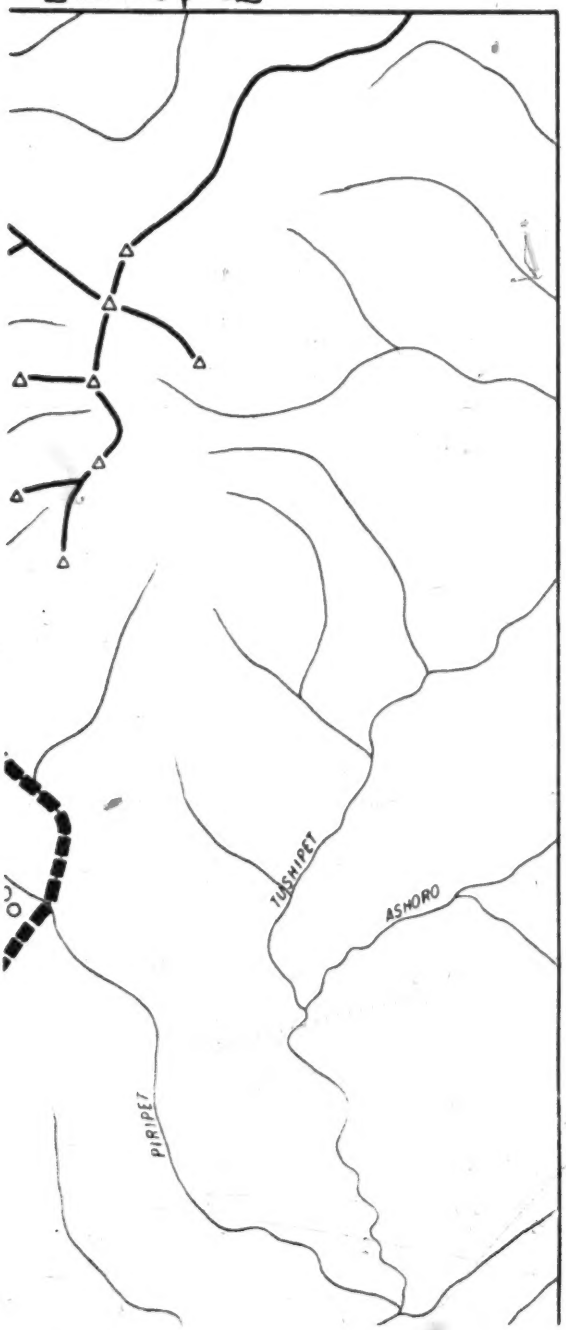
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map - C]



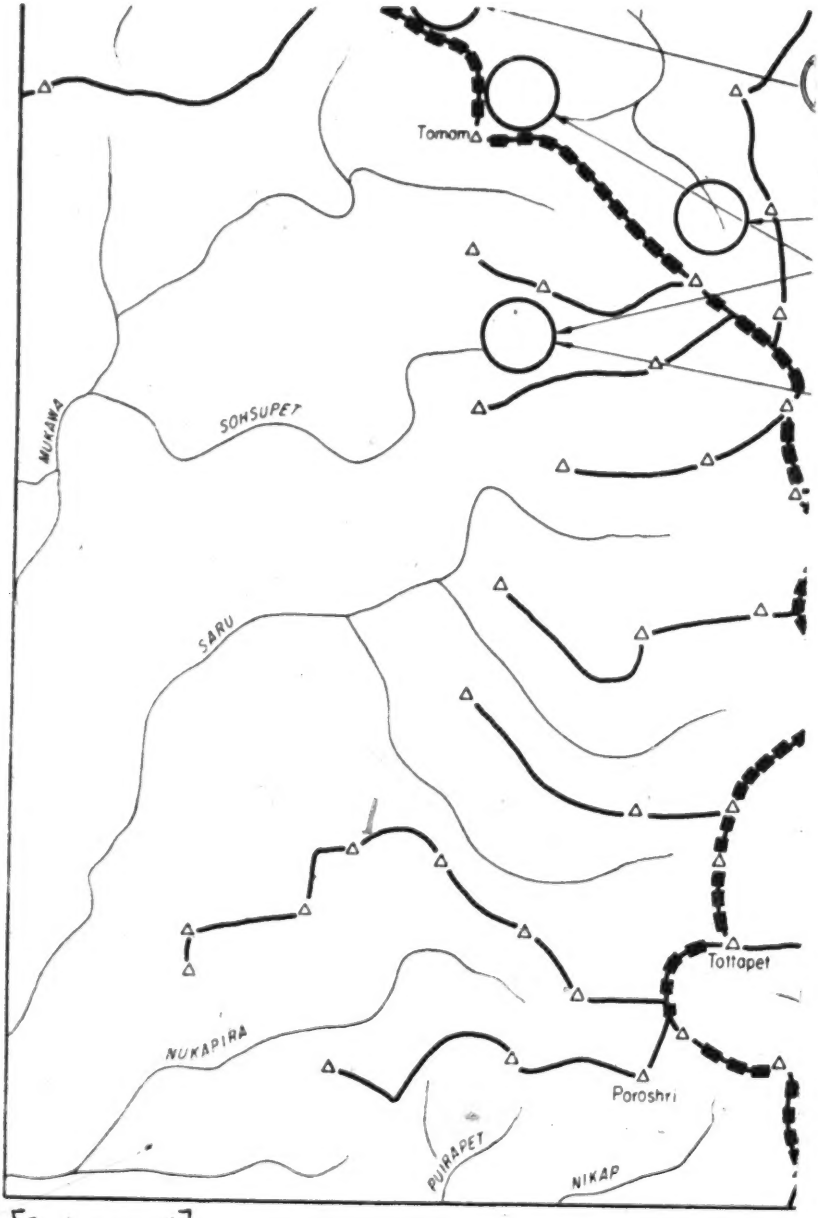
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133
361
224
226

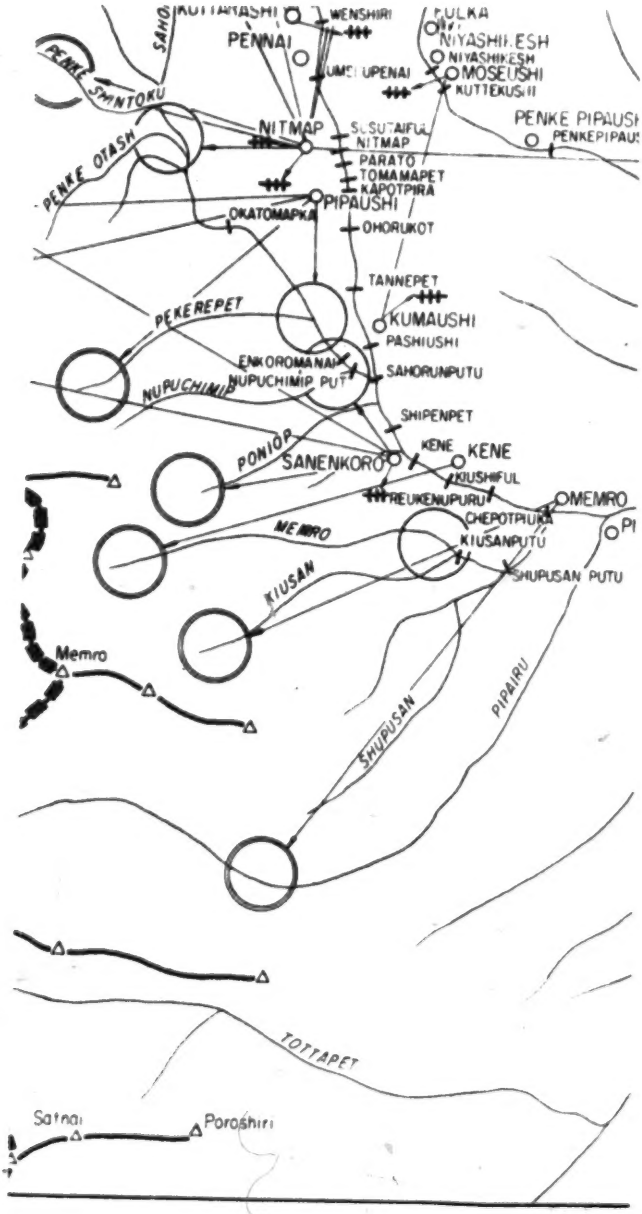
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

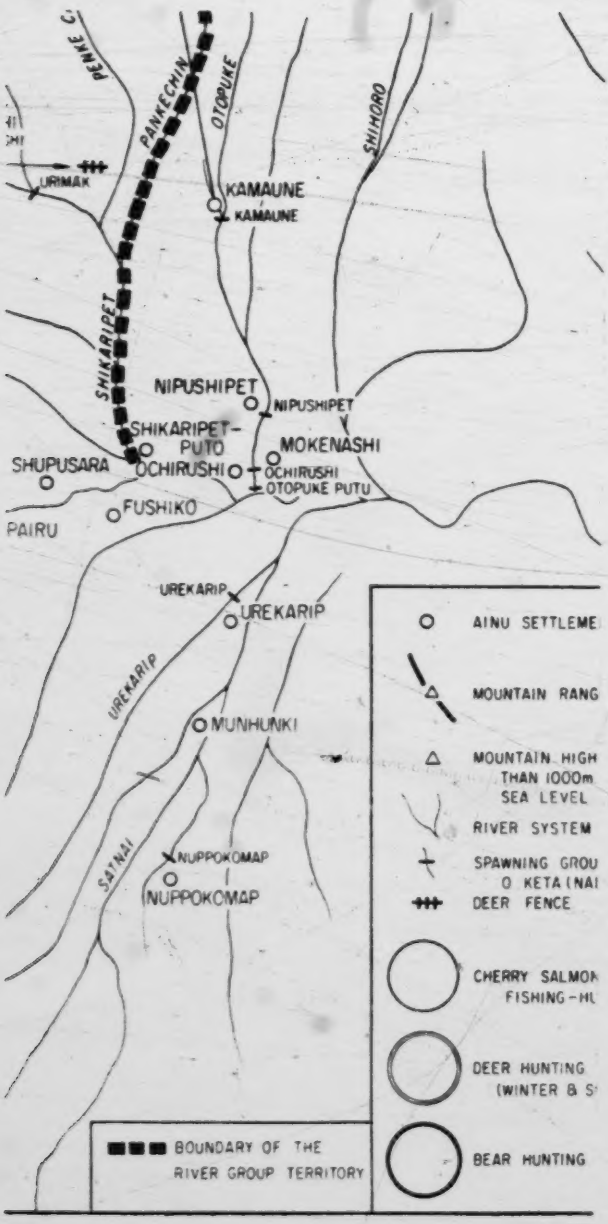
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

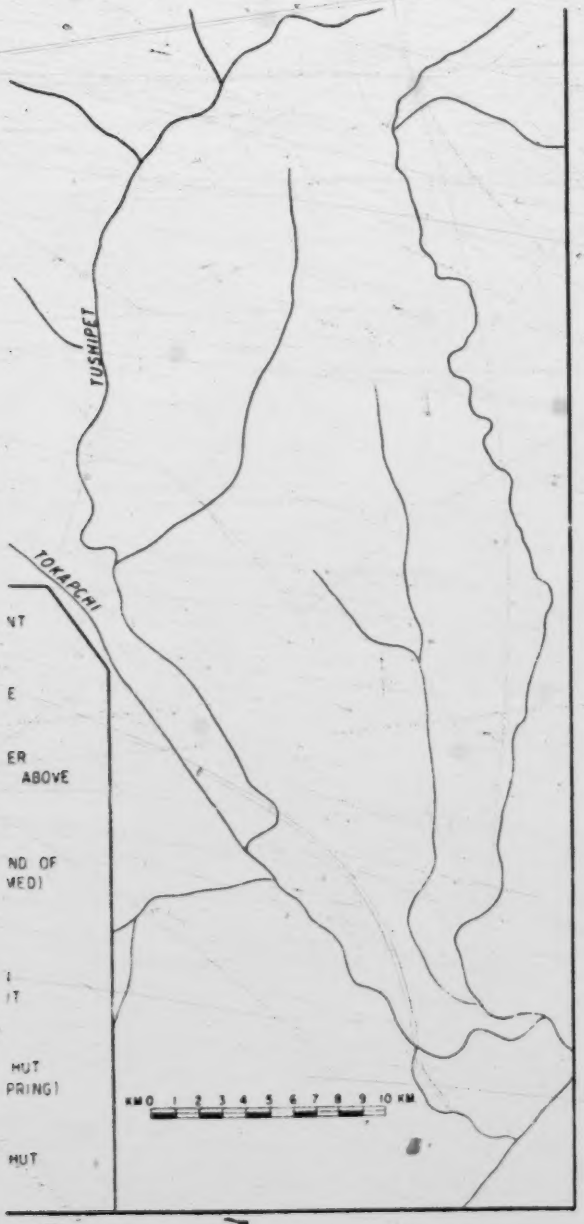


102
103
361
133
224
226

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



102
103
133
361
224
226

[End map-H]

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
226 for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
262 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
[361] this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
[439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
226 262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

/453 cont./

226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

2: Schrenck--699 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu A86

/454 cont./

226
179

Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

226
171
113

5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/." -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat-sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[912] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[291] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
[492] still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
439 small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
[177] infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
[681] ——— In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 439 436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

A F *175 *648 226 177

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A [501]

A F *175 *648 251 177 439

---

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

A [227]

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

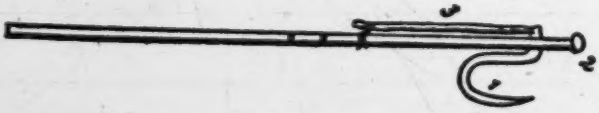
[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.



[227]

A MAPEK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march
231 along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which
[178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

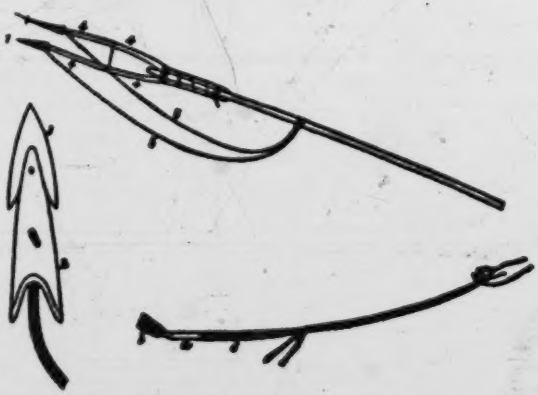
226 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they called an *urai*. These were generally placed across
227 the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrow-head, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry.

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again.

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very
[582] numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them
184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely
301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese
[177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142]
[302]
[304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in
291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins.
283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*,
227 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.19]

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such import-
121 ant items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the élucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[25]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

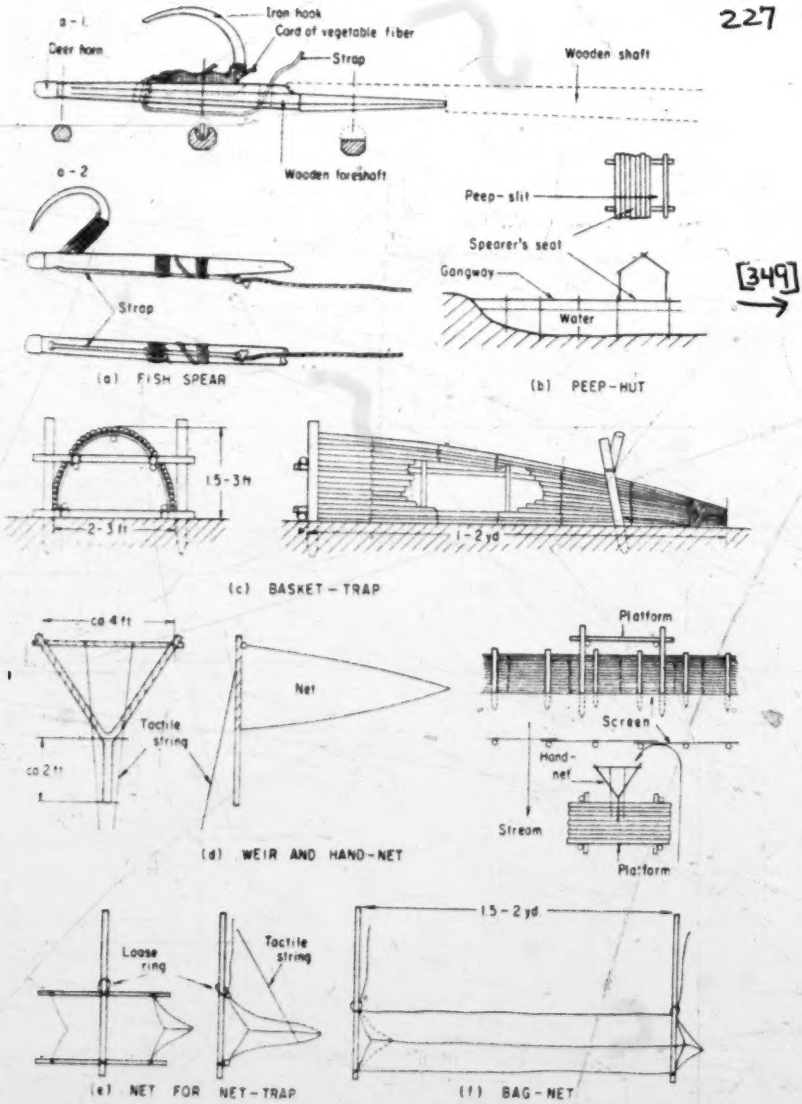
227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

227



[349]

Fig. 2. Fishing gears. (a), 1-2, Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (b)-(f), reconstructed on the basis of the data from the Ainu informants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[324] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b). It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon. ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[824] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *mearun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.
227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.
221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 184 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 182 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 [311] *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind [130] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together [227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing [286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on [136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

221 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) **16**: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* **1**: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[297] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[825] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
417

A WOMAN REARING THE FAMILY BEAR CUB

A BEAR CUB'S CAGE

[P. 106 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of [776]
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And
when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their
children to accompany them to battle, they enter here
and then all go off together to wage the war, and many
fights take place in the air. There are many allusions
to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place 342
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 778
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside
and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into
an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is
another door which leads into the open air. In the
ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and
so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to
occupy this place. That part of the house extending
from the top of the east-end window is held in special
honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all
the treasures are kept, also a great number of family
charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these,
heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and
fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings
from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes
next to these are preserved the special ornaments and
clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things
may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folk-
lore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and
of great importance always. When the highest gods
are worshipped or when prayers are said to the an-
cestors, they should often be addressed through this
window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing. 527 231

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. [262] The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion. [N4]

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one an-
[462] others' tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the men turn toward the place where the fetishes are set up and arrange themselves in proper order, and worship. 527 231

The men sit down before the creature and tell him that they are about to send him to his ancestors among the mountains. They ask him not to be angry with them, for it is a very great honour which they are now about to confer upon him. He is informed that if he is really a good and proper cub he will reincarnate as before and come back later to be treated again as he is being treated now. An address is then offered like this:

"O thou divine one, thou didst come into this world for us to hunt. O thou precious little one, we worship thee; pray hear our prayers. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with great pains and care, and all because we loved thee so much. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy parents. When thou comest to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been to thee. We beseech thee to return to us once more, that we may again entertain thee."

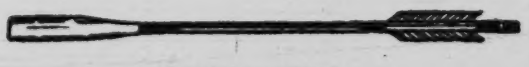
A rope is next tied about the cub and he is taken out of the cage and led to the place where the fetishes have been set up. Then when the multitude of people have seated themselves in their order, he is made to walk about in front of them for their pleasure.

After the prayer has been said, Bruin has one cord placed round his neck and shoulder on one side, and one round the opposite shoulder by another man in such a manner as to make it quite safe. The two men hold the noose so firmly as to ensure that he shall be able to make no attack on his friends who are teasing him and will soon kill and eat him. He is then led to and fro by the two men, one on each side. If the bear is a large one and very strong, a rope is also passed over his hind quarters by two other men. Thus the people take good care of their own skins.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

[411]



BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527
231

A DRINKING FEAST

AT THE BEAR FEAST

[p. 208(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival.

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years.

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish."

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of his own cooked meat and broth to eat. And a little of his own blood is also set before him. After waiting a short time, when all are quite silent, the headman worships, saying, 'O divine One, we present Thee with these fetishes, cakes and dried fish. Take them to thy parents and say, "I have been brought up by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept free from harm and trouble. I am now grown big and am come back to you. I have also brought cakes, dried fish, and fetishes with me. Let us rejoice." If you say this to them they will be glad.'

"After the meat has been cooked, some of it is put into cups and placed near the mouth of the cub, and all wait in respectful silence for a short time. After a bit the Master of Ceremonies calls out in a loud voice, 'The little divine one has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us eat with him and worship.' He then takes a full cup, salutes it, offers a few drops to the fire, and divides it among the guests. This cup is called the "cup of offering" and also the "cup of the feast." And in this feast we find the people holding a communion with their God, namely, the Bear. The entrails of the creature are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw.

"Later, a pole is prepared to hold the cub's head. This is placed outside at the nusa place. The head is taken and fixed in a crotch in the top, and is tied there with strings of shavings, and called "Life-containing-fetish."

"Thus, the skin having been quite detached from the head, peeled off, in fact, right down to the snout, the ears being left standing on the shining skull, the skull is taken outside through the east end window, now made into a doorway, and there set up on high. It is no longer called a bear's head, but the name is changed into "Divine Preserver." It is here frequently wor-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789 776 231 782 778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

● 231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection
[231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the
[171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
[251] No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

G 223 [439] /565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G [239] [411] [964] G 223 231 439

Gi 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439

A /565 cont./
231 reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.
439

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E
237 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America,
411 along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E
[113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G
326 At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made
[411] of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the
G
[342] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction
[396] of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc.
[493] always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the
[335] individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of
G
[175] foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers.
000 During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it corre-
spond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
152

[113]

7. Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourn-
ing over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in
order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any
ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken
in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common
to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first,
or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 171 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 798 171 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imitations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

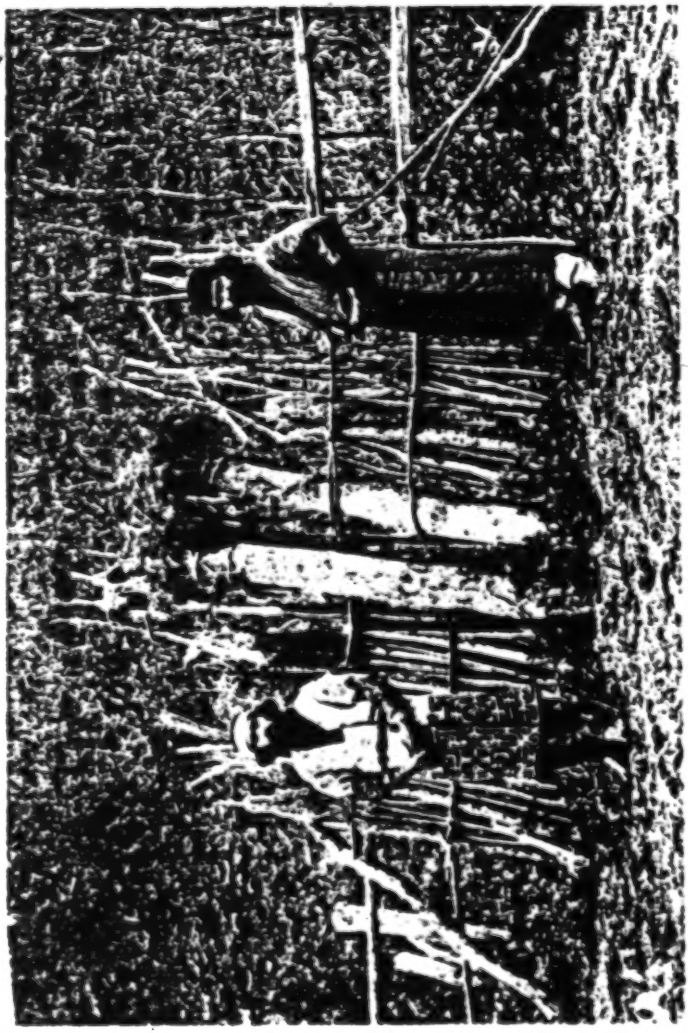
5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
527
231



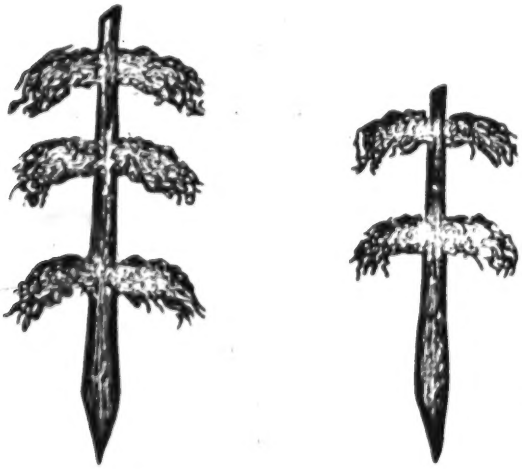
BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *hou-mande-si*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains." [778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent 775] away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 hut is a sad sight in the morning, when the men may
231 be seen still lying about the floor, snoring where they fell over. And it is a sad thing to see the crowns the men wore lying scattered about among the cups.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

● 231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

loose in the hut, playing daily with the children. It was so small that the wife had to bring it up like one of her own babies. At night it went and curled itself up in the bosom of the master. Being a stranger, it did not at first care to come near me, but with a little coaxing, he and I soon became the best of friends. I watched him carefully and a more cunning little beast I think I have never seen. 231

One day as I was sitting quietly writing at the head of the hearth, I saw little Bruin come stealthily into the hut, walk quietly up to a pot which was hanging at the lower end of the fireplace with cold cooked millet in it, stand up on his hind legs, place one forepaw on the edge of the pot to keep it steady, lift the lid partly off with the other and put it on one side, and then scoop handfuls out and eat as fast as he could. I gazed at him for a few minutes with admiration and astonishment. Presently I roared out, "Oh, you thieving scoundrel!" The rogue immediately dropped to his feet, gave one swift glance at me, smirked, and rushed out of the hut as much like a streak of lightning as it is possible for a bear to be. I was intensely amused and I sat still for a time to see what would happen next.

In about half an hour I saw the creature place one forepaw on the door post, slowly lift up the mat hanging in the doorway with the other, and then pop his head round the corner, look at me, twinkle his eyes, slap the mat down in its place, and forthwith rush off again post-haste. He evidently thought there was not enough room in that hut for the two of us. He got no more to eat till supper time. When the mistress came home from her garden, I told her about it, but she did not seem to be at all surprised, for she simply smiled and said, "The young scamp! At it again!" The husband laughed when he heard of it, nodded at the tale, and said, "The little demon! All bear cubs are very cunning and their parents exceedingly wise and clever." 825

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ovo
231 and clever." A little later the creature's claws became so strong and painful to those who played with him, that he was put into a cage and there well fed by Mrs. Tee till it was time to have the festival and kill and eat him.

224 When hunting bears, Tee told me that he and his dogs used to go and look for the place in which one was hibernating, and then he would settle how to attack and kill him. He said that in the snow which covered the den, there was always just a small yellow discoloration made by the warm breath of the animal. The dogs were very clever at finding this, and when found, they would stand round it and set up a great baying till he came to them. He and his dogs then worked away the snow from the entrance of the den, and, when the hole was sufficiently big, he himself would crawl in on his hands and knees, carrying a long knife with him. The dogs would stay outside to watch the entrance. They were there to check the animal when he made the rush into the open. And "they knew their business."

"But," I said, "is it not very dangerous to crawl like that into a bear's den?"

"Yes," he said, "there is always danger, but bears at that time are in a state of silly drowsiness, and do not seem to like to kill anything in their dens. And when they rush out the light confuses them. In the den they stretch out a paw and thrust an intruder roughly to the back of the place. When I get there, and I sometimes have done so without being seen, I prick the animal from behind with my knife, and, not liking this, he makes a rush for the open, where the dogs bait him till I come and kill him."

Tee was a very brave man and had a superabundance of cool courage and nerve. I admired the man. He was one worth knowing. He told me also that in the event of being hugged by a bear, the only escape was by no means to draw away, but to press well in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

[221 226 262 231 251]

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march
● 231 along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which
[178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

226 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they
227 called an *wai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrow-head, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 776 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui*-*Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable [576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred [778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 796 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl. CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [491] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a 361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of 142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of •231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern 304 point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge 136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated ; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only ; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

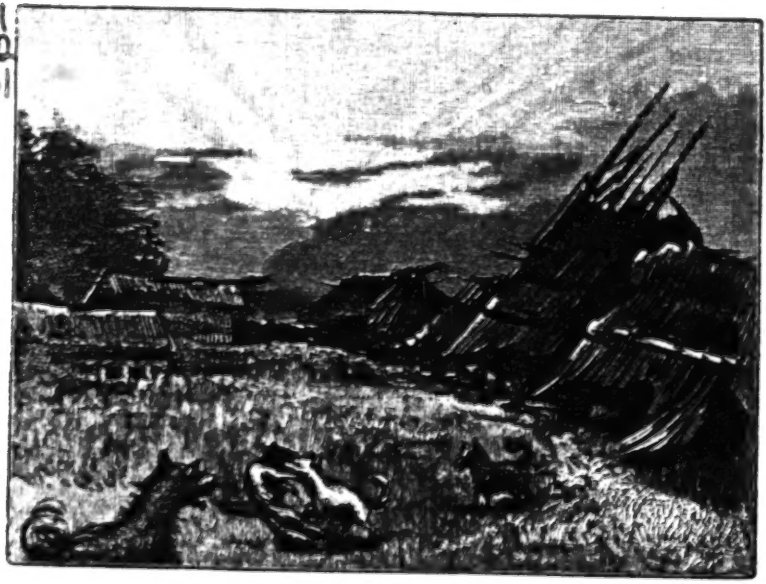
Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

361
340
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-
825 trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to
554 the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many
● 231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be
231 dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

[412]

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1. 592

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI. [343] 778 231 417 251 592 778 [372]

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley. 361 103

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

hup, Abies sachalinensis[44]). In the second phase the scence of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[44]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1, [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[55]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[56].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[57]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[925] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417] wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231] which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[33]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eba	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Muki	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *irep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodlesa field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1,[Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari. 825 Nb

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65]. [178]

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing. 224 [231]

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in 231

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[46]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[47].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1. [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

•231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
423 of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423
226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

(68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

(69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also, in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidô, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when I woke up to the real state of my new condition, I could not help laughing at our civilised conceptions of what constitutes a free man in a free country, viz. that he can have a voice in choosing which of two men shall be sent as a member to Parliament.

Absorbed, now in my own thoughts on many subjects, and now in gazing at the monotonous scenes, which, as if reflected from a magic-lantern, suddenly appeared and as suddenly faded away, I had not seen how far my pony had hurried on, when, rapidly descending a steep hill, I discerned through the grey fog a solitary shed in the small valley below. The neighing of my steed, responded to by the neighing of his compatriots in the valley, told me that I had reached the horse station of Riruran, and a few minutes later my baggage and pack-saddle were removed from my steaming quadruped, and a fresh animal was burdened with my possessions. These horse stations generally consist of one shed, in which the owner and his family live; near it is a rough enclosure formed of branches and trunks of trees laid down horizontally, and strengthened at intervals by poles stuck in the ground. The ponies are kept in this enclosure during the day, but are let loose at sunset, when they go for their food wherever they can get it—generally on the near hills. Early in the morning one or two Ainu employed in the stations start off to recapture the ponies, and after a struggle bring back the herd to the paddock. My readers, who may not be well acquainted with the habits of semi-wild horses, will wonder that the ponies, once free in an unenclosed country, do not bolt away altogether inland, thus making it impossible to recapture them; and, moreover, these readers will think what a difficult task it must be for the Ainu horsemen to recover all the ponies, each one of which, they probably imagine, has bolted in an independent and different direction. This is not the case. When a herd of ponies is let loose they invariably all go together in one direction, generally following those of the older animals which have bells hanging to their necks. When they come to a proper feeding-ground they all graze within a few yards of one another; and the chances are that the herd will not go a step further than is necessary, as they are terribly afraid of bears, their most dreaded enemy, by which they well know the more

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

distant hills are infested. When their hunger is satisfied they shoulder up together and form a circle, in the centre of which the young colts are placed, these being thus well protected from bears, who would find a sturdy resistance in the hind hoofs of the outstanding guard should they come to close quarters. The Ainu are good trackers, and have little difficulty in finding in which direction the herd has moved. When this preliminary is ascertained, the horseman, mounted on a swift pony, which he has taken good care to keep behind, starts from the station about an hour before sunrise, so as to allow himself ample time to reach the herd before the sun is up. He finds the ponies in this circular position of defence. With a long stick he breaks their ranks, and by shouting, and wildly galloping to and fro, drives them on in front till the station and the pen are reached. When they have all entered the latter, a heavy wooden bar is rested on two biforked poles, one on each side of the entrance, thus barring their way out; and there they are kept all day, waiting for such native travellers or traders as may require their services along the coast.

Most of the stations are owned by Japanese and by Ainu half-castes. Some have large numbers of ponies; some only a few, according to the wants of the neighbourhood.

The average market value of a beast is between five and ten *yen*, or about fifteen to thirty shillings in English currency.

At stations where the ponies are but little worked, good animals can sometimes be obtained for a small sum of money; but at stations near large settlements—where trade with other villages is carried on entirely by pack-ponies—they are mostly sorry beasts, with their backs one mass of sores, produced by the friction of the rough pack-saddles. Moreover, the cruel habit of letting colts follow mares for long distances—sometimes forty or fifty miles—is as painful a sight to witness as it is injurious to the breed. The Yezo ponies are characterised by their long hair and mane. They are short, sturdy, punchy brutes, not more than ten or twelve hands high, with a rather large and massive head, and thick, crooked legs. They are by no means fine-looking animals, nor are they well groomed—in fact, they are not groomed at all—but they serve capitally for the rough tracks and precipitous wastes of Hokkaido. They

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237]
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the 008
middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled 354
with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the
gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended [415]
above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or
more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is 352
usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, [778
on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vege- 251]
table products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore 342
always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is [237 354]
a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, 342
about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. 361
The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, [161]
but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back 342
window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral. 226

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes. 225 226

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose. 226 [283] [648] [237]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tesikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are
776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house
[778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against
297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778
237
342

SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made [230] into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that [191] the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755
844
[354]
[782]
[825]
[237]

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] [824] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer [539] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[232] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest from,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with [241] millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was pri- 262 marily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still thiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[906] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
● 241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
[692] goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and
[233] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign
[439] trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
[622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

A *648 177 *175 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 491

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

A
*698 After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the
*175 Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish,
[16] and the population which had been some 300 in 1799
[511] increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the destruction of those natural resources upon which the Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about an improvement in industry. Farming was also en-
A
● [241] couraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been entirely prohibited since it required work during the fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing and, since these products were abundant, there was no
F
[18] need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo
A
[262] were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on cereals was far superior to living on meat. According to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani at their own request. While it seems that the crops grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion
F
[241] which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would
A
F have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu aban-
*698 doned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802.
*175 Actually it seems that the real reason the government
241 changed its mind was that it did not favor anything which required more of a labor force than did hunting

---

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

F
[241] [24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*648
*175
241

and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.[27] It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,[28] and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

A
*648
*175
199

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.[29]

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

---

[27] The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no Nōgyō (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

A
[243]

[28] "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . . ."

[29] Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

[P. 63(B)]

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

000 E *698 682 671 177 *175

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

A F *648 177 *175

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

A [291] A [301] [304] A [26] [241]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 3: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

A [165]

[P. 77(A)]

A
E
*648
177
*175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A
[94]

[67] Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

A
[302]

A
[156]

[71] *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaikogi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

A F *648 177 *175

It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki;*

A [101]

The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

---

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

A ●[241]

1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[244] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only [262] under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with, the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the
free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new
farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate
data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's di[illegible]s in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[19]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 to[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[10]

[p.90]

II

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduction from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

[177]

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 177] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

A *648 177 *175 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

F A *648 *175 491 The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan ABR

A
F
*648
177
*175

needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

A
[161]
A
F
*648
*115

This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"[a] but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

A
● [243]

A
[226]

[a] *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

A F *698 *175

products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772–1780 have forseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.[4]

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."[5]

A F [177]

F [114]

Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ōhara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gūdan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages:

F *698 *185

1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

A [243]

2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

[4] Seiiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 2: 171.

[5] Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A02
A
F
*648
*175
241

and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.[27] It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,[28] and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

A
F
*648
*175
177

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.[29]

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

---

[27] The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no Nōgyō (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

A
[243]

[28] "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . . ."

[29] Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

[P. 63(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and [412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and 291 Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, [434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred [177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu [623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they [643] considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed [464] as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away.
The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving
to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the
autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool
used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted
in merely walking through the gardens and pinching
off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw
standing. A little later the women and children would
go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes
and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden,
whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground
he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich
the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so.
When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was
very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you
profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would
have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them
manure! Will they not of their own free will give you
the increase they intend you to have? Do you think
you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they
will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*175
*648
439
436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
[501]

A
*175
*648
251
177
439

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arakama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

A
[227]

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yōranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

[P. 32(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A F *648 *175 651

Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."[11] It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.[12] The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorourusho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

A F *648 *175 251

1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

F A *648 *175 251 651

Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

[11] Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozaemon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozaemon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Otona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

[12] Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni taisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92–93.

A F *648 *175 ●251 657 [931]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

A F *648 *175 731 657 [511]

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

A 758 [759] A [756] A [164] [177] A F *648 758 *175

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [565] [562] [291] F [657]

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

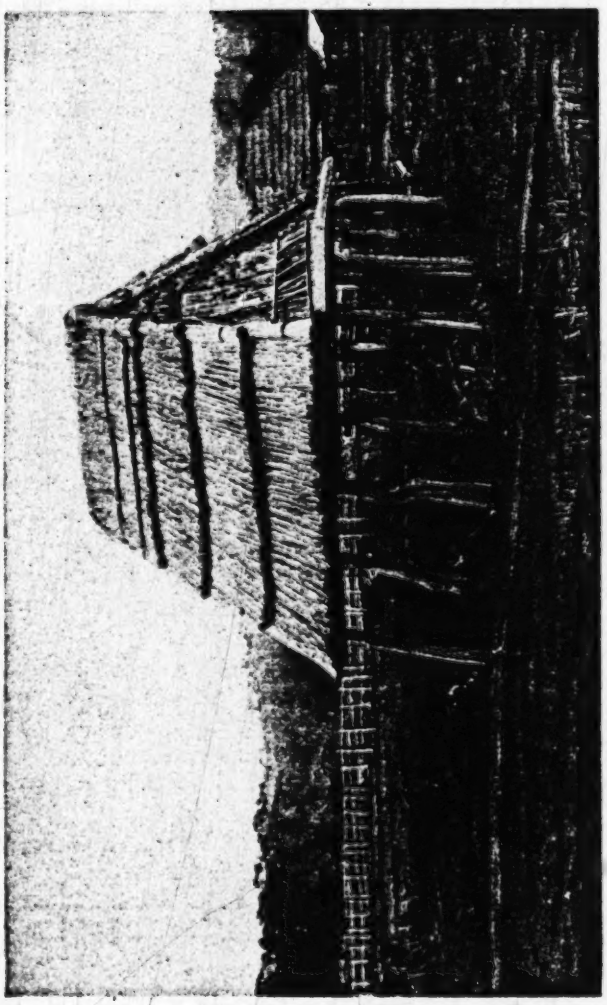
them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
251



AN AINU GRANARY

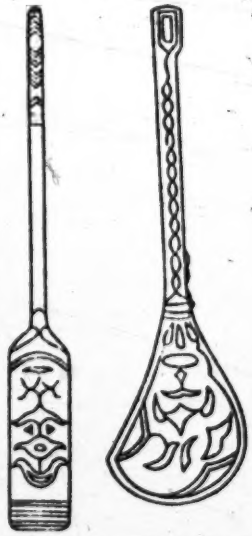
[P. 88(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There 137
is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these 262
are very sour, the people and the bears relish them
much. They are not preserved in any way but are
gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mul- [251]
berries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities
and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make
good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places.
An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit,
eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are in-
ordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that
the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked
plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a
big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare
threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice
cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*)
were also used for food in the early spring when very
young. They were taken and first boiled, then pound-
ed in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and
dried for future consumption. A good deal, however,
was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is
said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself
quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a
healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and
the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that
in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and
that it has been the means of keeping many alive
throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound 252
chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and
nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Some-
times animal fat was also added, and this made a very
rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten
without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into
cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all
bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The
people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
● 251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or gold-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[244] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725 126 [281]

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [412]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [301]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikerubikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with stripe of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-guri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 262

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226

mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [051] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koro-pok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172 417 251

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

342

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and [412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and 291 Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, [434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are men- [177] tioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred [623] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi;* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[17].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226
221
512

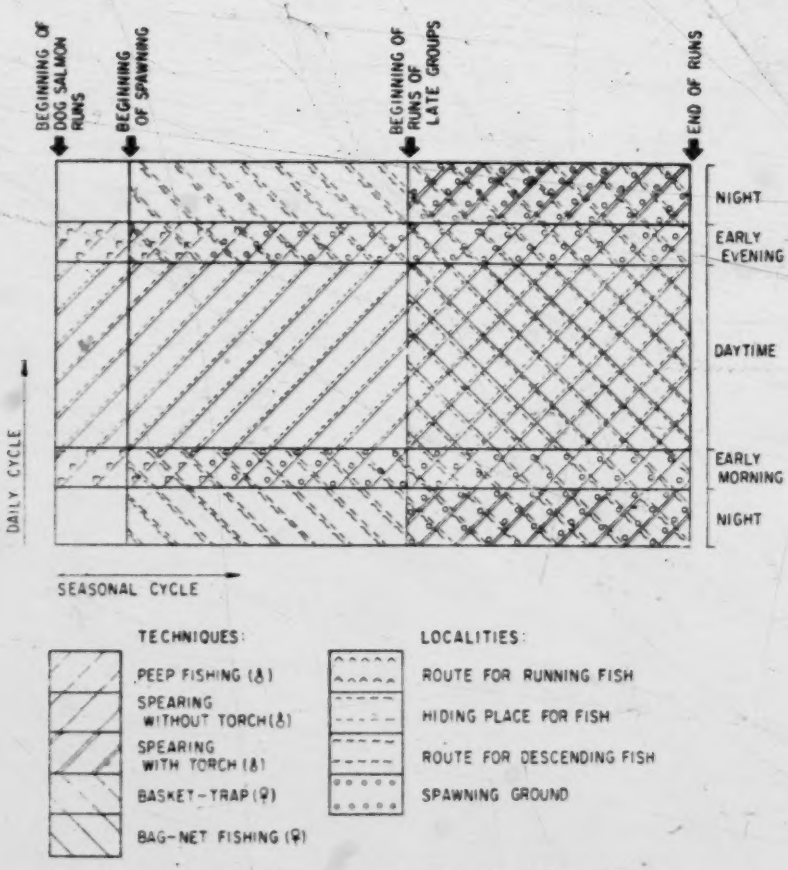


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251] December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers.
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [231]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were [251]
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [461]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

462

Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male

Processing of Gathered Materials

Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection
[231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the
[171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old
• [251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above
and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?"
I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story
about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and
as the body of this god itched very much one day, he
scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas
dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And
so it always happens that whenever it thunders these
insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 080
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up
a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that
some local authority in the south of Japan would pay
two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the
proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for
five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder,
surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice),
potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure
with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the
village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not
procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon,
but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people
were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once
I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough
that I could only make soup of it. But it was very
good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the
sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple
of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to
his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end,
and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth.
After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[825] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

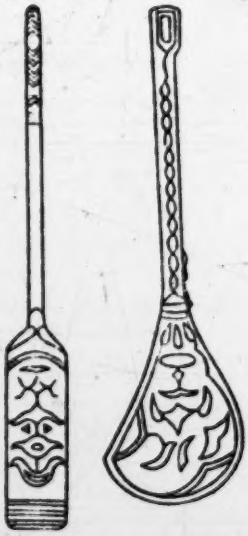
These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It
252 seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today
[178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of
225 the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There 137
is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these 262
are very sour, the people and the bears relish them
much. They are not preserved in any way but are
gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mul- [251]
berries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities
and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make
good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places.
An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit,
eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are in-
ordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that
the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked
plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a
big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare
threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice
cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*)
were also used for food in the early spring when very
young. They were taken and first boiled, then pound-
ed in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and
dried for future consumption. A good deal, however,
was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is
said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself
quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a
healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and
the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that
in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and
that it has been the means of keeping many alive
throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound 252●
chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and
nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Some-
times animal fat was also added, and this made a very
rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten
without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into
cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all
bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The
people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

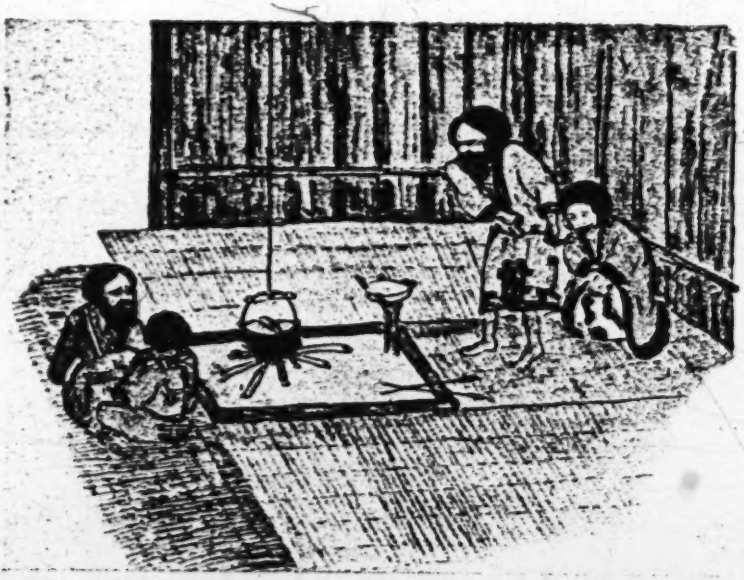
And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

136 252 262 (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the
252 fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The pecul-
413 iar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu A

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [291] 150688

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. [292] 150687

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [778] 150690

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [252] 150693

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150694

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. [413] 150695–150699

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [354] 150701

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150702

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. [441 415] 150705

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
190 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
252 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
590a are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

423 hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring
226 bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in
[224] Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo
[476] make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

476 This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

476 There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they
183 built their own houses, cutting down available trees and
[926] grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes,
[342] they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It
[297] has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after
[261] the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had
[264] to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For
[858] the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal.
[888] Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter
[276] how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After
[273] one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of
226 the villages went out to fish during the salmon season
224 and distributed their catch among all and when someone
431 killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the
[602] portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

480 weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and
468 they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too
467 heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply
147 *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable
854 among them, but not among the men. Children are carried
482 on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs.
482 A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

261 When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water. 261

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made. 483

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided. 481 857 142

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them 201

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

221 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 99 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
[323] tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[291] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
[492] hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[20]
[173]
[176]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[82]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[175]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

A
*648 After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the
*175 Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish,
[161] and the population which had been some 300 in 1799
[511] increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did
not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better
off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the
destruction of those natural resources upon which the
Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as
a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about
an improvement in industry. Farming was also en-
A
[241] couraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had
discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been
entirely prohibited since it required work during the
fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the
islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing
and, since these products were abundant, there was no
F
[181] need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time
was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals
was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in
the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward
assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops
were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo
A
● [262] were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also
constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on
cereals was far superior to living on meat. According
to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming
implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani
at their own request. While it seems that the crops
grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it
was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's
F
enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion
[241] which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and
the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would
A
have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu aban-
*648 doned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802.
*175 Actually it seems that the real reason the government
241 changed its mind was that it did not favor anything
which required more of a labor force than did hunting

---

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

F
[241] [24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above
and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?"
I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story
about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and
as the body of this god itched very much one day, he
scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas
dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And
so it always happens that whenever it thunders these
insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 080
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up
a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that
some local authority in the south of Japan would pay
two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the
proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for
five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder,
surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice),
potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure
with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the
village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not
procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon,
but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people
were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once
I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough
that I could only make soup of it. But it was very
good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the
sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple
of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to
his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end,
and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth.
After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[82.5] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

I know of one district by the sea where the people are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There 137
is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these 262
are very sour, the people and the bears relish them
much. They are not preserved in any way but are
gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mul- [251]
berries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities
and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make
good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places.
An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit,
eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are in-
ordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that
the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked
plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a
big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare
threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice
cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*)
were also used for food in the early spring when very
young. They were taken and first boiled, then pound-
ed in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and
dried for future consumption. A good deal, however,
was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is
said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself
quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a
healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and
the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that
in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and
that it has been the means of keeping many alive
throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound 252
chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and
nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Some-
times animal fat was also added, and this made a very
rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten
without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into
cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all
bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The
people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[162] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.' 539

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.** [595 592]

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing 527
bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are 231
kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing.

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain [362] ● animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better [N4] than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion.

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

be wise to pass remarks them or ask any questions, so 825
I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527
appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753
about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262
for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 527] cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A 262 little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water 278 cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toikchunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. 539 It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the shavings left attached and depending from the top, and lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a seaside place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, 226
fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The 262
general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, [137]
which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook [227]
and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

[227]

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast 226
in the north was extremely interesting when trained 231
dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
● 262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

[136 252 262] (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inambe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* [262] The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni*.. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan hui koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lod- 117
ged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744]
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[24] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726 [251]

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [42]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [30]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ⅞ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 262

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis.* Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata.* (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [142] [302]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

291 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river 133
which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite [136]
resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the 574
mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There 609
was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were [062]
enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

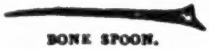
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown
[325] to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made
of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or
411 iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their
197 knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades
are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles
which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got
by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

40 Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no
machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is
but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application
of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no
way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps,
no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they
any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual
power which they have imagined and made for themselves.
Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical
[199] means of economising labour which are employed by their
neighbours the Japanese.

181 The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to
preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their
habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way.
Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral
attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude
practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to
their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve
customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which
habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

343 Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 825 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

342 HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, [778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

● 262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
[171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*ukto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands. 576

the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukekashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata and Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water calthrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely. 262

Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petasites Japonicus* (*Koroko-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Ukuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam hetkinat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and
[554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Renmuikesh says that

765 184 [291] [302]

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscend- 512
ing shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1; [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
22 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[262] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[237] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Jap-
[439] anese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

in August (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17) or early September (SANO, 1950, p. 16) and ending around October (HANDA, 1933, p. 16; ŌNO, 1933, p. 17). After entering rivers, cherry salmon continue their runs feeding and growing until they become full spawners, so that they go scattering into all tributaries, large and small (IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13) and spawn in the upper reaches (ŌNO, 1933, p. 17; SANO, 1950, p. 16) or uppermost reaches of the streams (HANDA, 1933, p. 16). There is no running up into the glens in the upper reaches of the rivers until breeding begins (oral information from the Chitose Branch, Hokkaido Salmon Hatchery, 1957). For the spawning behaviour of cherry salmon, which resembles that of O. keta (SANO, 1950, p. 19), see description in Note 28. 136

(27) The importance of the dog salmon as food for the Ainu may be illustrated by a record of about 200 Ainus dying from starvation in Ishikari during the winter of 1725 and the following spring after disastrously short salmon runs in the river Ishikari during the autumn (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 301 and Vol. 7, p. 56). Another record shows that in 1884 salmon runs in the middle course of the Tokapchi were so small that the Ainu in that area were on the verge of starvation in February of the following year (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 171 and 188). 262 136

(28) Concerning spawning behaviour, spawning-beds and spawning grounds. 136

The spawning behaviour of the dog salmon as described by SANO and NAGASAWA (1958, p. 12) may be summarized as follows. When salmon running in shoals reach favourable spots, they disperse to mate for spawning. The female digs out a cavity in the river bed, while its mate goes round on patrol to keep off any invading males, at times going some distance in driving them off. In about an hour the spawning cavity is ready, and the pair nestle down in it and emit spawn and milt. This over, the female covers up the spawn laid with some gravel from the river bed and finishes the whole work. The covering takes about two hours, during which time the male stays by the bed to protect it from digging by any other individual. Spawning, however, seldom completes in one place; soon after one spawning many individuals begin preparing for another. A second spawning, if any, is performed by the same pair of fish in a place not far from their first spawning-bed. When everything is over, the female stays about its bed, becoming gradually emaciated until finally it dies.

Observations in the Shiraoi indicate that the parent fish lie in hiding in bank-side deeps during the daytime and come out for spawning between nightfall and daybreak. Unless when running in large shoals or pressed for immediate spawning, they generally spawn by night, most actively near day-

1. [Errata: the word "seme" should read "same". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

A
172
173
323
192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
226 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
262 this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and
[361] in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
[439] to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
226
262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

/453 cont./

226 262 [133] island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and [526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal Source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection
[231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the
[171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) --and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113] 1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII,
[251] No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3); clearly indicates
177

A
[466]
[648]

3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi 226 231 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure, chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again principally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish; and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi 221 226 262 251 Gi 175 226 262 264 ooo

Gi
[113]
Gi

4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondô Juzo's *Sô Ezochi Go Yôgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sôrô Omomuki Moshiage Sôrô Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yûbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shû Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yûrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondô Seisai Zenshû* (Complete works of Kondô Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hôsei, *Hokkaidô Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidô Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirô, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidô Shakai Jigyô*, No. 37.

[27] Hiruka Kisei, *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-aeramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute
776 paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds
● 264 to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576
264

them by feasting on them. After that the other people had their turn.

264

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eating double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner.

[417]

A POTHOOK

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

771
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are
264 first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of
782 the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk.
771 There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass
782 through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
[576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 527] cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very 278 curious to learn that, although the meat and head of this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief.

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

579 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

985 The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 264 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos- [134] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 136 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the [968] custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

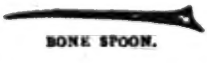
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders. 516 142 481

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved. 142

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk. 481

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed 481 492 516 264

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.
● 264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more
[177] civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu
513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

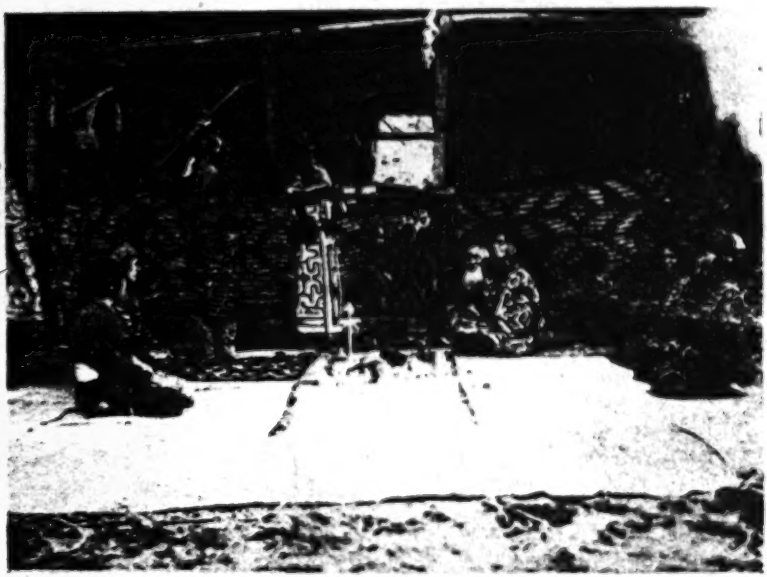


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eikapki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news
[203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and
[554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
● 264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-hote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264] [778] 765 184 [291] [302]

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But do not

let it be supposed for a moment that the Ainu are cannibals, for they are not so now, whatever they may have been in the past. Then the lady added, "Supposing a polygamist gets rid of any of his wives, ought he not to make them handsome presents, and should it not be by mutual consent?" I left the question unanswered. And so this case which the young lady quoted is but an echo of the Ainu past. I will add, however, before leaving this subject, that in the mind and reasoning of this lady there was a certain twist, for she said, "Surely it would have been better for that missionary, had a millstone been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea! For he caused a little one to stumble, did he not?" 117 [266]

It has been my great privilege to spend quite a long time among this peculiar and enigmatical people, and we have had a number of them educated. It has been a most interesting thing to watch how the old ideas of an uncivilized people come into contact with and then are partially abolished by modern thought. I am well acquainted with an Ainu woman who has been given a good Japanese education, who can play the organ nicely, and who has even been to England. For some time past she has been reading books on what is called "New Thought," of which, by the by, the present generation of Japanese are very fond. We have had much discussion on many points raised, for some of them are not in line with what is termed orthodox Christianity. She is a young lady who does not by any means always take things on trust and so we are at times unable to see eye to eye. One day after a long discussion she said to me; "Sir, I perceive that you are one of the *Genrō-in*" (i.e. Elder Statesmen). 178

I thought this rather strong. Nevertheless it is the spirit of the age. What a change! And to come as it did from an Ainu woman! It shows progress. However, I let it pass and at once replied: "Yes, yes, just so. Have it so if you wish. But remember this at all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

● 266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale is as follows.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to eat human beings as well. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh. But when the divine Aeoina descended from Heaven, he taught the people to make fish spears, bows and arrows, pots, pans and suchlike useful articles. He also ordered them to cook every kind of fish and flesh before eating it. He furthermore warned them against devouring human beings." If this be true, the Ainu were indeed a wild race when they first met the Japanese.

266
539

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yeso and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips. 231

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1] 114 [144] 127 [266]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised." 157 181 [266]

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there. 197 184

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

846 This private ceremony is called *Rere-ushiraye* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 783 Water is a great symbol of purification with them and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near, [766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could 682
not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia.

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were 681
applied as punishments on occasion. Thus,

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a sus- 681
pected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit 272 ●
down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there 273
till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for 105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and 554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev- 565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan* [557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the 105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and 622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet [273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 622 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families [627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a 105 nation because their economy never developed to the 64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire. from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. 000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Goku* 2: 4.

A F *648 *175 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. A F *648 *175 622 In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

489 [431] In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[28] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A [293] Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A F [796] A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[29] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

[28] *Aimu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[29] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.* A [302]

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [273] [276] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 431

A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221]

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A [865] A [273] A [178]

Feudal Japan AB2

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[20]
[203]
[276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[821]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

[P. 57(A)]

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *C48 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *C48 *175 465 ● 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

1:Takakura3 H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB8

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [203] [434]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

	Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A.	3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B.	4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
		15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
		(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
		(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

A [436]

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

[P. 62 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia. 687

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were applied as punishments on occasion. Thus, 681

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a suspected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky. 681 272 273

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [188] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

● [273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
[576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point. 342 273

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival! 731 342 273

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke! 117 273

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

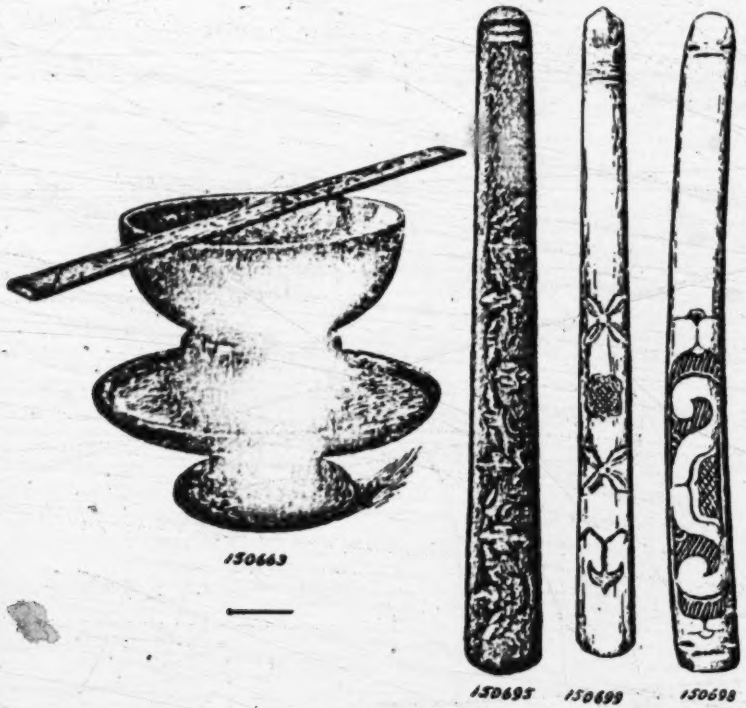
SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos,
413 as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276 531]

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

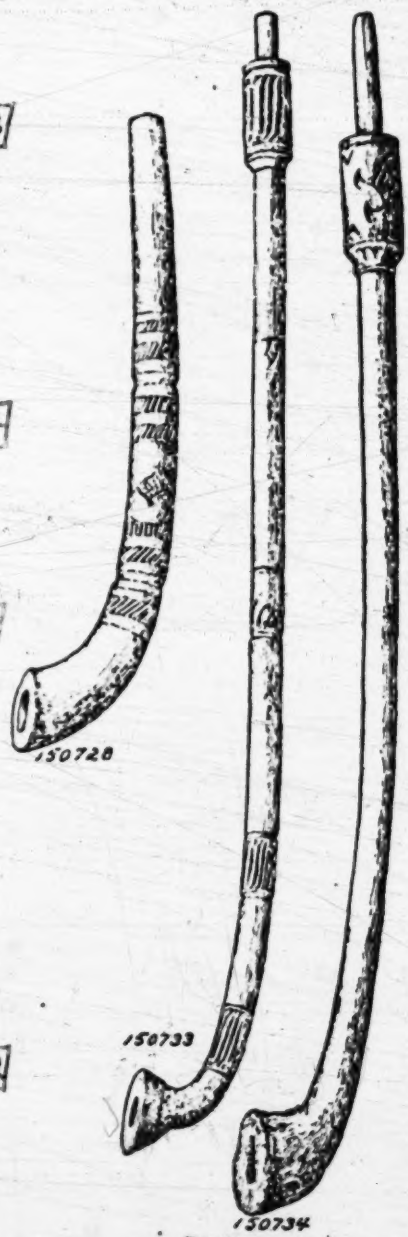


Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 276 782

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

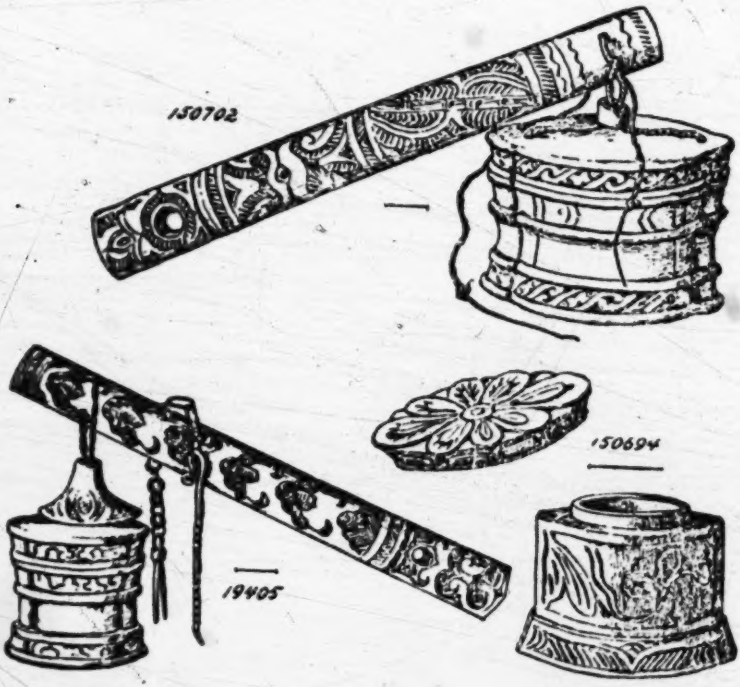


Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yèzo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut. 361 133 [343]

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut. 579 123 273

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink." [413]

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like 342 622

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 273 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
273 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[782] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
[273] the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[292] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this 293 inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting [576] or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A [177] Japanese towel often takes the place of the [531] native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are 291 made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to 184 be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn 301 than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all [273] things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

2

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARRA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

582 out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one [602] another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

831 The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for 853 children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children 844 till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn 842 fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

165 There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe 847 exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The [165] greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for [273] alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from [199] the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old 162 men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
342 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-à-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

535 273 574 769 [533]

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 769 574 273 887

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[782]

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ha cren, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders
[782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor,
[177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays
[178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 469

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [465]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG*: "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A [463]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

A F *648 *175 436 437

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kokiouki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Sesai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A82

F *648 797 *175 792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A F 797 *648 *175 776

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F [797] [792]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

A [279]

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F A [173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

A E *175 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426]

A E [43] [276]

E [171]

---

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [273] [276] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem marim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 431 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. A [273] There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[203]
[203]
[206]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[821]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 62 177 *175 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho.* To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho.* While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai.* It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [124] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *648 *175 [273] [206] At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

276
415

CHIEF PENRI'S FAVOURITE PIPE-HOLDER
AND TOBACCO-BOX

[P.142(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276 531]

Fig. 78.
Aino Tobacco Pipes.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 796 782

The sakó drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[441] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [415]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [291] 150688

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. [292] 150687

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [778] 150690

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [252] 150693

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150694

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking sakó, and for throwing drops of sakó as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. [413] 150695–150699

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [354] 150701

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150702

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for sakó. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. [441] [415] 150705

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 273 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.

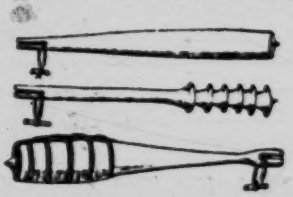
181
531
876
415

AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.

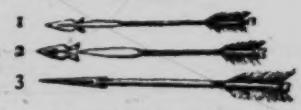


TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

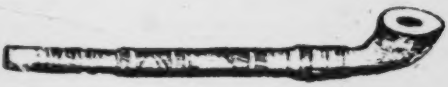


POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot
go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the
Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent
animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other
savages have done; but of course superstition may have
something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the
Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are
supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The
Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard;
but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the
great race of human development.

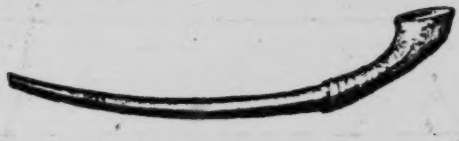
276
531



AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spectators there are none; but it is for the enjoyment of the dancers themselves. The men do not seem to take the slightest interest in the dancing, and apparently regard it as unmanly. They remain in the hut drinking while the girls enjoy themselves in this way outside, and should one of them by chance come out, he would stop and look on no more than men in civilised countries would stop and watch little children at play. On the other hand, on such occasions Ainu matrons squat in a semicircle not far from the dancers, and keep up a lament-like or sometimes quarrelsome conversation among themselves, and occasionally encourage the girls in their hopping, and suggesting *encores* of this figure or that, which, between one quarrel and another, has taken their fancy.



A WOODEN PIPE.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and
[554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

G SS 276 107 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for [321] his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-aeramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[23] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[208] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(7) 361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[24] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[23] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[24] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife 224
into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch!

I was always on the look-out for curios when among 441
the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow.

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times 224
on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up [278
spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track 411]
where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him.

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at 797
Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie 527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of ● 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief. A262 278

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toihckunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so
278 fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

M4 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and
784 made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

[p. 309]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 the roots should be dug up in the spring, peeled at once,
278 and then put in the sun to dry. When well dried, they were pulverised between two stones. Some tobacco leaves and, if possible, a capsicum should be soaked in water and the powdered roots moistened with the liquor. He also told me that a little fox's gall should be added if procurable, for this rendered the poison very efficacious. But I have a suspicion that the gall was added through superstition, the fox being regarded as a particularly able creature. When made, it was put again in the sun to dry and then stowed away, wrapped up in a leaf and a few fetishes, till needed. When wanted for use, it was again pounded and made soft, and sometimes mashed spiders or some part of the water scorpion added. The poisonous part of the "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (*Arisæma*) was also used in its manufacture. Some of the men buried it in the ground for a few days, for this was said to add strength to it.

When a person wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If right, it was said to produce a peculiar sense of tingling first and then numbness. If too much was taken, it caused drunkenness and sleep. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it was said to be unnecessary. Others tested it by placing a little between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. It here caused a burning sensation. If the poison touched the lips, the skin very soon peeled off, I was told.

When applied to the arrows, a person first dipped the arrow-head (which was generally made of bamboo) into pine tree gum; he then carefully stuck the poison into the proper place and pressed it well home with his thumb. When this had been done, he once more dipped the arrow-head into the gum, then tied a leaf round it for protection and placed it in his quiver.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 539 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kerep-Turuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison, and went and found deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not 539 278 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he re-
turned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my dis- 753
trict, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." "How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *eremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

make a poison which they called *Chikoptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *ramat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side. 441

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; 224 hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If 441 the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people 278 as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a 441 single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation. [387]

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs [224] at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278
411

the form of hard lumps.

224

226
[42]

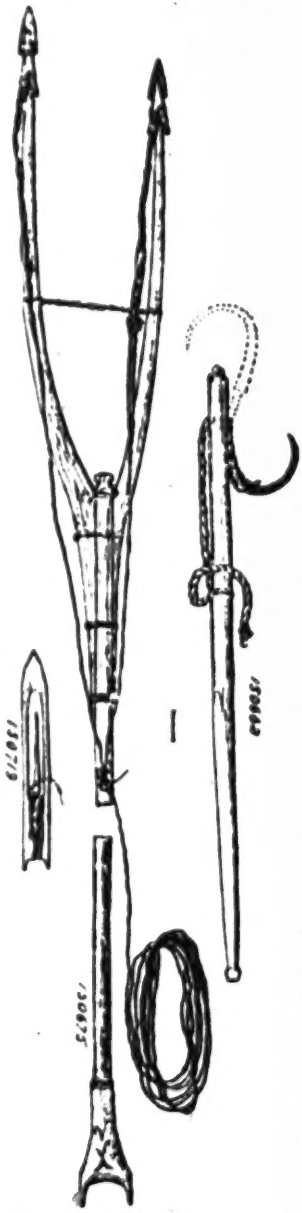


Fig. 85.

STEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[241] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau horashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778
532

Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776]

A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776
778
123
532

The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

[278]
[791]
[755]
[795]
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [519]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 ● 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes 755 taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

/768 cont./

844 853 [292] [208] When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725 [281]

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [412]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [30]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ½ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150769.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 212

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis.* Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pakusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pakusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata.* (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus;* used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

291
177

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

291
[177]

[281]

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

[286]

[p. 245]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

285 been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is
386 produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

283 The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *okiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These [574] bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

576 The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Jap- [577] anese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. 226
Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along under the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready for a dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This 225
two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large 226
fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone 226
and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of [283]
the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage [248]
the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, [237]
or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them 184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely 301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese [177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142] [302] [304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in 291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, 229 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera*. Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [B2A] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

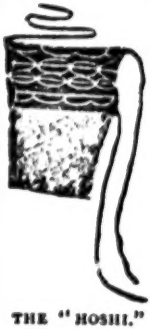
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [312]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, [611] Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). [283] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are [428] supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not [869] reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's [182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women [804] independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women [428] interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

/763 cont./

843 562 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 843 826 825 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 789 283 286 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails of the child might then get entangled like string. The same can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Saiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

285
417

MAKING A MAT

[P. 318 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

442
291
551
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

WEAVING.

As already stated, the Ainos use the bark of the *Ulmus montana*, 286
which they call *ohiyo*, sometimes also the bark of *U. campestris*, for the manufacture of cloth. The fiber is not disintegrated, as for spinning, but the bark is softened by soaking in water and working, when it is easily separated into thin, wide ribbons, and these are readily split into long, slender threads. These threads are tied together end to end, without twisting, and wound into balls. Such threads are used for both warp and woof.

The loom is simple, but well made. Fig. 82 represents an Aino

Fig. 82.
AINO WOMAN WEAVING.

woman engaged in making the *ohiyo* cloth. The weaver sits on the floor, passing the rope at the lower end around the body, and stretches the warp by leaning back against it. As the cloth is woven, it is rolled on the stick in the well-known manner.

Mats are woven in the same manner as in Japan. Plate CIV repre- 285
sents an Aino woman making a mat. The long binding-threads are weighted with stones at the end and thrown over the beam, alternately backward and forward, twisting the threads each time. Such mats, varying greatly in size, are in universal use among the Ainos. They are made of the rush known by the Japanese as *suge*, *Scirpus maritimus*. They are usually woven with brown and black squares, arranged in peculiar but regular patterns. The colored parts are made with dyed 285
bark, probably because the rush does not take color well. The bark of 386
Shina-no-ki (*Tilia cordata*) is usually employed for the colored portions, but I have also specimens of the *ohiyo* bark from Abashiri, which have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

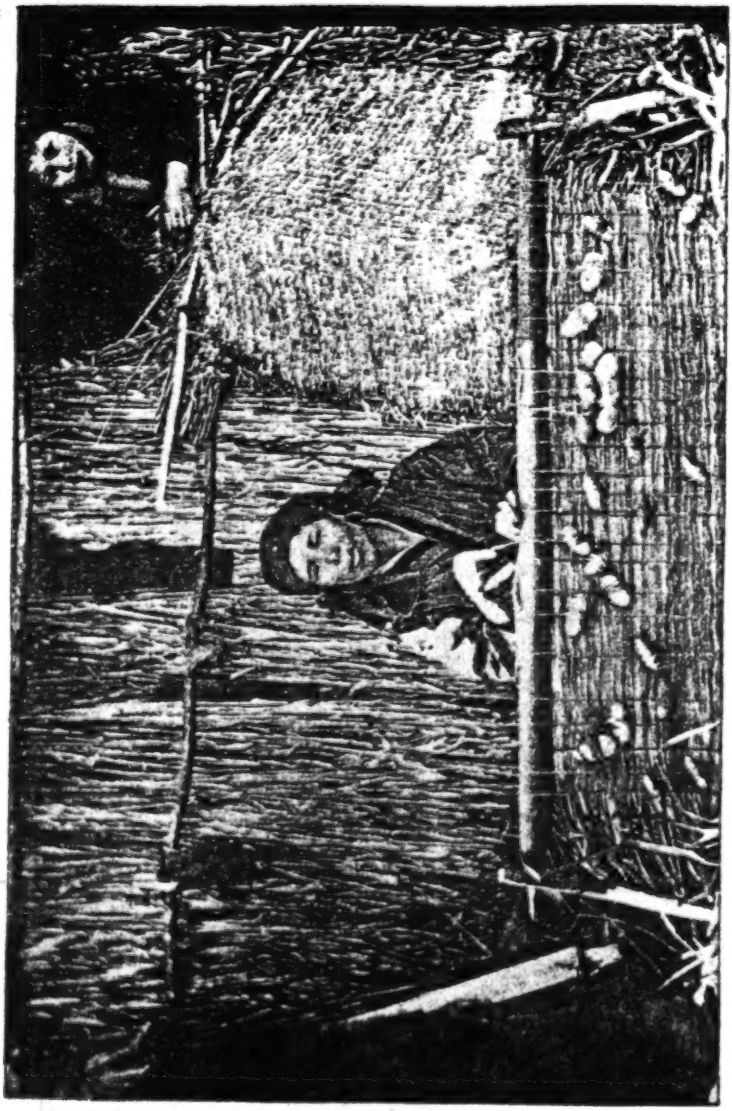
> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

285
291
14-2



AINO WOMAN MAKING A MAT.

[Facing p. 464 (A)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

342

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

574 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

●285 The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 264 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos-[136] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 136 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death [168] of its owner, or when abandoned ; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

221 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was pri- 262 marily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar- 119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkenki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237]
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

WEAVING.

As already stated, the Ainos use the bark of the *Ulmus montana*, 286
which they call *ohiyo*, sometimes also the bark of *U. campestris*, for the manufacture of cloth. The fiber is not disintegrated, as for spinning, but the bark is softened by soaking in water and working, when it is easily separated into thin, wide ribbons, and these are readily split into long, slender threads. These threads are tied together end to end, without twisting, and wound into balls. Such threads are used for both warp and woof.

The loom is simple, but well made. Fig. 82 represents an Aino

Fig. 82.
AINO WOMAN WEAVING.

woman engaged in making the *ohiyo* cloth. The weaver sits on the floor, passing the rope at the lower end around the body, and stretches the warp by leaning back against it. As the cloth is woven, it is rolled on the stick in the well-known manner.

Mats are woven in the same manner as in Japan. Plate CIV repre- 285
sents an Aino woman making a mat. The long binding-threads are weighted with stones at the end and thrown over the beam, alternately backward and forward, twisting the threads each time. Such mats, varying greatly in size, are in universal use among the Ainos. They are made of the rush known by the Japanese as *suge*, *Scirpus maritimus*. They are usually woven with brown and black squares, arranged in peculiar but regular patterns. The colored parts are made with dyed 285
bark, probably because the rush does not take color well. The bark of 286
Shina no-ki (*Tilia cordata*) is usually employed for the colored portions, but I have also specimens of the *ohiyo* bark from Abashiri, which have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[441] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786 [341]

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150788

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plate.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416 [445]

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodata. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745 [342]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

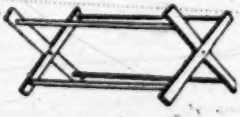
When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera.* Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [824] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
177

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

291
[177]
[281]
[286]

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

[p. 245]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1]
174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu
[192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
[286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
807 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
789 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
083 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
086 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

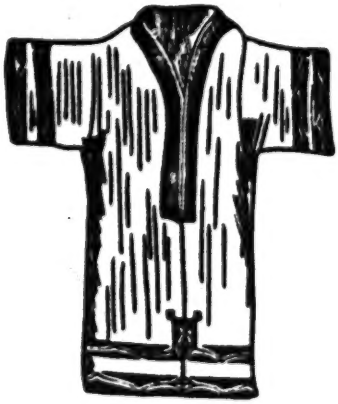
226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING

The chief article of clothing worn by the Ainu from 291
ancient times was a coat made of elm bark fibre reaching nearly down to the ankles, and called *attush*. This was kept in place by a girdle made of the same material. The belt used by the Saghalien Ainu, how- [293]
ever, was often of leather and ornamented with brass rings obtained from Manchuria. The coats were very coarse and somewhat brittle when dry, but very strong when wet. The finer kind, however, was made of nettle bast.



ELM FIBRE COAT

The bark was peeled off the elms in the early 287
spring or just before the winter set in. As a defence against bears, the men and women went in companies

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

287 into the mountains to get the bark, and when enough had been taken they carried it home and put it to soak in warm water. After about a week or ten days, the stuff had become quite soft and the women then separated the inner layers from the outer. The whole was then divided into threads and wound up into balls for weaving or for manufacturing into sewing thread. Thread manufacture was quite a simple affair, for it was done by chewing it with the teeth. Many an evening hour have I sat and watched, in a dim light, Mrs. Penri patiently chewing the fibre into thread. To see her jaws working incessantly up and down, up and down, as she chewed and chewed and chewed again, was to me as pleasing and comely a sight as watching people "chewing gum" today! Some of the garments I saw were much darker in colour than [386] others. This was because they were dyed. The dyeing was done by steeping in a warm decoction of oak or alder bark, and in some cases by putting them to soak in marshy places. This gave them a dirty reddish colour and they were then called *kunnep*, which means "black things."

291 The women and girls wore, under their outer garments, smocks made of soft Japanese material, reaching down to the knees. This was called *mourn*, i.e. "soft raiment." The men wore no shirts.

During the winter months all dressed in the skins of such animals as dogs, deer, foxes, badgers, bears, otters, martens, seals and birds. They were often sewn on a background of the fibre garments mentioned above, or on Japanese material.

During the summertime all wore leggings made of sedge or bark. This was in order to protect them from flies and other insects. Those worn in the winter were made of skin. For foot-gear they were in mild weather sandals made of bark and vines, and shoes made from the skins of salmons. These were good for walking on the ice, as they were very rough. Straw

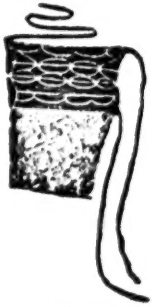
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (*cf.* Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food 262 themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 29 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques ● [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabokiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanbi* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. 144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

22 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in 184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear [241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts [231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. 262 However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1] 291 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles [286] from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques [288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] [177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *ŌDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, [291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

[P.14(A)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[291] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB 3

A
E
*648
*175
439
[184]
[291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A
E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

---

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

[P. 38(B)]

A F *68 *175 185

treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

A F [439]

However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

A [591]

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

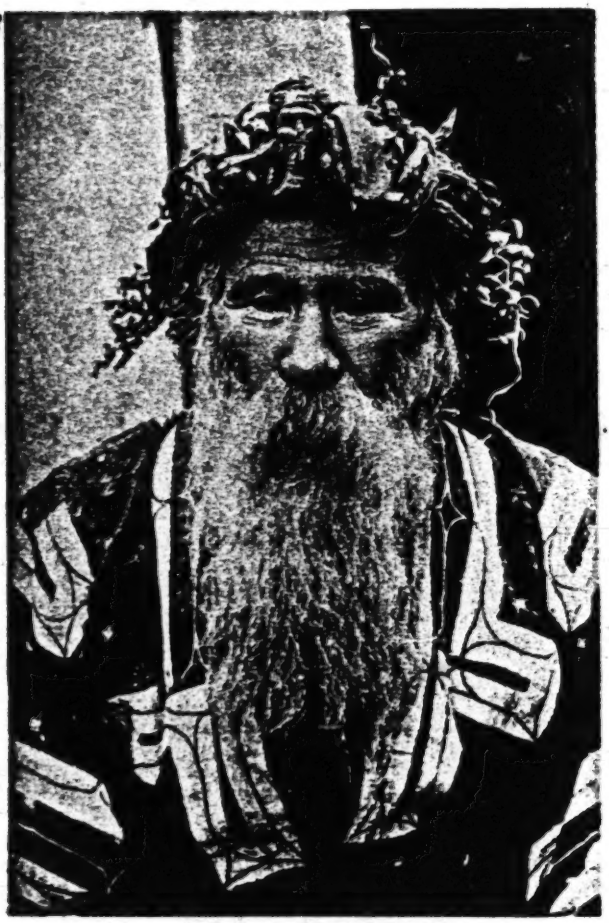
[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

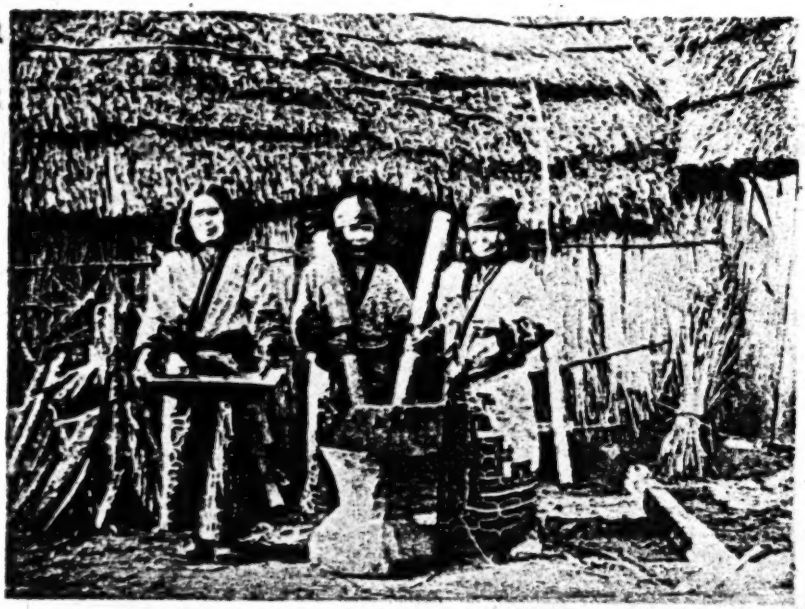
[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
291



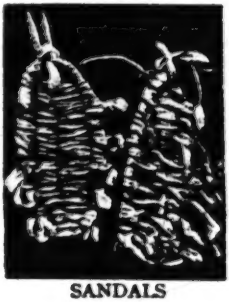
WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302

WINTER CLOTHING

SALMON-SKIN SHOES

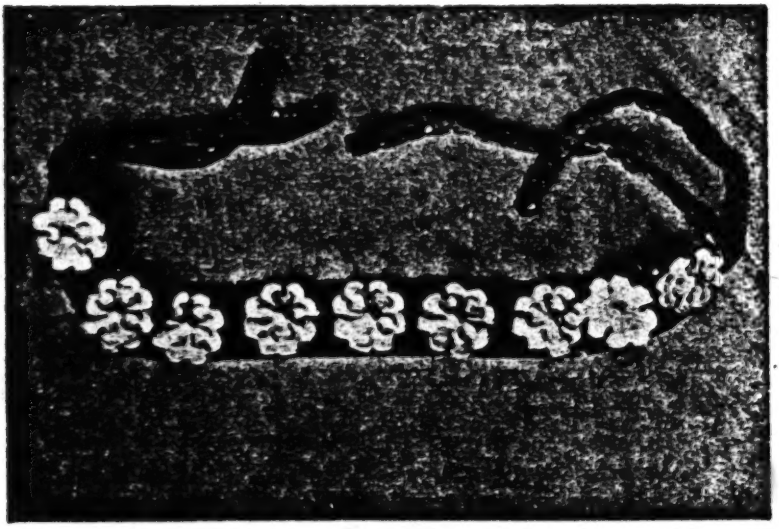


SANDALS

[P. 52 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

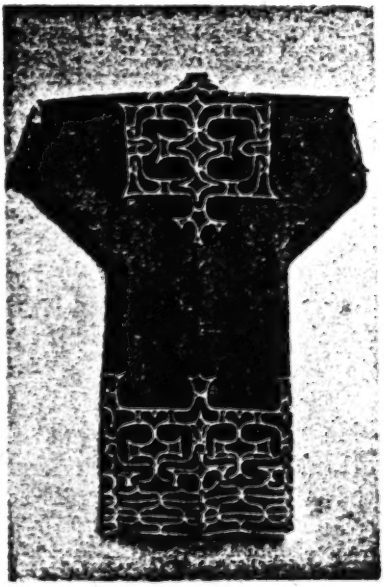
301



A GIRL'S NECKLACE MADE OF MELTED LEAD

●291

A MAN'S COAT



A WOMAN'S COAT

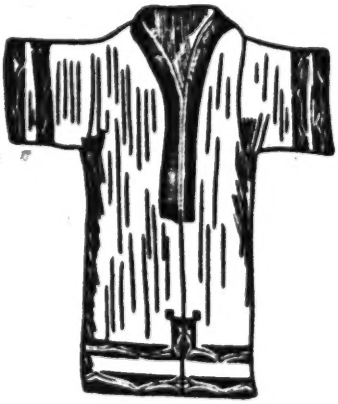
[P. 54 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING

The chief article of clothing worn by the Ainu from 291
ancient times was a coat made of elm bark fibre reaching nearly down to the ankles, and called *attush*. This was kept in place by a girdle made of the same material. The belt used by the Saghalien Ainu, how- [293]
ever, was often of leather and ornamented with brass rings obtained from Manchuria. The coats were very coarse and somewhat brittle when dry, but very strong when wet. The finer kind, however, was made of nettle bast.



ELM FIBRE COAT

The bark was peeled off the elms in the early 287
spring or just before the winter set in. As a defence against bears, the men and women went in companies

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

287 into the mountains to get the bark, and when enough had been taken they carried it home and put it to soak in warm water. After about a week or ten days, the stuff had become quite soft and the women then separated the inner layers from the outer. The whole was then divided into threads and wound up into balls for weaving or for manufacturing into sewing thread. Thread manufacture was quite a simple affair, for it was done by chewing it with the teeth. Many an evening hour have I sat and watched, in a dim light, Mrs. Penri patiently chewing the fibre into thread. To see her jaws working incessantly up and down, up and down, as she chewed and chewed and chewed again, was to me as pleasing and comely a sight as watching people "chewing gum" today! Some of the garments I saw were much darker in colour than [386] others. This was because they were dyed. The dyeing was done by steeping in a warm decoction of oak or alder bark, and in some cases by putting them to soak in marshy places. This gave them a dirty reddish colour and they were then called *kunnep*, which means "black things."

● 291 The women and girls wore, under their outer garments, smocks made of soft Japanese material, reaching down to the knees. This was called *mourn*, i.e. "soft raiment." The men wore no shirts.

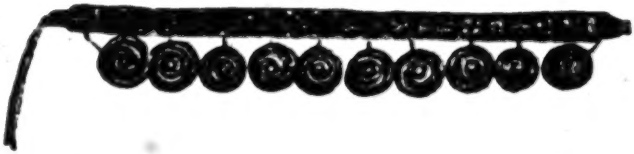
During the winter months all dressed in the skins of such animals as dogs, deer, foxes, badgers, bears, otters, martens, seals and birds. They were often sewn on a background of the fibre garments mentioned above, or on Japanese material.

During the summertime all wore leggings made of sedge or bark. This was in order to protect them from flies and other insects. Those worn in the winter were made of skin. For foot-gear they wore in mild weather sandals made of bark and vines, and shoes made from the skins of salmons. These were good for walking on the ice, as they were very rough. Straw

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

• 291

292



ELM BAST GARMENT AND LEATHER BELT ORNAMENTED WITH BRASS RINGS (WOMEN'S CLOTHING)
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 56(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291 warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292 a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888 their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589] The women were very proud of their fancy needle-work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294 The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

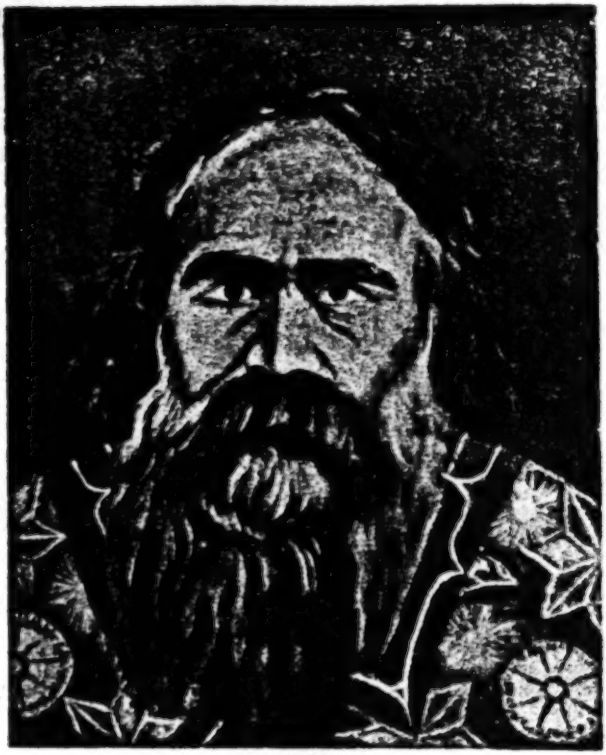
Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782 dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294 The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539 clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENKI

[p. 58(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

302
291
516

PARAPITA

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
142
291

OLD MRS. BRIGHT, CHIEF TENRIUS MOTHER-IN-LAW

[P. 116(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
●291
293
302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in today." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

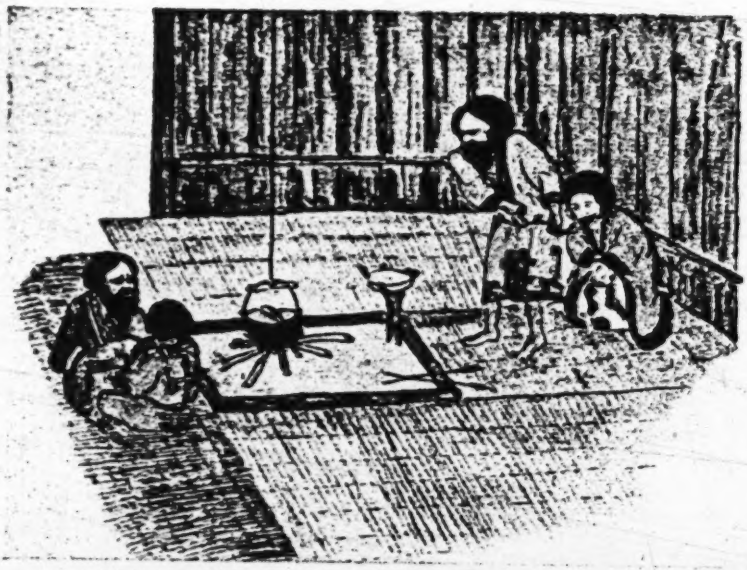
The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best garments. She then put her ear-rings into her ear-holes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the backyard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

[291 301]

"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the menfolk to come home.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

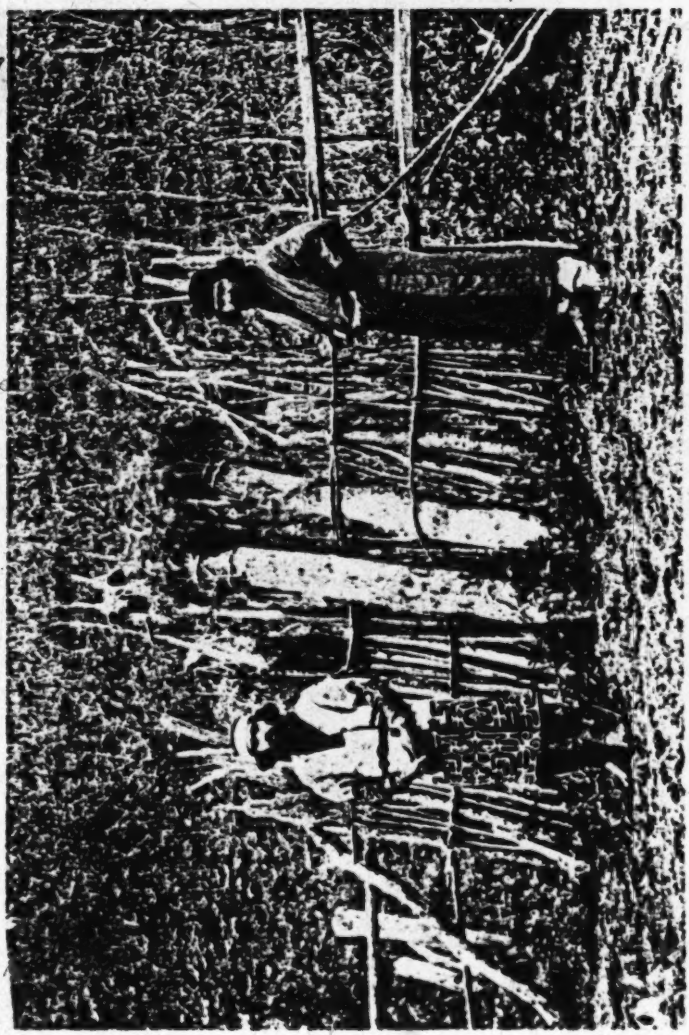
531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
527
231



BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

855
482
291

SAMARIA AND HER GRANDCHILD

[P.228]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291

AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

[p. 242(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so. 114 784

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu katu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them. 215 532 291 826

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur- 114

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
291
142

AINU TYPES OF YOUNG WOMEN

[P.248(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
685
417
●291

A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
●291
137

CHIEF PENRI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

[P. 304]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531

AINU EMBROIDERY. A MAN'S COAT

[P. 330 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

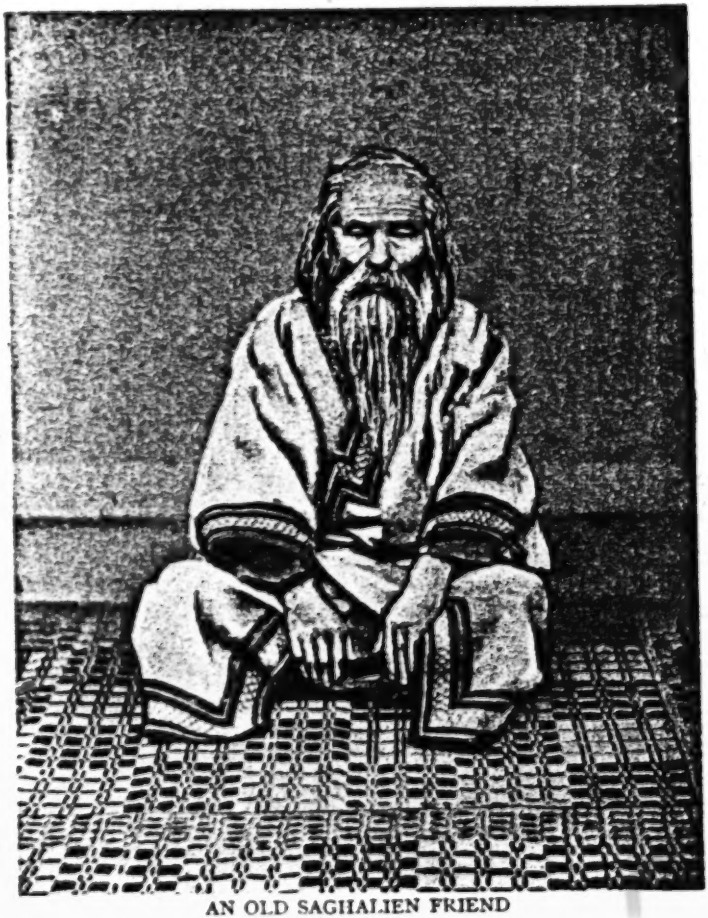
291
302
411

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

[p. 350]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
516
342



AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVIII

A LEGEND TELLING HOW A CRUEL, BAD-TEMPERED MAN WAS PUNISHED BY THE GODS

Thus runs this very remarkable Ainu legend.

"I was an orphan brought up in the house of my uncle. He had two wives. He was a very bad-tempered man and treated me with great cruelty. He even begrudged me my daily food and railed at me continually. So hard was he upon me that, being but a child, I used to weep long and bitterly. But my two aunts were very kind and often gave me food in secret. 539

"On a certain occasion I saw the aunts making new garments. One busied herself with sewing up six warm coats, well wadded with cotton, and the other worked away, making half a dozen pairs of fine fish-skin boots. One day, after they had finished their tasks and the night had fallen upon us, we all went to bed. During the night I was wakened by a walking noise, as of someone coming from my aunts' sleeping quarters. The one who had made the shoes approached quite close up to me and touched the lobe of one of my ears with her hand. She then put her mouth near my ear and whispered, saying, [291]

"'O child whom we have hitherto cared for and fed, I have something of importance to say to thee, so pay great attention to my words. Thy uncle is a very well-to-do man, and he is now about to brew *saké* as if for a festive entertainment on your behalf. When the *saké* is all ready, he intends to invite his friends to the feast. When they come, it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

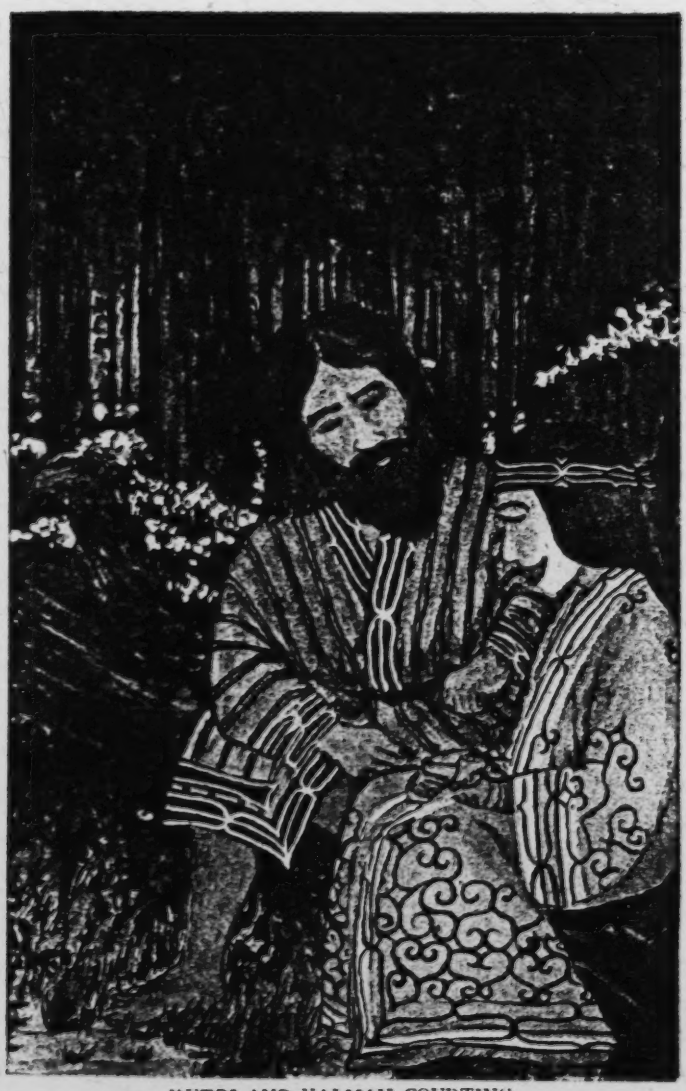
YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

KUTRĪ
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 436(A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
831
516
584



KUTRI AND YAI-MAII COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

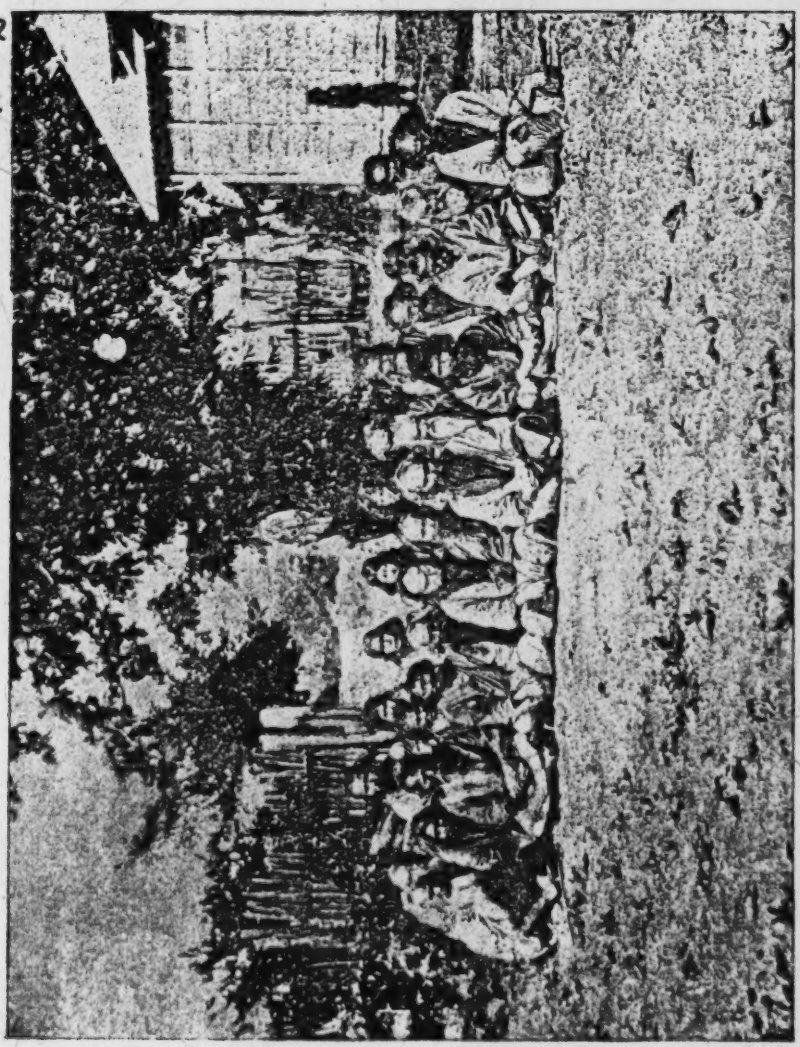
WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
516



TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

H2
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516

GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

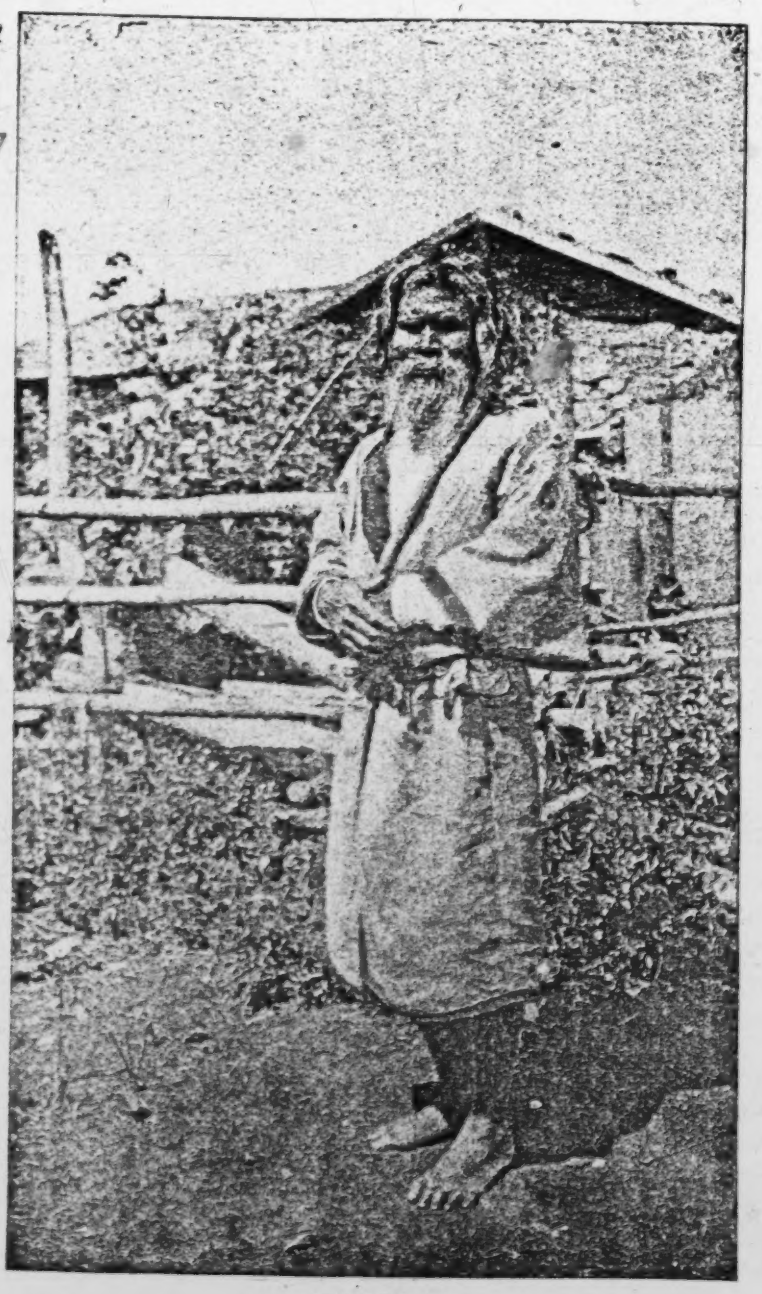
142
291
302
531

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417



AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

442
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

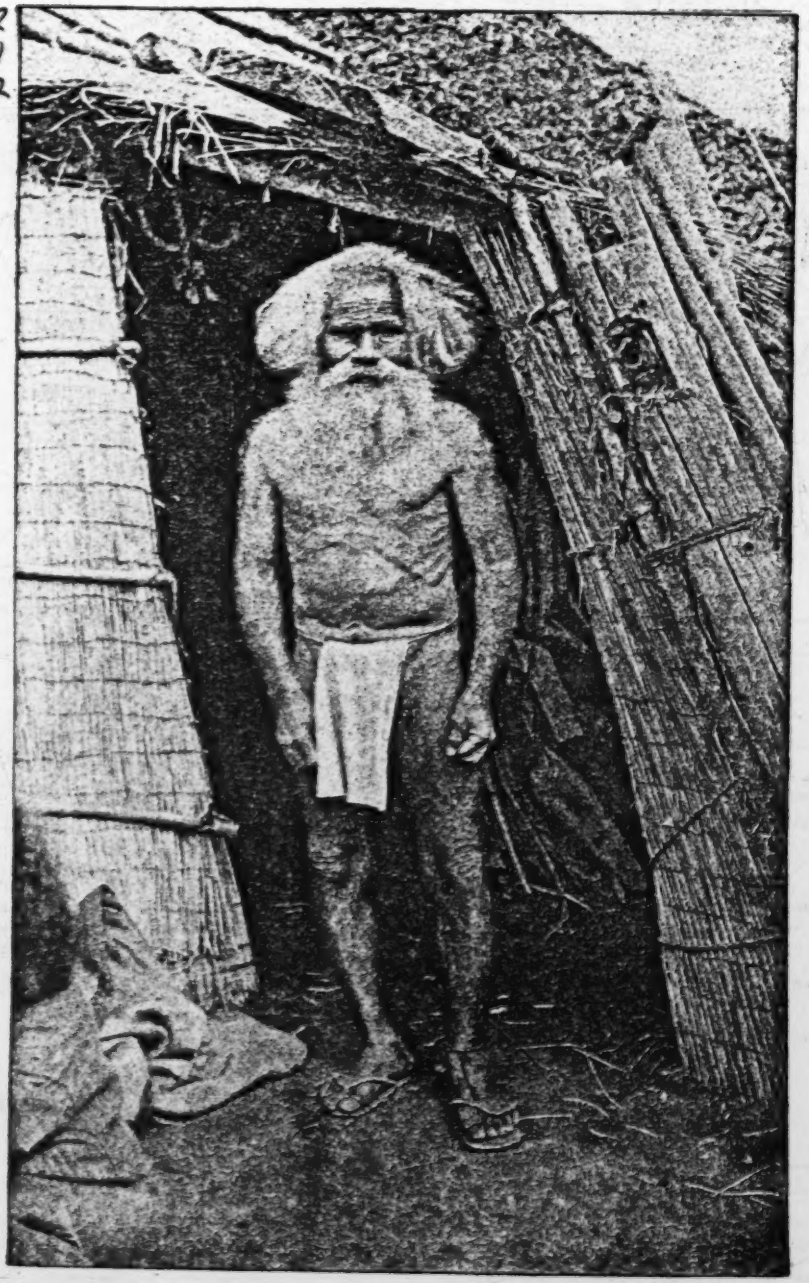
142
302
291
516

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Aina AB6

142
241
342



OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302

AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

442
291
551
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

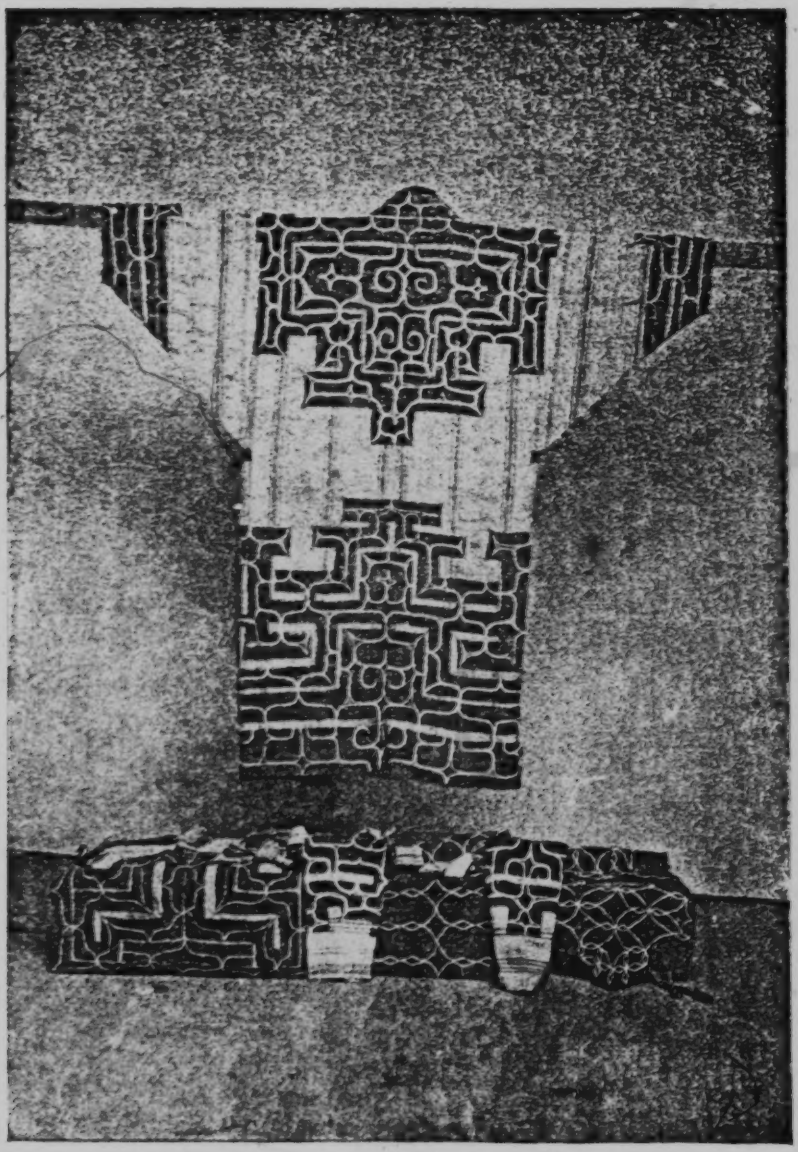
142
302
291
342

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531

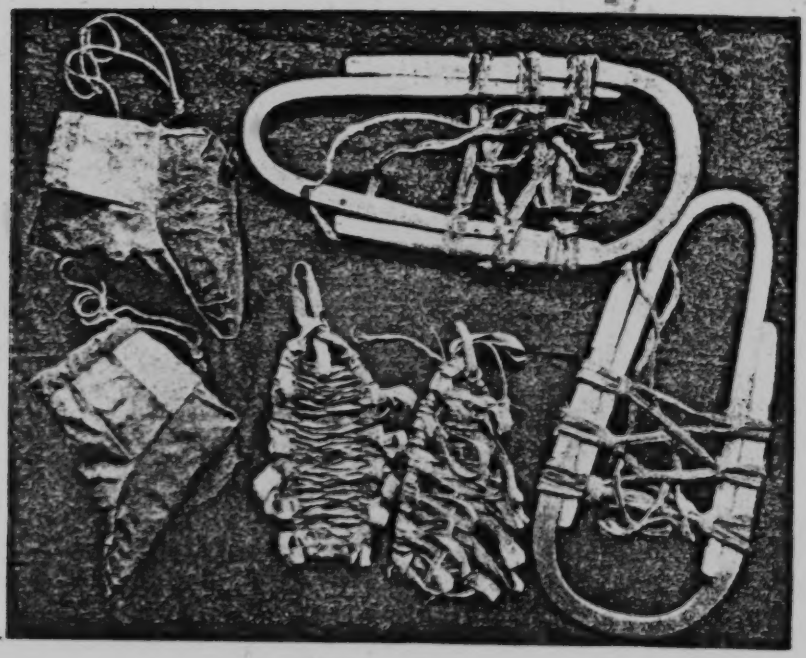


AINO CLOTHING.

[Facing p. 450 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481

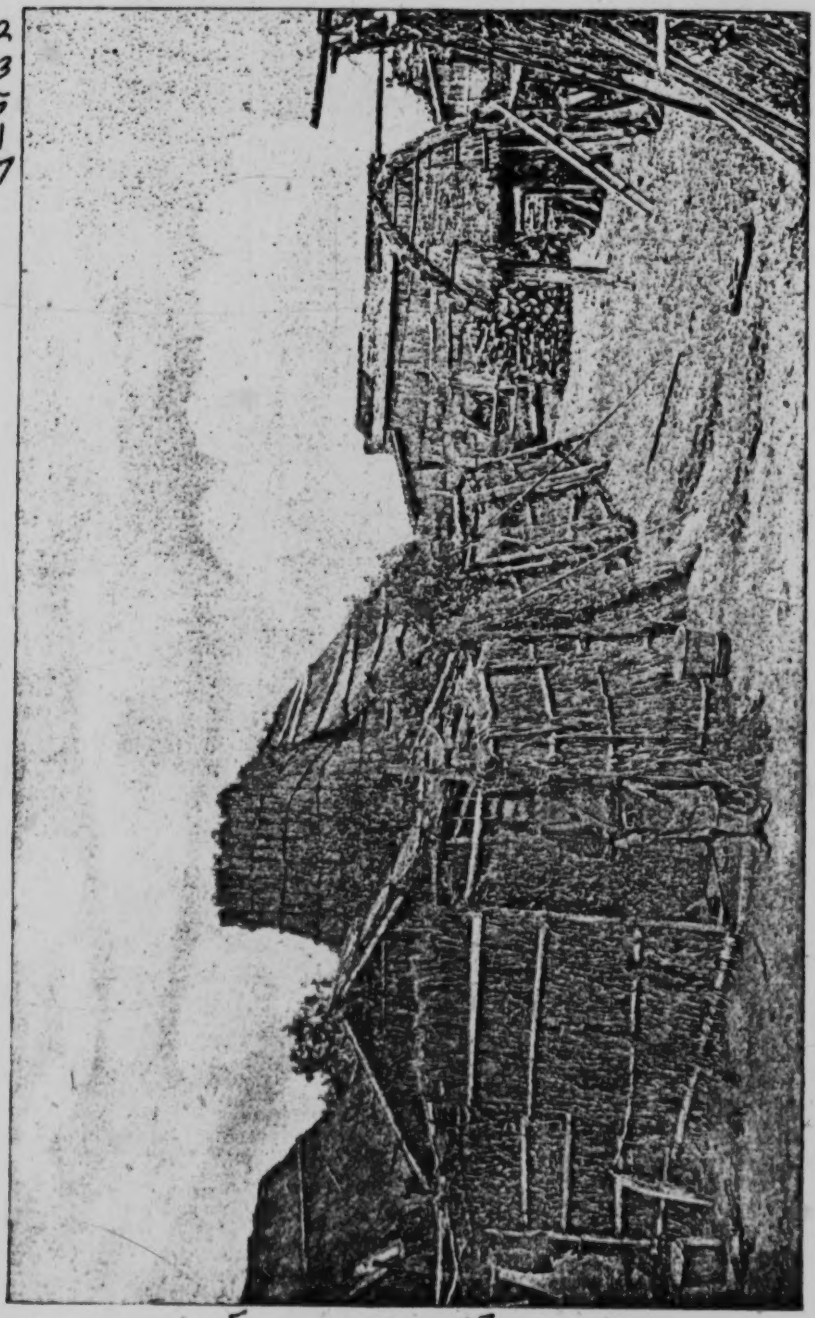


AINO SANDALS, SNOW-SHOES, AND FISH-SKIN SHOES.

[Facing p. 450 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417

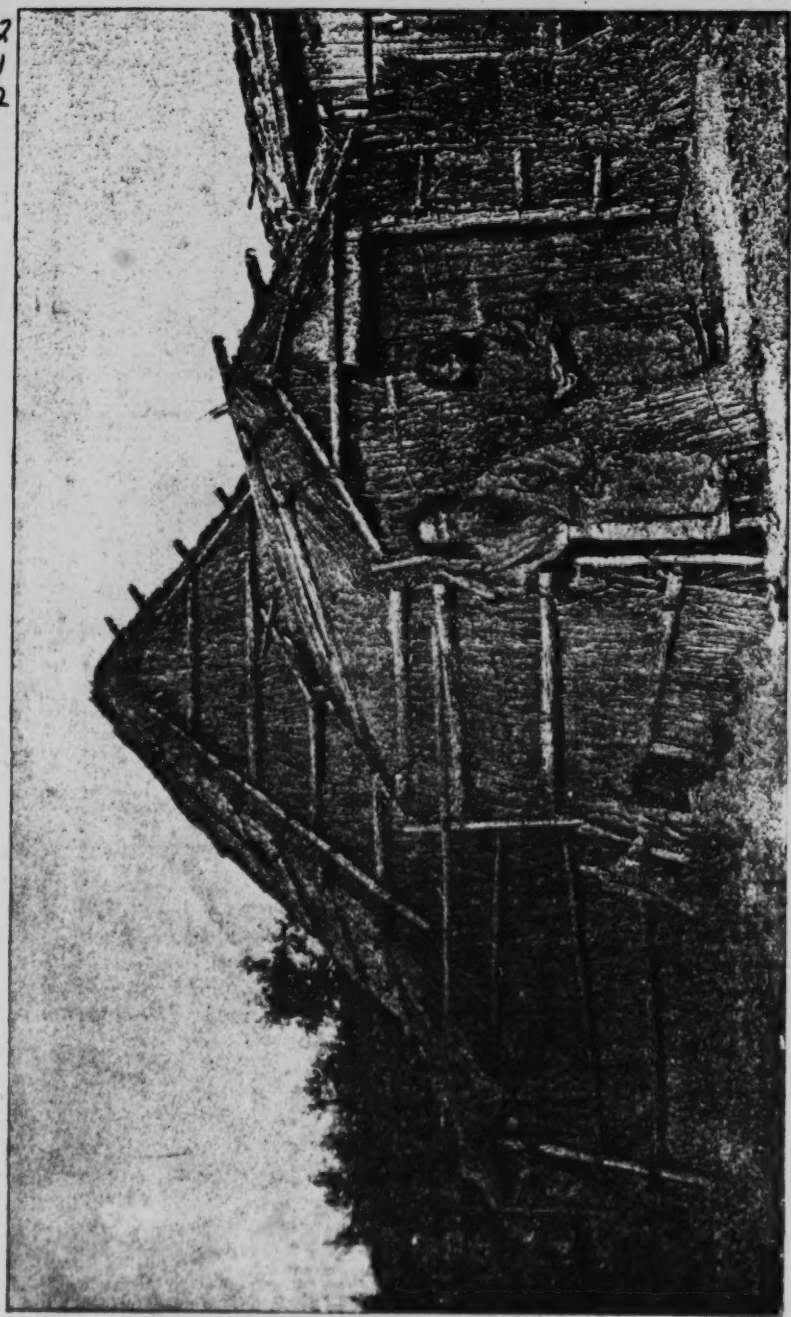


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
291
302



AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the *ohiyo*, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a run- [531]
ning design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

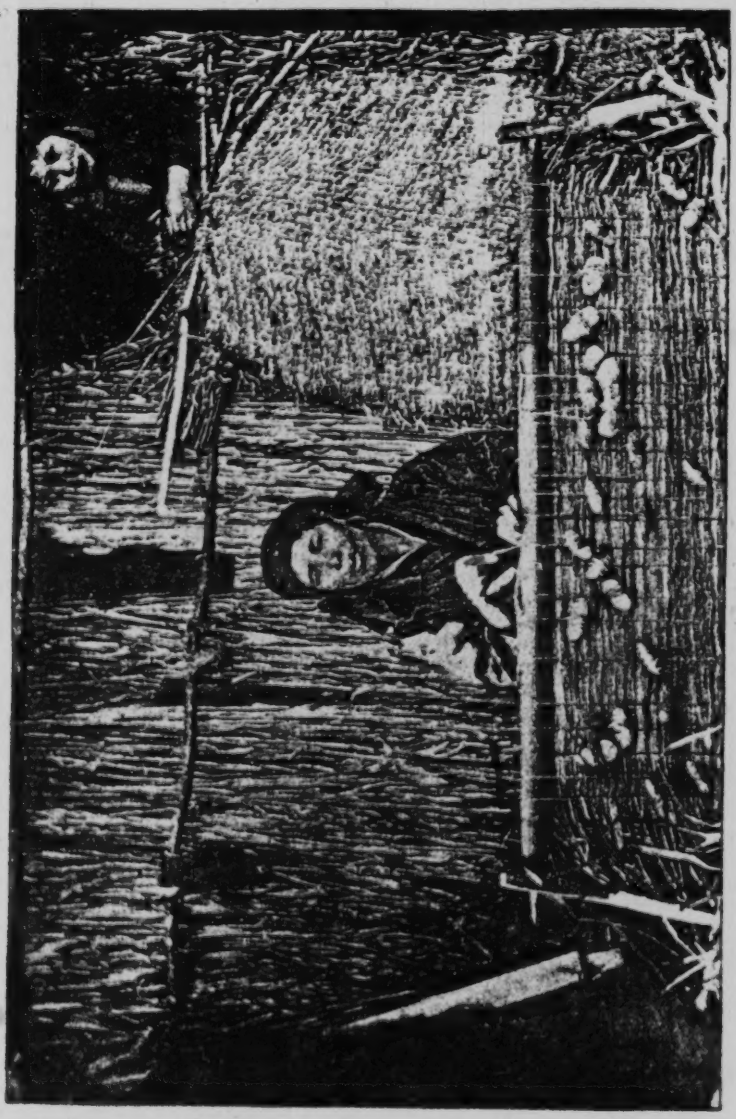
Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237]
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

285
291
142

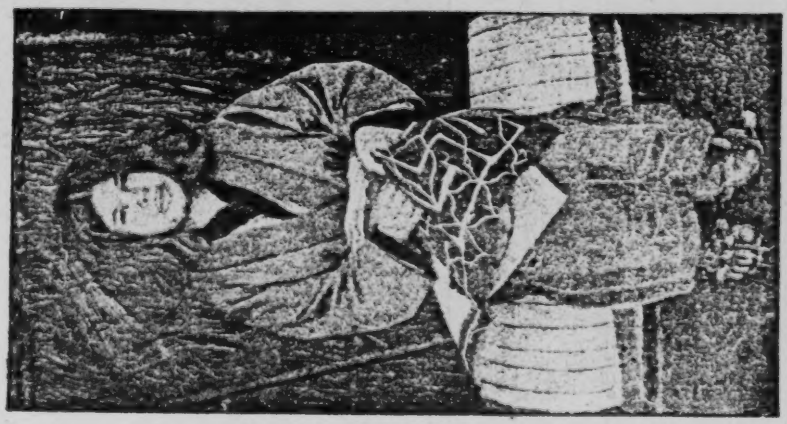


AINO WOMAN MAKING A MAT.

[Facing p. 464 (A)]

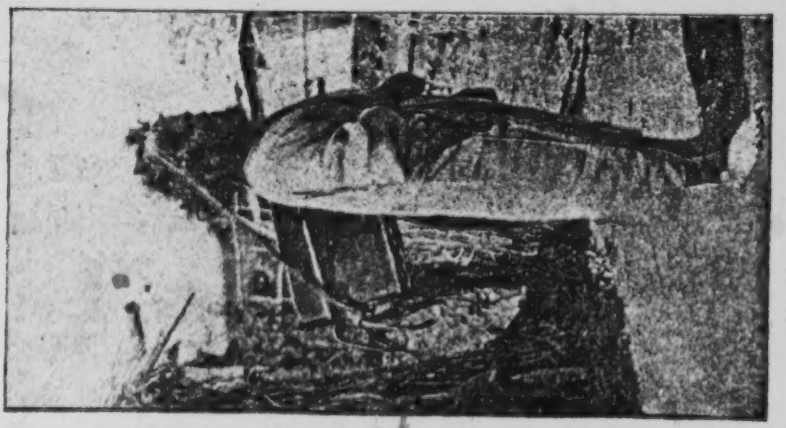
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

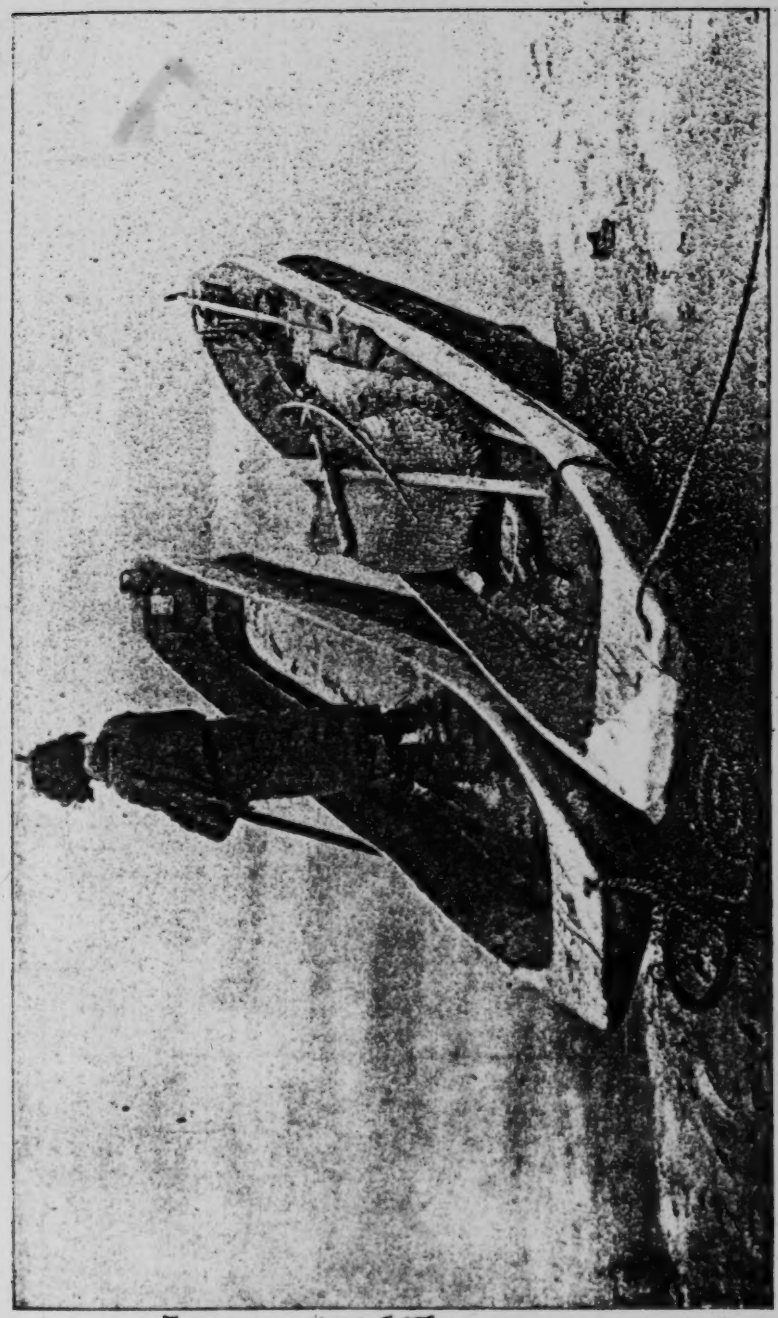
576
291
302

AINOS GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291

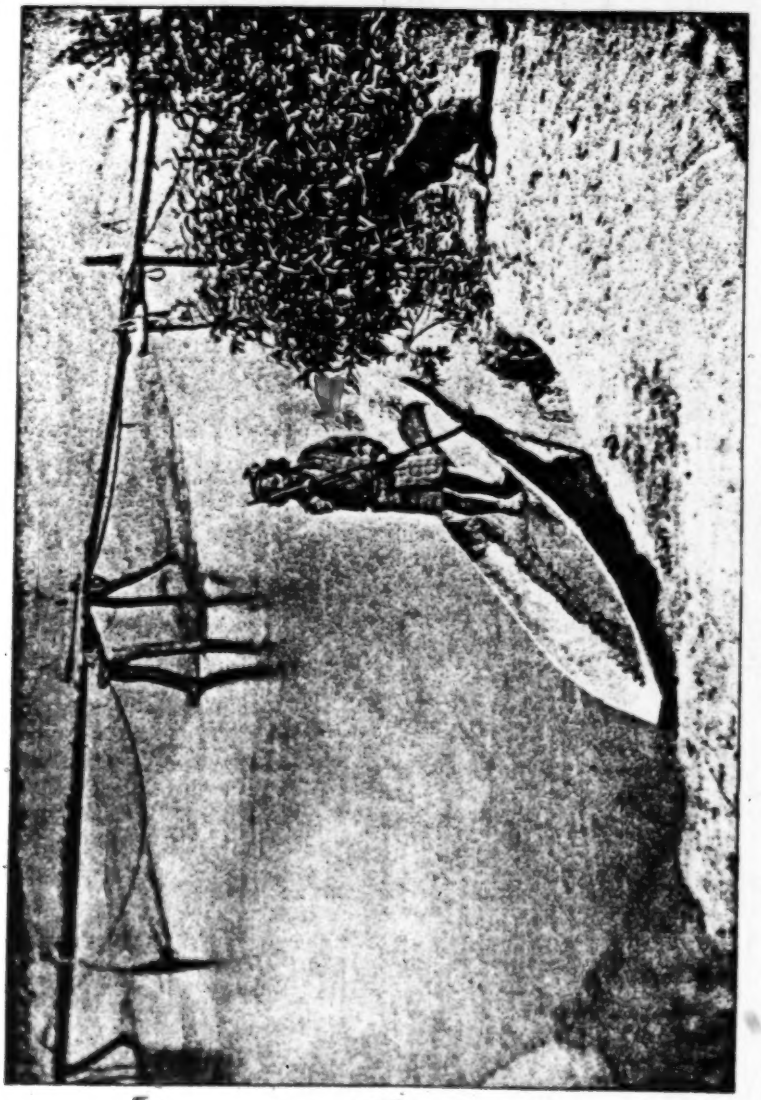


AINO RIVER BOATS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 472 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291
491



AINO RIVER BOAT, URAP.

[Facing p. 472(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROBYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukori. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645 126 291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 126 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[441] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashira, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

411 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Bat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

knives. They did not pay much attention to me, and this disregard of what would be to others a cause of curiosity and interruption I afterwards found to be a characteristic of the Ainu. They are seldom distracted from any particular idea that occupies their mind at a certain moment. In fact, they are so little accustomed to reflect at all, that it seems almost impossible for them to think of two things at the same time. Of all the existing races of mankind they may be said to be the most purely one-idea'd.

Stark naked, with their long hair streaming in the wind, they formed a picturesque group. What a chance for a sketch! I sat down on the sand, opened my paint-box, and dashed off a picture, when a young lad, who had taken his share of the fish, came over to see what I was doing. "What is it?" he asked me in broken Japanese, to which question I answered that I was painting the group of them. The news seemed to give him a shock. He rejoined the others, excitedly muttered some words, and apparently told them that I had painted the whole group, fish and all. Had anyone among them been struck by lightning, they could certainly not have looked more dismayed. I never knew until then that painting could have such an overpowering effect on people, except, perhaps, when one has sat to an amateur artist for one's own likeness, the result of which is often one of dumb and blank amazement. Anger and disgust naturally followed. The fish was thrown aside, but not the knives, armed with which they all rushed at my back. The sudden change of ideas had evidently made them exceedingly angry. The grumbling became very loud, and louder still when they saw me complacently giving the finishing touches to the fish, which was now left alone, and not as before shifted about every second. They grew wilder and wilder, until one of the crowd shouted in my ears some words which sounded remarkably like swearing. Nevertheless it takes more than that to stop me from sketching; but . . . "By Jove!" I exclaimed, when, all of a sudden, a rush was made on me. My paint-box, picture, palette and brushes were snatched out of my hands and smashed or flung away, and I found myself stretched on the sand, my late involuntary sitters holding me down fast by the legs and arms. A big knife was kept well over my head, so that I should not attempt

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

K61 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them 184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely 301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese [177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142] [302] [304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in 291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, 227 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

501 226

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

[241]

133

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few and migratory, and carried with them all their property when migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [342] 184 [192] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291

AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words.

[p. 121]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [142] [302]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist, with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

29 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

[192
291
302
136]

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
392

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, [361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about ●291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

ott ternal will. Kutambets is picturesquely situated in a large gully formed by a break in the red-tinted cliffs. From Kutambets to Moroi the track is slightly better, and from this to Ishikari it is quite easy. The latter river, a very large one, has to be crossed by a ferry, as the habitations are on the south banks of the stream.

291
192

ISHIKARI KRAFTU AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles. 361 167

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast. 000

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 142 184 [164] 304 291 177

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[P. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a wish that I should inspect the prisons. A splendid horse was sent to convey me thither, and two policemen helped me on my progress through the buildings, owing to my inability to walk more than a few yards at a time. It was a large walled enclosure, with houses for the officials and cells for the *akambos*, a jocular term, meaning "babies," which is applied to convicts, because they wear red clothes like children. The buildings were beautifully clean, but what astonished me most was that no precaution whatever was adopted to prevent convicts from escaping. The outside gates were all wide open; there were neither soldiers nor policemen at the gates, and, moreover, the *concierge* was himself a convict!

"But," said I, "do not many of these fellows escape?"

"Oh, no, not many. Last month only sixteen ran away," was the *insouciant* answer of my guide.

From Poronai-buts to Sappro there is a small railway, by which the coal trains are run to the coast as far as Otaru.

291
302

WOMAN OF ISHIKARI RIVER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

142
301
302
291

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481
142

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

467 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the
147 women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and
000 muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

[p. 236]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

BACK OF ATZIS.

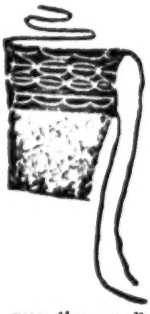
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [312]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARRA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [602] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration. 121

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing. 147 128 147

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered. [391] [197]

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long [142] [513]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

[147] hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

[515] The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. [151] Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The [091] weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147 [291]

rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad.

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red [142] hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone.

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular 151 scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations.

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observa- 125 tions had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

976
796
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
302
291

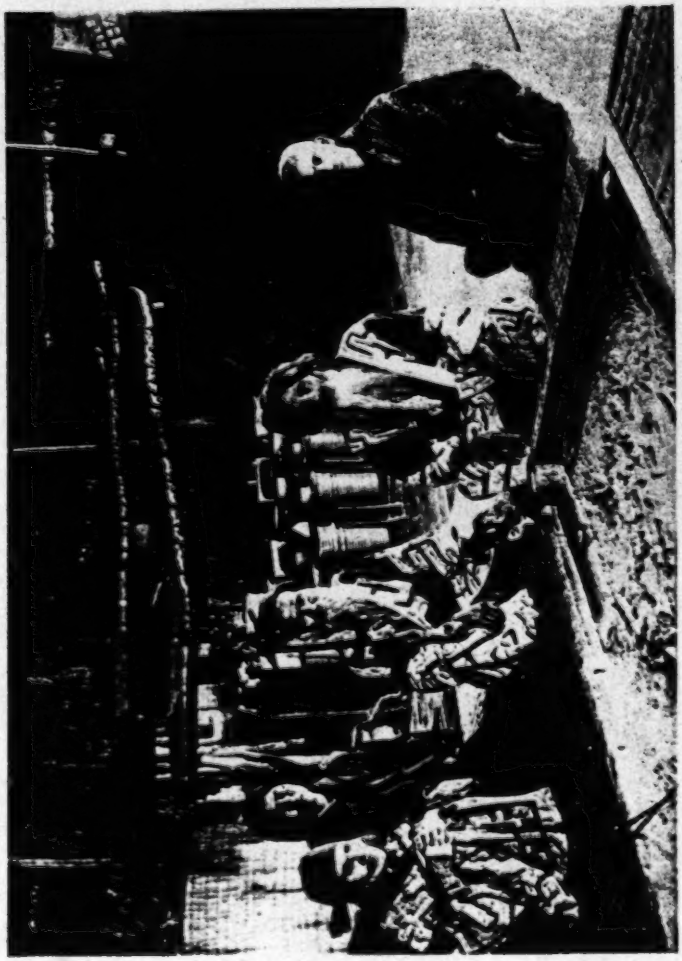


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

3.

4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *akaiki* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (d)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

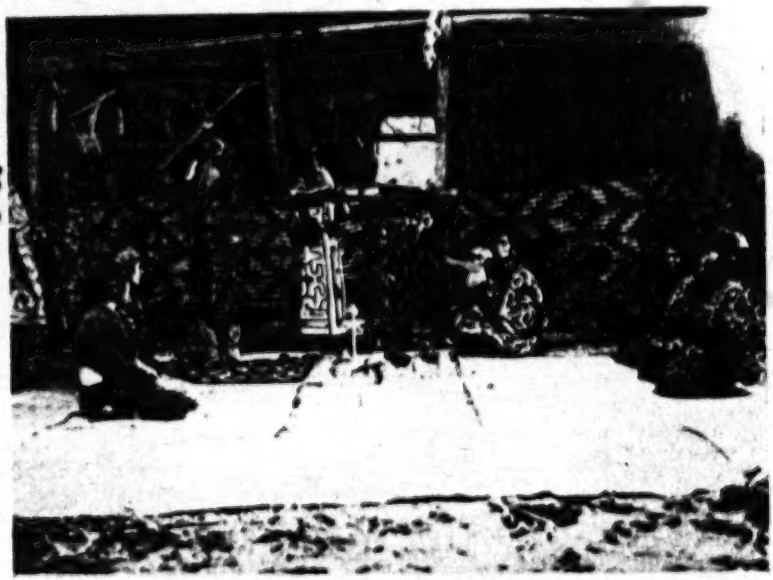


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-shoshi* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
●291
[531]

Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

755
1620
779

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (D)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

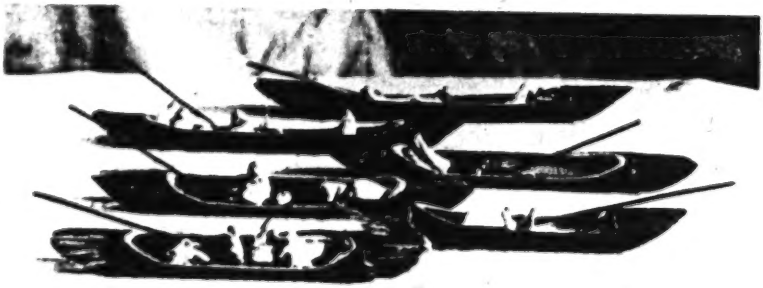
PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963

AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

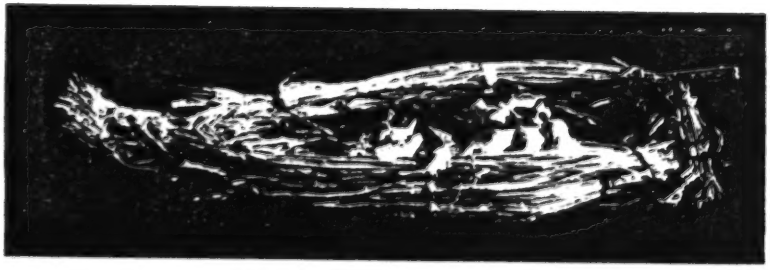


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

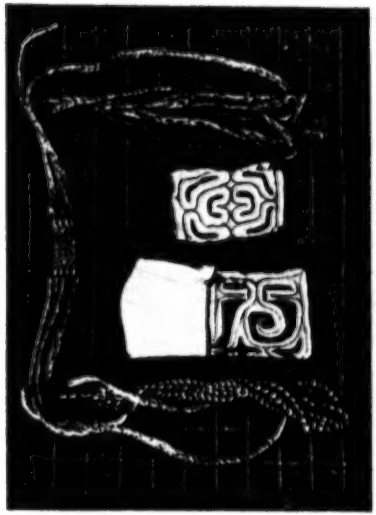
[p. 78 (G)]

764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

1.

2.



3.

4.

[p. 78, (H)]

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
535
●291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
304
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p. 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291 ●
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 764 291 [439]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764
291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore
[688] the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a
[531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made
[287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres
[177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur;
[531] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white.
[286] Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shionbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *et-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

765 *wenbe-otta maratto* (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fun!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two
• [291] up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since
[184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak [177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on
174

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
[493] worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
[390] from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
174 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

142
291
302

Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

Gi 291 294 177 415 /406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439]

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

A
291
191

/406 cont./

straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

A
[113]

2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

Gi
291
184

Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing. Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing

Gi
[226]
[224]
[433]
[114]

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.

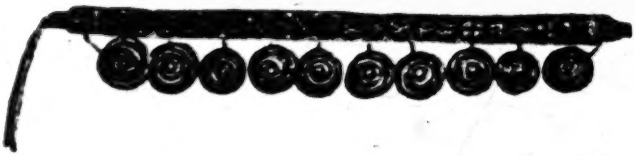
Gi
[481]

among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers. For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291

292



ELM BAST GARMENT AND LEATHER BELT ORNAMENTED WITH BRASS RINGS (WOMEN'S CLOTHING)
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 56(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

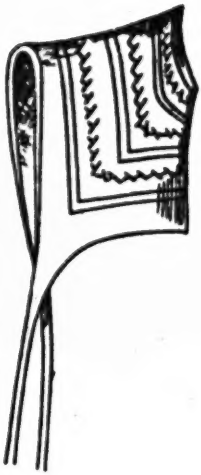
"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

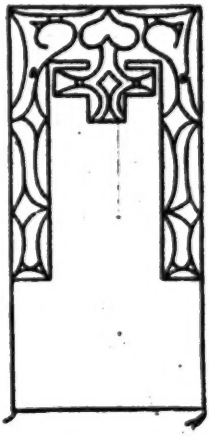
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go, poor unfortunates, and fell down into the depths below, where they were killed outright. It is therefore now well known that elm trees are peopled by demons."

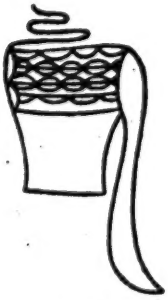
292
531



A HOOD



AN APRON



LEGGINGS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. '*Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292 778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to 796
be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar 796
head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on 292

Fig. 87.
CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there 796
was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral 796
shavings attached (Fig. 86). 778

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife—three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu—was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527
516

AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

527 123 576 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [292] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope. 527 534

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe. 535

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

[292]

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view." 527 526 [222]

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

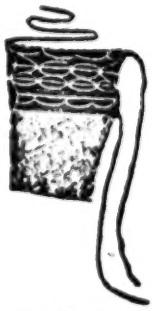
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [577] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 189 [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

14
292
177
302
142

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Sellgman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

3.

4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*reimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (d)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
[292] Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

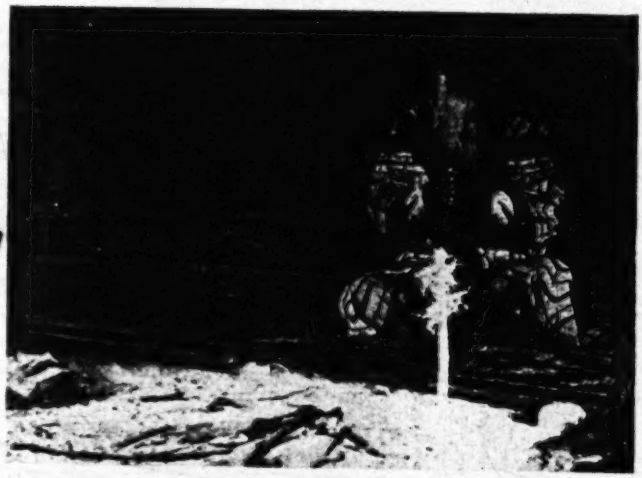
With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

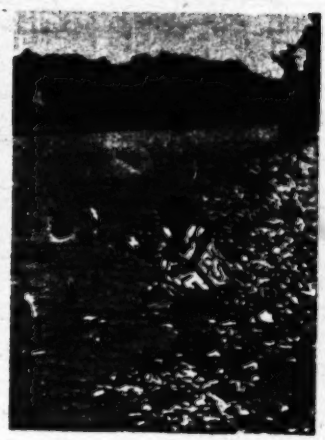


Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

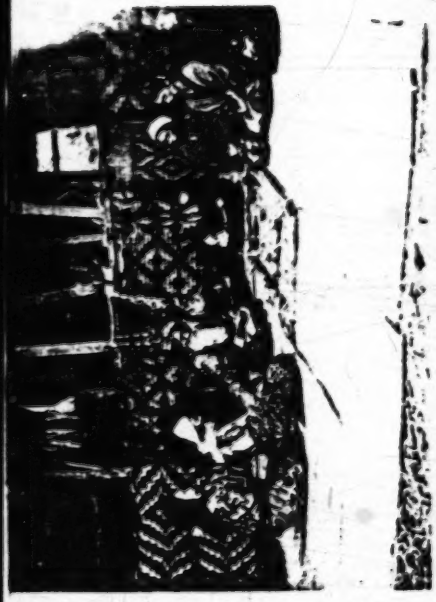
Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p 78 (c)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
755
778
←
756
755
292
531
516
→



756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

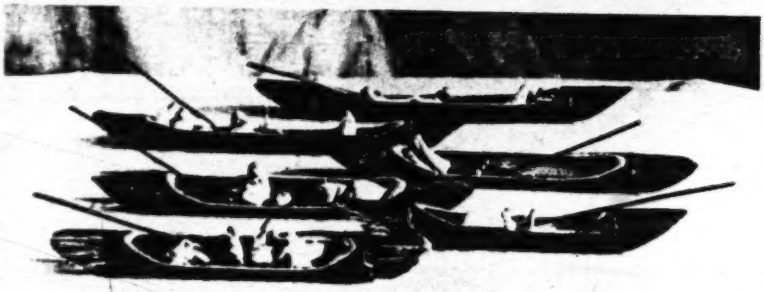
Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashuti Kamui at the *susa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

Fig. 1. [illegible]tment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

• 292
789

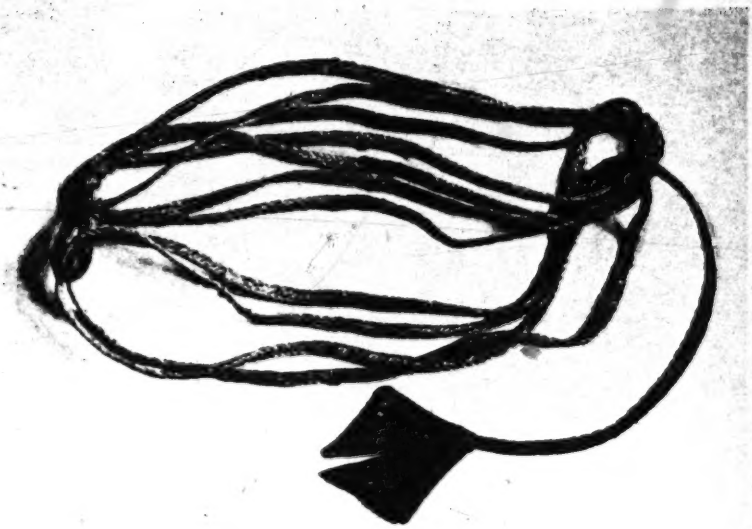


Fig. 1. *U'pshoro Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

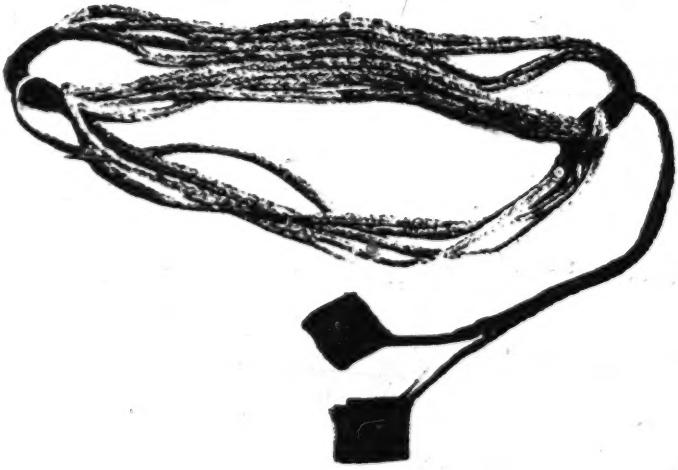


Fig. 2. *U'pshoro Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 •
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782]
with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537]
copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152]
and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy.
Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and
all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, [533]
how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced,
but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called
uko-noyoise, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting
in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775]
dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It
is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all
anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is
strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had
been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of
living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291]
shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past
may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attend-
ing to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister,
mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be
assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed [292]
to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without
which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. [775]
The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be
buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's
corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them
a father's brother does this.

764

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made
and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and 291
for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and
perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439]
by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the
Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and
caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries. 128 127

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of 292 789 [582] [123]

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience. [688]

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro:
[804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *hen*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *hen* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 789

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1]

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the
292 Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An
789 old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne*
611 *newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volun-
[587] teered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become
[611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

/768 cont./

844 When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[298] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
297 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one
• 292 and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21).
[831] Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING

The chief article of clothing worn by the Ainu from 291
ancient times was a coat made of elm bark fibre reaching nearly down to the ankles, and called *attush*. This was kept in place by a girdle made of the same material. The belt used by the Saghalien Ainu, how- [293]
ever, was often of leather and ornamented with brass rings obtained from Manchuria. The coats were very coarse and somewhat brittle when dry, but very strong when wet. The finer kind, however, was made of nettle bast.

ELM FIBRE COAT

The bark was peeled off the elms in the early 287
spring or just before the winter set in. As a defence against bears, the men and women went in companies

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a 117
good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has 777
heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they 777
perform any function or ceremony of importance, the 293
men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those 527
the younger of them wear are called *inaura*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

may possible have been originally clan or totemistic signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk. There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
●293
302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

2

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARKA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

●293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," [602] who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

778
293

/Information on the "sacred" women's girdles will be found in categories 292 and 789./

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. [184] Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

BACK OF ATZIS.

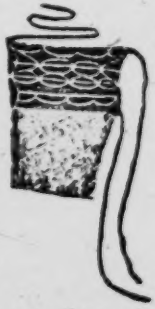
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and [412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and 294 Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, [434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred [177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu [623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they [643] considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

F A *648 *175 439 441 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [579] 439 431 The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

F *648 *175 436 439

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

A F *648 *175 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 177 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] ● [301] A [681] F [826] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A F *648 *175 177 627 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

Feudal Japan A02

A F *648 177 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkouchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkouchi* or *Mikkouchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkouchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkouchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkouchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[58] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

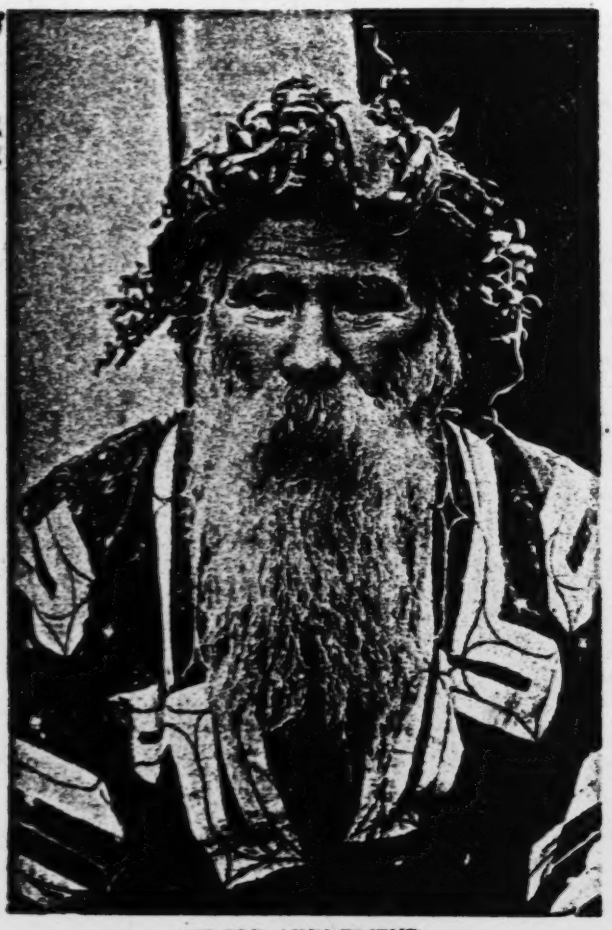
[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [562]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

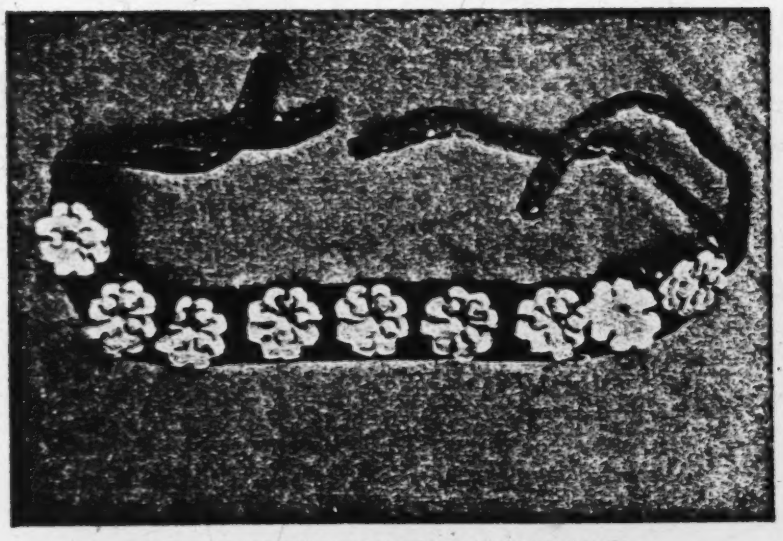
888
291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

301



A GIRL'S NECKLACE MADE OF MELTED LEAD

291

A MAN'S COAT

A WOMAN'S COAT

[P. 54 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
302
●301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in today." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best garments. She then put her ear-rings into her ear-holes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the backyard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

[291 301]

"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the menfolk to come home.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest 121
of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man 301
who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have 301
pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I 288
am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In 301
no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point.
●301 Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They
778 are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or
824 summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [415]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and cup.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden cup is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¼ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2½ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¾ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is [534] held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726 [281]

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [42]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [30]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740

126 251 262

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9¼ inches in diameter by ⅞ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-yuri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis.* Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pakusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pakusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata.* (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very
[582] numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them
184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely
301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese
[177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[192]
[302]
[304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in
291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins.
283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*,
227 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous ear-rings this part of their ears is generally much deformed. Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes
[304] large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not
145 yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

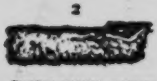
142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.



DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARRA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [602] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cut. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

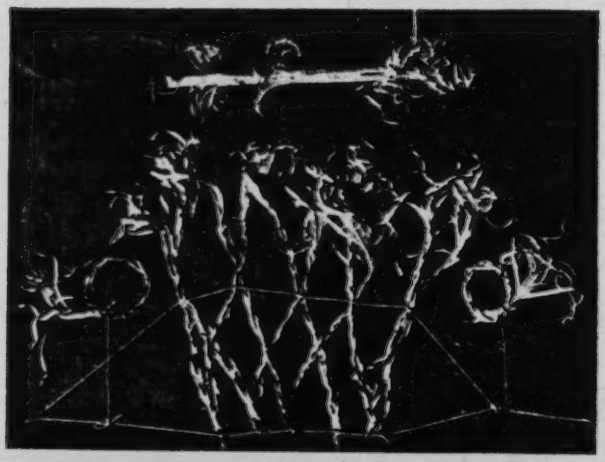
5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

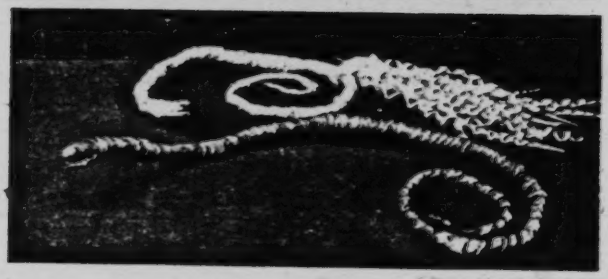
778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



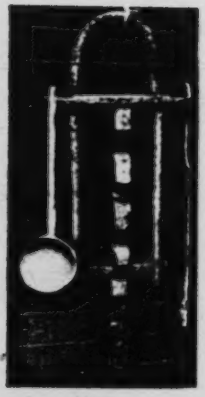
778
789
825

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-nemu-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

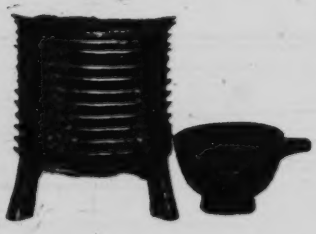


1.

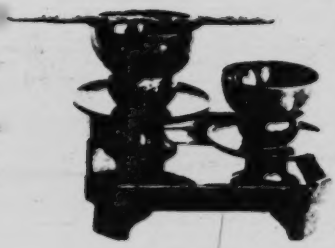
2.

3.

47
352
415
301



4.



5.

415
[782]
[413]

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (k)]

THE INAU

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

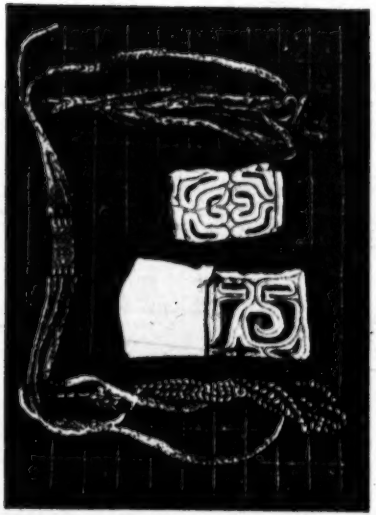
[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

1.

2.



3.

4.

[p. 78, (H)]

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
354
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-ai*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
●301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

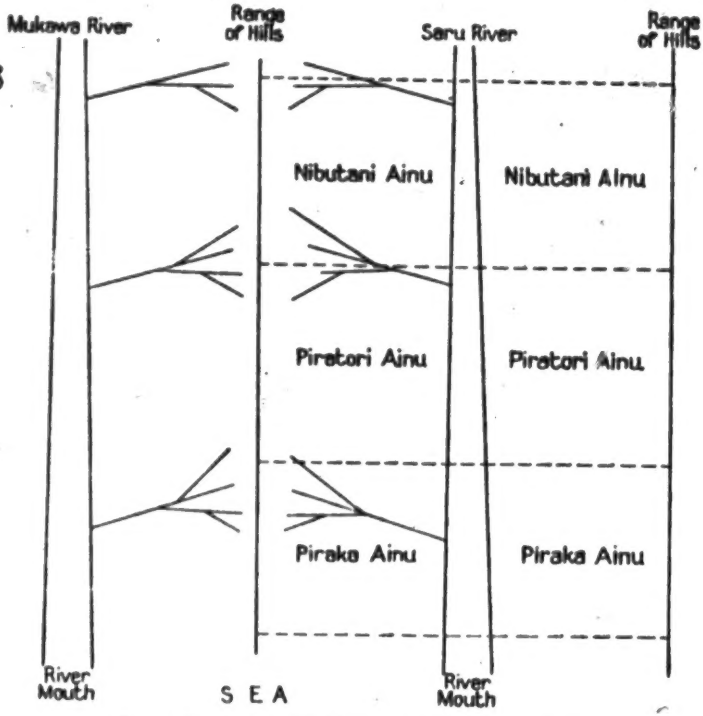
614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

A F *648 *175 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

A F *648 *175 622 484 [431] In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A [293]

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu"*; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

A F [796]

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

A [302]

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

576
671
A F
*648
*175
671

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

A F [931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

A [622] Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

● [307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F [582] 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F [624] [659] 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

A
*648
576
527
178

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[7] *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

A E *648 1777 *175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A [241]

[67] Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi 'icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

A [302] A [156]

[71] *Kyuma Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaikō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

A
F
*698
177
*175

ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, means Japanese.[12]

In Yamazaki' Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

> The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

So, although the natives preferred to be called Ainu instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed "*murakata*," they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattooes on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannen Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatasu Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo *Basho* in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

A
[302]

8. SUMMARY

With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

F
[636]

[12] Italics by Takakura.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142

AN OLD AINU FRIEND

[P. 6]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A-2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
149 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[65] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
416
● 302
291

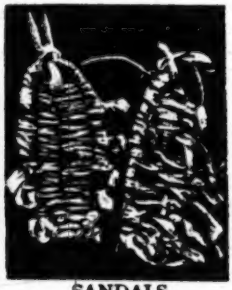
WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302

WINTER CLOTHING

SALMON-SKIN SHOES

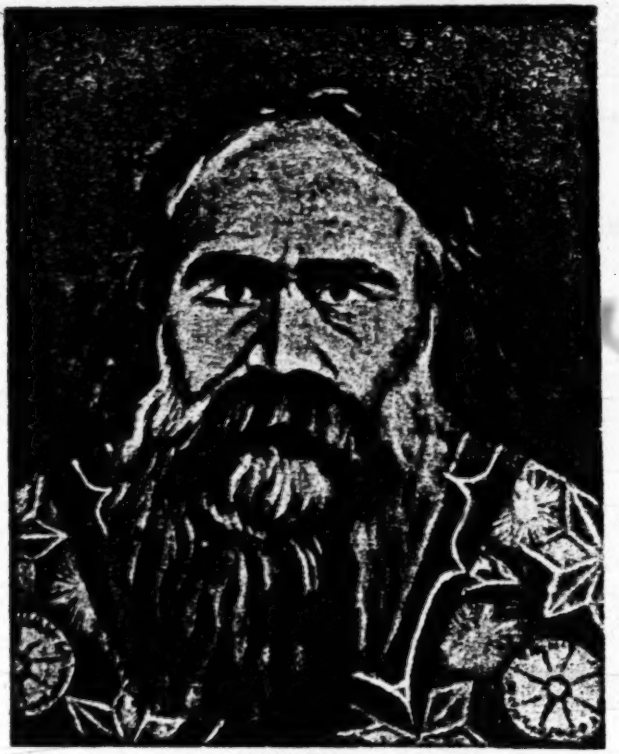


SANDALS

[P. 52 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENRI

[p. 58(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

302
291
516

PARAPITA

[p.96]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
●302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
142
302

A SHAMAN

[p. 262]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
411

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

[p. 350]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302

A GOOD FRIEND

[p. 380]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 436 (A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131 in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
445 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 69 are quite different from
[197 any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515 low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
516

TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516

GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

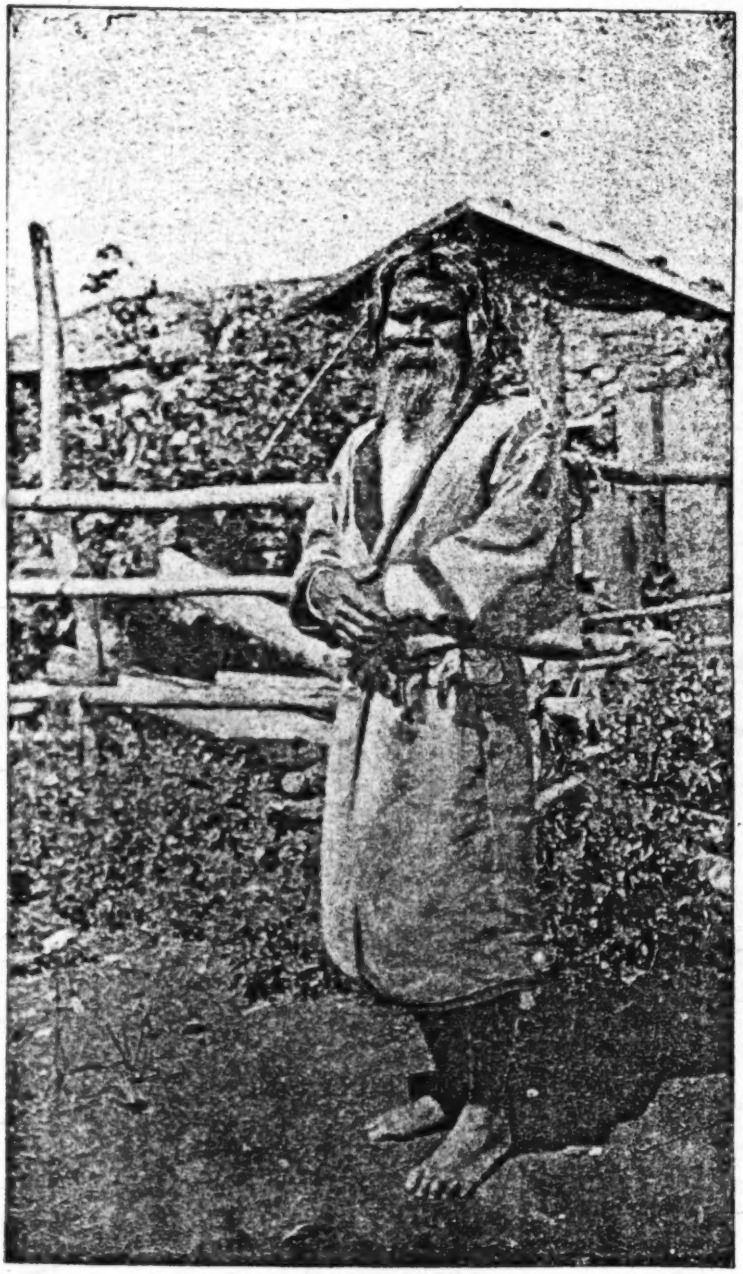
142
291
302
531

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417



AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

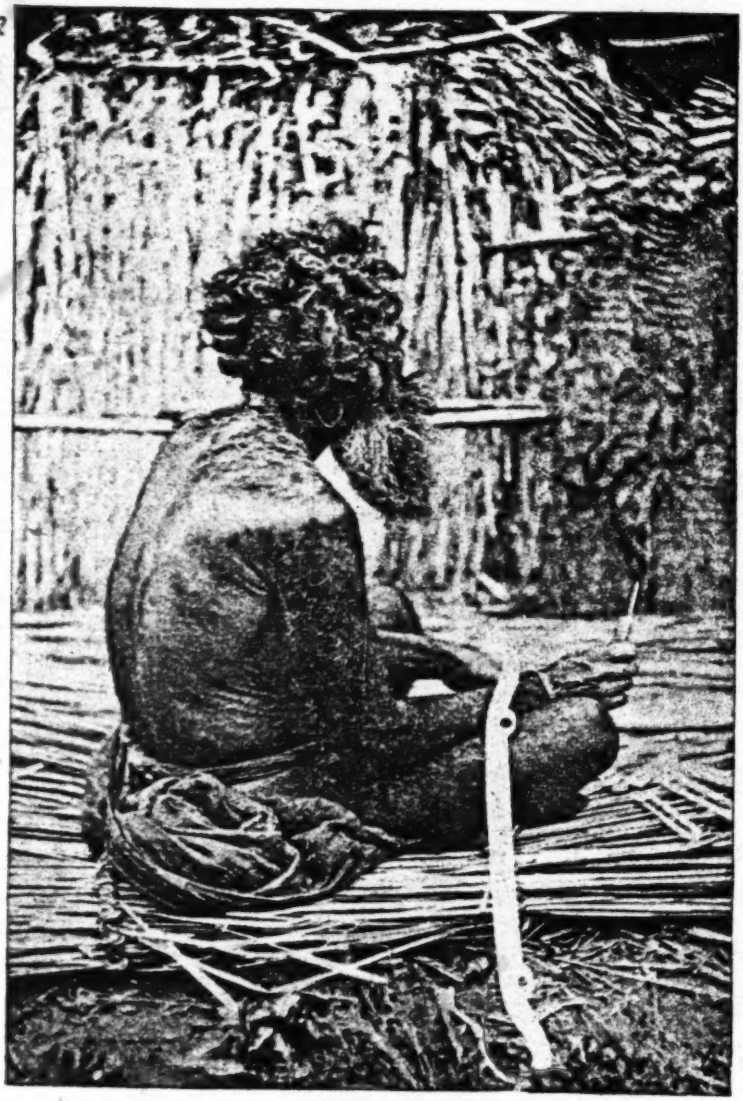
N2
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516



AINÓ, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302

AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

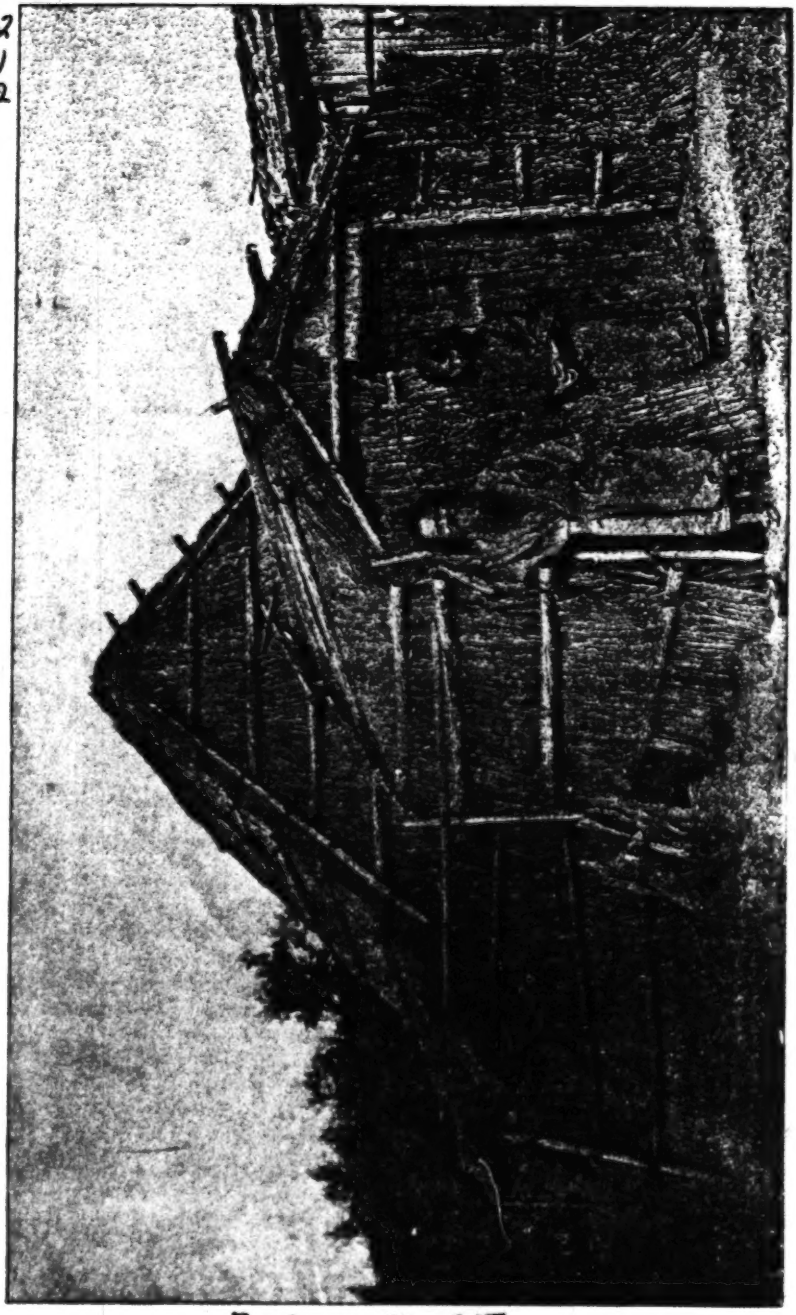
142
302
291
342

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
291
302

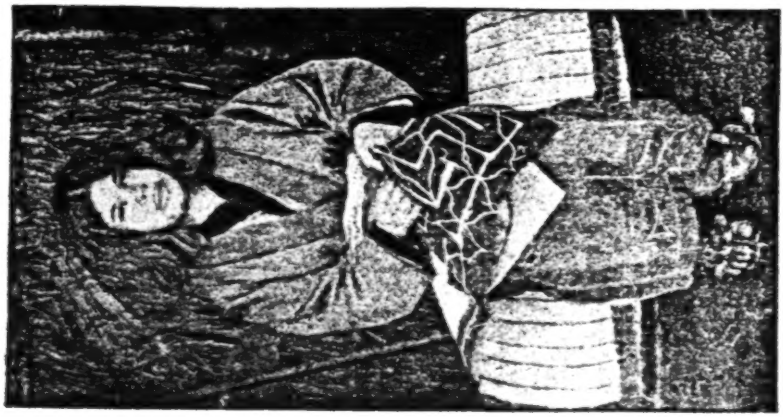


AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (B)]

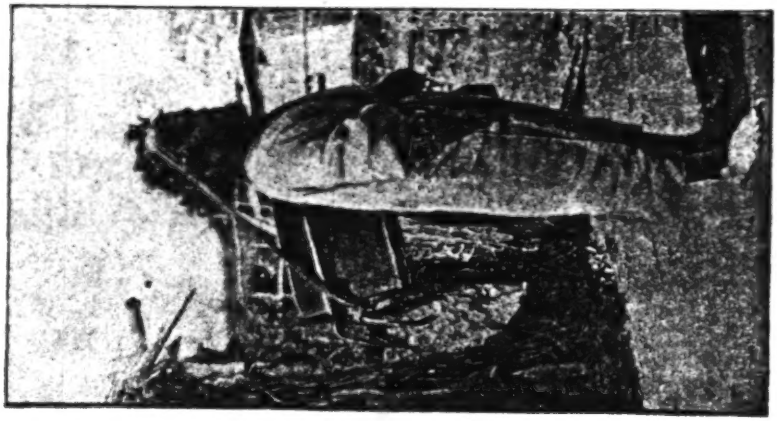
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINOS GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (D)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147
302

AINU MAN OF THE UPPER TOKACHI.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Tokachi River to the Kutcharo River.

I DECIDED to stop a day at Otsu, so as to recover from the fatigue of my late travels and adventures, and I chose my quarters in the *yadoya* of a Japanese called Inomata Yoshitaro. I was told that he was an ex-convict. Be that as it may, he had now turned into a fisherman and innkeeper. Like all Japanese, he was an inexhaustible talker, and his politeness was so great that it became a bore.

It was about three in the morning when I reached Otsu. I had taken off my boots on entering his house—for it is an insult to enter Japanese houses with one's boots on—and I had seated myself on the soft mat in order to rest my aching limbs, when Yoshitaro made me get up to place a small

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291

AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words.

[p. 121]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [142] [302]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short 291 184 tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158

brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

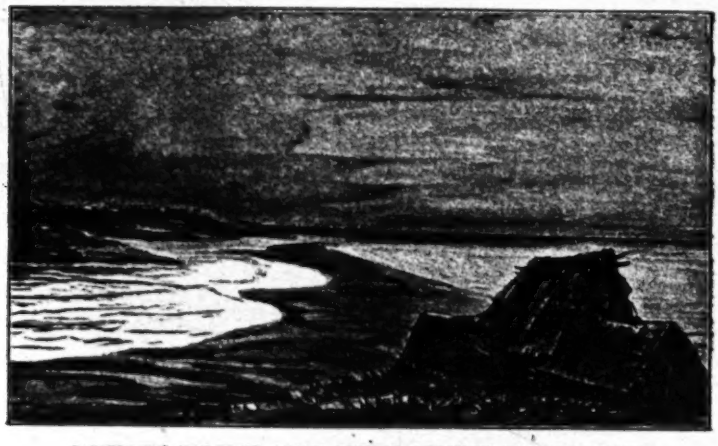
142
291
302
136

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342



SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, [361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about 291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her ● [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the herring fishery. There are no Ainu to be found either at Tomamai or Onishika.

I continued my lonesome ride in the pouring rain, and soon came to a peculiar long tunnel, natural and partly excavated, between this place and Rumoi, a village prettily situated on the slope of a hill fifteen miles further. This place possesses a small anchorage at the mouth of the river, which is now only fit for junks and small sailing-boats, but could be considerably [135] improved. Good coal has been discovered some way up the river. There is a track on the cliffs leading to Mashike. All along the coast are any number of fishermen's houses, but they were all closed and barricaded. Ultimately, descending from the cliffs in a zig-zag fashion, after another ten miles' ride I found myself at Mashike, the largest Japanese village in the Teshio district. Close to the tunnel there is a small 302 Ainu village, where the natives let their hair grow very long, and then tie it up in a kind of knot, similar to the Corean [304] fashion of head-dress, while the women have given up tattooing altogether. The fishermen at Mashike seem to suffer greatly from "*Kaki*," or rheumatism, and cancer, while consumption, malarial fever, and typhus are in a small proportion.

I had to stop over one day at Mashike, for the river was swollen by the heavy rains, and it was impossible to get across. On the other side of it stood Mashike-san, a huge volcanic mountain rising sheer from the sea, and forming Cape Kamuieto, under the shelter of which lies Mashike village; and further south Cape Uhui projects into the sea. It is the end of a mountain range which here runs north and then south again, in the latter part forming one side of the upper basin of the Teshio River. Mashike is the largest settlement either on the north-east or west coast of Yezo. Its population is partly migratory, but not so wholly as is the case with the villages I had previously passed. I was delayed still another day owing to the condition of the river; for the rain, instead of decreasing, poured down to such an extent that the stream could not be crossed, the current being too swift and the water too deep. The sea was also too rough to allow of my leaving Mashike in a canoe.

On the third day I rose early, and decided to attempt this much-desired crossing of the river. It had not rained during

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a wish that I should inspect the prisons. A splendid horse was sent to convey me thither, and two policemen helped me on my progress through the buildings, owing to my inability to walk more than a few yards at a time. It was a large walled enclosure, with houses for the officials and cells for the *akambos*, a jocular term, meaning "babies," which is applied to convicts, because they wear red clothes like children. The buildings were beautifully clean, but what astonished me most was that no precaution whatever was adopted to prevent convicts from escaping. The outside gates were all wide open; there were neither soldiers nor policemen at the gates, and, moreover, the *concierge* was himself a convict!

"But," said I, "do not many of these fellows escape?"

"Oh, no, not many. Last month only sixteen ran away," was the *insouciant* answer of my guide.

From Poronai-buts to Sappro there is a small railway, by which the coal trains are run to the coast as far as Otaru.

WOMAN OF ISHIKARI RIVER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

[142]
[301]
[302]
[291]

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyelids are no thicker than those of Caucasian races, though they droop, as is common among people exposed to the full glare of the sun. The broad ridges being very heavy and prominent, cover part of the upper eyelid over the outer angle of the opening. The eyelashes are extremely long, and the eyebrows are shaggy and bushy. The eyes are full of animal-like expression and emotional warmth, a thing very rare with their neighbours the Japanese or Chinese. The long eyelashes shading the large eyes and rendering them soft, together with their pathetic and slow way of talking, make men and women singularly interesting. Like most animals, the Ainu can "speak" with their eyes. 142

The hair in Ainu adults is for the most part black, wavy, and easily breaking into large curls. Among children, however, one sees brown shades, which darken with years, until the hair turns quite black. Along the north-east coast of Yezo I came across several Ainu adults who had reddish hair and beard; and in the Kurile Islands, at Shikotan, several of the children had light auburn hair hanging in large loose curls and rather flaxy in texture, while the hair of adults was even darker than that of the Yezo Ainu.

The hair, which is coarse and strong, is uniformly and thickly planted over the whole scalp, and reaches well down over the forehead, where, as my readers will remember, a space is cut out or shaved off. It grows long in men as in women, but when it exceeds ten or twelve inches it is generally trimmed in the shape of a half-circle at the back of the head, and is cut off level with the shoulders at the sides. The men have a luxuriant beard, whiskers, and moustache, which grow to a great length. The hair of the beard often begins directly under the eyes, and covers all the lower part of the face. Many of the natives also have a few short coarse hairs on the nose (especially noticeable in natives of the north-east coast of Yezo). The beard, whiskers, and moustache begin to grow in the Ainu when they are fairly young. A man at about twenty can grow a good beard, and at thirty his beard is very long. Ainu women, whom nature has not provided with such a luxuriant growth of hair on the lower part of the face, make up for it by having a long moustache tattooed on the upper and lower lip, which in their idea makes them look "very manly" (See Tattoos). 142 302 142 [304]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the [509] "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

●302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides. 302

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again. 965 302

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed. 302 304

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of 539 304

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
177
●302
142

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

976
996
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*angami*).

3.

4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *akashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (d)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Alnu AB6

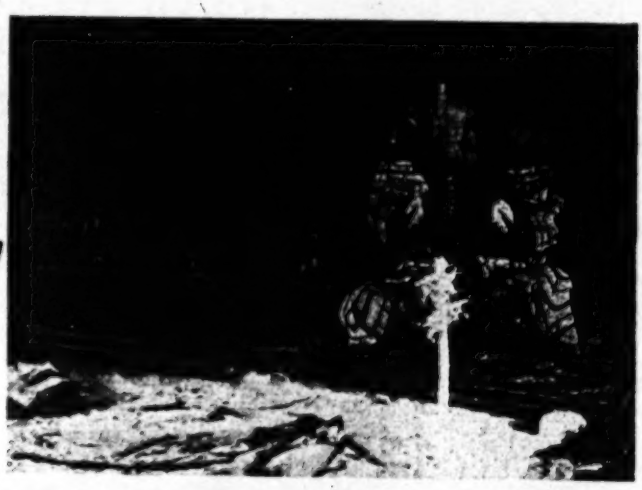
342
353
354
516
302
291

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

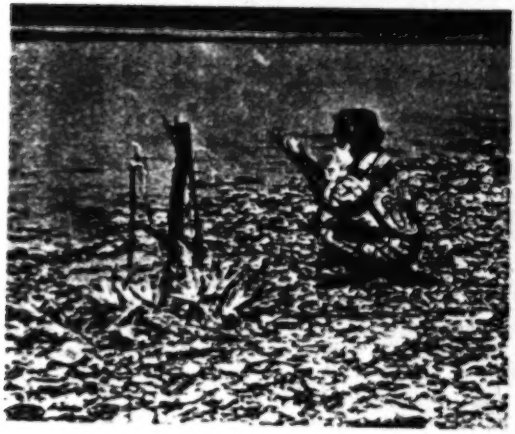


Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

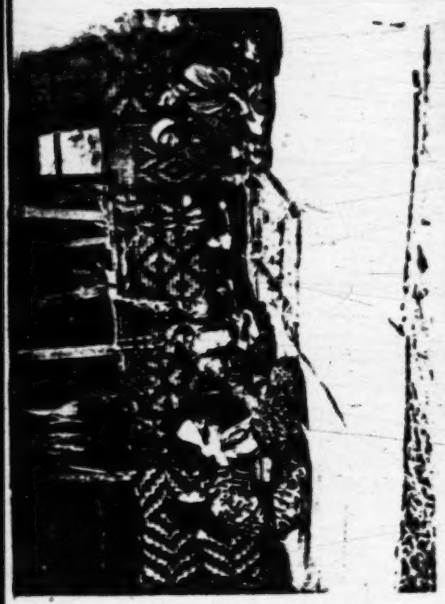
[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

756
755
778
←
756
755
292
531
516
→



756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

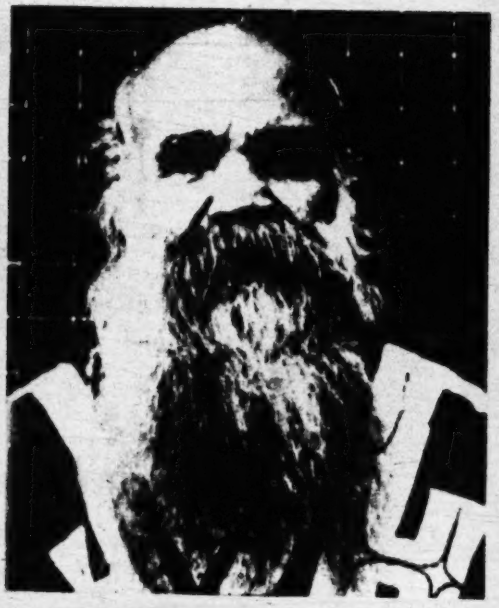
PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
115

1.



2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid. [515] [783]

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind. [576] [782]

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side. 764 178 291 [593] 765 178 291 [302] [292]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave. 764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north. [778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that 765 184 [291] [302]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

765
184
302
[912]

formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

142
291
302

Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

/411 cont./

000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.
G
302 Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found
171 among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their
000 fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A
302 It may be pre-
177 sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father
175 Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/
302 shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples,
177 but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont./

302 171 177 [113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302 177 648 no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302 177 413 and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

A 302 171 413 /412 cont./ with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi 302 171 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ

Gi [184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's

M 302 648 656 171 /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by

000 the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

M 113 302 648 171 656

2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

2: Schrenck--626 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu ABL

T /415 cont./
302 southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of
171 the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni,
179 along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in com-
[131] plete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A
G
Gi
T
SS
302
171
179
648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Oicha from the Samagir

A G Gi SS T /416 cont./ and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand 302 and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the 171 degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu- 177 Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard 648 to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G 301 171 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the Gi [301] cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or Gi 301 facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1 [See Category 116, p. 1009-- Analyst]

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as
A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
A
[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A
[113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175

takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 177

3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] [301]

4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A [681] F [826]

A F *648 *175 177 627

It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304
562

A TATTOOED WOMAN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu- 304
land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, 563
was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being [178
tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melane- 171]
sians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 563 *Woman.* Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark me off from the Japanese as a being apart from themselves and they look down on me as something inferior.

Self. What makes you think the Japanese look down on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat untattooed people better than they do those tattooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Self. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it was begun when I was very small and continued till I grew up.

Self. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise herself to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo marks kept her back. And even when I told her that, did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no greater stumbling block to her than the blackened teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case, she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the young women at times don their ornaments and paint each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is over they go and carefully wash it all off again and return to normal. We have often seen this done in the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 177 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self up against a very difficult problem, and had to go along with great caution. Later on, when the women brought their babies to me to name, I used to say, "Do you want your child to be brought up like a Japanese girl or an Ainu maiden? If she is to be tattooed like an Ainu and so kept out of sisterhood with the Japanese, I will give her an Ainu name, but if you prefer to have her like her Japanese sisters she shall have a Japanese name and not be tattooed." This worked the miracle and soon they began freely to ask for Japanese names, and thenceforth the tattooing became far less frequent and has now ceased altogether.

I suppose one will never get to know the real origin of the custom. Sitting by the Ainu hearth, I have heard the matter discussed. But not with much satisfaction. Thus I heard one person say to her companion, "Our grandmothers tattooed themselves because the old pit dwellers of Hokkaidō were so ornamented. Our people thought it so beautiful that they imitated them." "No, not so," said the other, "but when our ancestors fought with those pit dwellers, they took a lot of the women prisoners and tattooed them as their wives were, so as to know them again if they ran away." And so the controversy went on. But leaving further stories till later, I will now show how the tattooing is done.

Some birch or ash bark is taken from a tree and put into a pan where it is well soaked. After this a fire is made under a pot into which all has been put, and it is well boiled. When done, more bark is brought and burnt under the pot till the bottom is well blackened. When this has been thoroughly done, a woman takes a small sharp knife, cuts a few gashes into the part to be tattooed, then takes some of the soot from under the pot on her finger and rubs it well in. She next takes a piece of cloth, dips it into the decoction in the pot, and with it washes the part operated on. The centre of the upper lip receives the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I was seeking information about tattooing. So I said to her. 304 888 [115]

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *anchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom. [757]

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper 304 [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

On walking through the forest one evening with an Ainu chief, we had to pass through a marsh, and I was much struck as we went along by a peculiar and very loud noise coming from among the reeds. So loud was it that we could not carry on any conversation, for if we attempted to do so the noise was immediately enhanced. *Oat, oat, oat,* came the croaks from every direction. And "Beasts, beasts, beasts! Demons, demons, demons!" answered the chief in return.

304
1539

On reaching home, by which I mean the chief's hut, I seated myself on an empty *saké* tub which served as my chair, and began to question him as to who the "beasts" and "demons" were, who were making all that noise. "Ah," he said, "they are demon frogs." And so he, his wife and I spent a happy evening discussing this matter. Said he: "If you will catch a marsh frog and examine it, you will find marks on it resembling the tattooing of women. They sprang from a woman who was cursed by the gods and punished by having her body changed into a frog and her soul into a demon. All that is left to show that it was once a woman are the slight traces of tattoo marks which by a careful scrutiny may be found on its hands (fore feet)." It was very pathetic, sitting there listening to such folklore, cited and thoroughly believed in by this old man and woman. The following is another story:

"In olden times there were a man and woman who became husband and wife. After a few months they did not get on well together. This was because the woman was a bad character. She was disobedient to her parents and in the end bewitched them so that they died. She also killed her husband in the same way. In the course of time she married no less than six husbands, every one of whom she killed by her wicked spells. But God observed all this and was angry with her. He therefore punished her by turning

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 her into a frog and casting her far away into a marsh.
539 At the same time He said to her, 'O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominably iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother but thy husband besides and several others. I am therefore now turning thee into a frog. Thou shalt henceforth live in marshes and on the edges of lakes and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs and hop about in the slime of the most filthy places. If thou shouldst venture into the dwellings of men, they will without more ado knock thee on the head and throw thy carcase away.' So spake God.

825 "This, then," said my chief, "is the true account of
304 the origin of frogs. It is because a woman was the
539 ancestor of these creatures that they have the tattoo marks on their hands. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality. They are demons. Yet as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Main Island of Japan every winter to market. When they return they eat, drink and make merry in their dwelling places. This is the noise one hears in the spring time—*Oat, oat, oat.*"

In continuing his lecture the old man said, "Frogs are called by three names which are: 'Dwellers among reeds,' 'Dwellers in lakes' and 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' As a whole class they are called 'Hoppers' and 'Hop-and-eaters.' They are given the last name because when they see flies or other insects upon which they feed, they open their mouths, blink their eyes, hop forward and suck in their prey. It is because they go to Japan in the winter that they are named 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' Those we have just heard in the marsh have now returned and are making merry."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Before retiring to our rest, the chief said he would give me just one more legend connected with tattooing. 539

"Once upon a time a beautiful little sparrow threshed out some millet, placed it in six tubs, and set it by the east end window to ferment. After a few days had passed, the gods desired to partake thereof. The scent of the brew filled the whole house. When it had been strained and the time appointed for the drinking feast had arrived, a great multitude of gods were brought in and the feast was well furnished with guests. There were eagles and jays, crows and water ousels, fishhawks and ravens, and many other kinds of birds. All rejoiced greatly over the delicious wine. While they were drinking, the jay stood up and danced before the company. He went out of the house and when he returned he had an acorn in his beak which he dropped into the vessel. This improved the wine greatly and the gods were delighted. After this the raven danced. He also went out, but when he returned he had a piece of dirt in his beak which he brought and dropped into the wine. This spoiled it and caused a great uproar. It really seemed as though the poor raven would be torn to pieces. The guests therefore went out and called the woodpecker and asked him to come in to mediate. But he said, 'O sparrow, you made wine, but you did not invite me to your feast. And so I will not now come in to help you, even though the quarrel be so great.' After this they sent for the snipe, but he returned the same answer. As no one could be found willing to mediate, the poor raven was killed."

When I told the chief that I did not see where the tattooing business came in, he said he had quite forgotten and had given me the wrong legend, and he forthwith dished up this: "When God had finished the work of creation, He made a sparrow and placed him on earth. Whenever the people pound their millet, this bird comes and gathers up that which is scattered over 539 304

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the sides of the mortar and eats it. This is why he is
304 called 'Little millet eater.' Now, when God had finished His work and was about to return to heaven, all the birds determined to make Him a farewell feast. But the sparrows were not informed of this, and when the time came they were very busy tattooing themselves. However, as the day fixed had arrived, the birds and bears and all other creatures arose early in the morning and set out to say goodbye. The sparrows, hearing much ado, inquired as to what it all meant, and upon learning the cause, left off their tattooing before it was finished and went with the rest, for there was no time to lose. Therefore, as may be seen even at the present day, the sides of the mouth were not touched but only the upper part of the beak was tattooed. This may be seen even now if the beaks of sparrows be examined." And so ended another very pleasant evening with the Ainu.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Selj. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Selj. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584
to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304 ●
excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. 597]
It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825
times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 436(A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166] ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

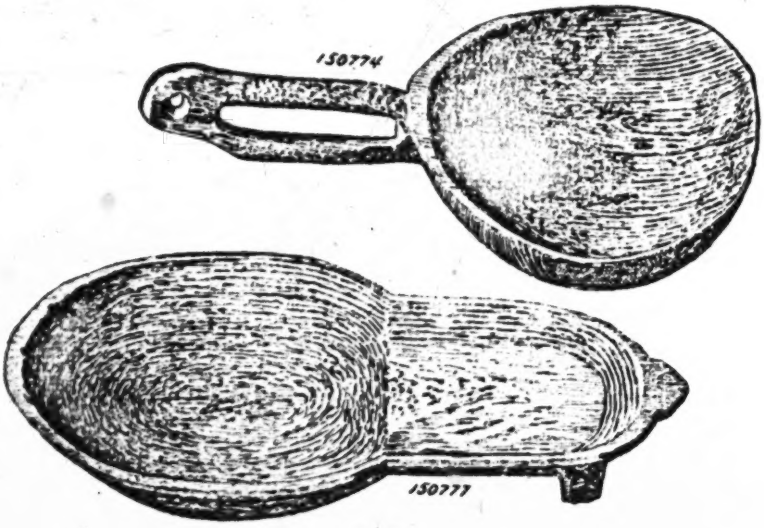
302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from
[197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515] low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they 142
are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant [181]
and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.



[N5]

Fig. 68.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women [582]
grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the 304
mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 this is gradually extended until a more or less broad band surrounds the mouth and perhaps extends in a tapering curve on both cheeks toward the ears. The arms also are tattooed in various patterns. [431] The tattoo marks are made by cross-hatching the skin with knives, which they get from the Japanese. Into the cuts thus made the soot of burning birch (*kaba*) bark is rubbed, which is collected on the bottom of a dish held over the fire. The color of the marks thus made is distinctly bluish, and for this reason it does not show so conspicuously in photographs as it appears to the eye. The width and extent of the tattoo marks, as well as the depth of the color, is different in various parts of Yezo. In the north it is a narrow band on both lips, not very conspicuous, as shown in the picture of two young women of Tokoro, Plate XCII. At Ohotsu, on the southeast coast, the bands are wider, but not much extended on either side of the mouth, and the color is almost black. This pattern is seen also about Urap (Pls. XC and XCIII.) In other localities the band is very broad and well extended towards the ears, as shown in Plate XCIV, but in this case the color is in wavy lines and not deep.

On the road from Tamakomai to Sapporo I met two women with vertical tattoo marks on the forehead between the eyes. This observation was only casual and therefore not entirely satisfactory, for I supposed it would be possible to further verify it by visiting some of the villages in that region. This I was unable to do. But the practice of tattooing the forehead has been noted by other observers. Mr. Batchelor has casually mentioned that the Aino women "in some cases tattoo their foreheads." This, as well as an allusion to the fact by Dr. Scheube, confirms my own observation. Prof. H. E. Stockbridge, with whom I have since spoken on the subject, informs me that he has frequently noticed this form of tattooing, and that it seems to be most common along the west coast.

The tattoo marks on the arm are best shown in Plate XCV, which represents an old woman of Tokoro. The patterns vary greatly in [531] different cases, but they all have the same general character of alternating horizontal lines and crossed lines.

The origin and significance of tattooing among the Ainos is obscure. It seems to be merely an inherited custom without any recognized object.

STAGE OF CULTURE.

Probably few who read these lines have ever seen the lower stages of human savagery and barbarism, still less have they an adequate conception of the physical and moral condition, or of the manner of life, which characterizes the lower types of human existence. The American Indian is a picturesque character as we think of him roaming over plains and through forests, hunting the buffalo and other wild animals, sleeping peacefully in his wigwam, and enjoying the fruits of a luxuriant soil. But come nearer, and we find that the hunt is for

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¾ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2¼ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

Cloth neck band and ornament.—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1½ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714 [301]

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

Kabo bark.—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716 [304]

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

Needle.—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig.85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719 [412]

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720 [534]

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

Wooden spoons.—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722 [415]

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very
[582] numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them
184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely
301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese
[177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142]
[302]
[304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in
291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins.
283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*,
227 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [341] 184 [192] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [491] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a 361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of 142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of 231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache 304 and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge 136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the herring fishery. There are no Ainu to be found either at Tomamai or Onishika.

I continued my lonesome ride in the pouring rain, and soon came to a peculiar long tunnel, natural and partly excavated, between this place and Rumoi, a village prettily situated on the slope of a hill fifteen miles further. This place possesses a small anchorage at the mouth of the river, which is now only fit for junks and small sailing-boats, but could be considerably improved. Good coal has been discovered some way up the river. There is a track on the cliffs leading to Mashike. All along the coast are any number of fishermen's houses, but they were all closed and barricaded. Ultimately, descending from the cliffs in a zig-zag fashion, after another ten miles' ride I found myself at Mashike, the largest Japanese village in the Teshio district. Close to the tunnel there is a small Ainu village, where the natives let their hair grow very long, and then tie it up in a kind of knot, similar to the Corean fashion of head-dress, while the women have given up tattooing altogether. The fishermen at Mashike seem to suffer greatly from "*Kaki*," or rheumatism, and cancer, while consumption, malarial fever, and typhus are in a small proportion.

I had to stop over one day at Mashike, for the river was swollen by the heavy rains, and it was impossible to get across. On the other side of it stood Mashike-san, a huge volcanic mountain rising sheer from the sea, and forming Cape Kamuieto, under the shelter of which lies Mashike village; and further south Cape Uhui projects into the sea. It is the end of a mountain range which here runs north and then south again, in the latter part forming one side of the upper basin of the Teshio River. Mashike is the largest settlement either on the north-east or west coast of Yezo. Its population is partly migratory, but not so wholly as is the case with the villages I had previously passed. I was delayed still another day owing to the condition of the river; for the rain, instead of decreasing, poured down to such an extent that the stream could not be crossed, the current being too swift and the water too deep. The sea was also too rough to allow of my leaving Mashike in a canoe.

On the third day I rose early, and decided to attempt this much-desired crossing of the river. It had not rained during

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142 developed. The space from the nose to the mouth is extremely long, while the chin, which is rather round, is comparatively short and not very prominent. Thus the face has the shape of a short oval. The profile is concave and the mouth and eyebrows are prominent, though of course the nose projects more than the lips, yet without being too markedly projecting. The chin and forehead recede, as has been said, and in the supraorbital region the central boss is extremely well marked; also the brow ridges, which, however, are slightly less conspicuous than the central boss. The ears are usually large, flat, and simply-developed, with long lobes; but unfor-
[301] tunately, owing to the heavy weight of their enormous earrings this part of their ears is generally much deformed. Sometimes I have seen children with a hole in their lobes
● [304] large enough for me to pass my finger through; with others, where the skin was not so elastic, the lobes were torn right through and the two sides hung down. In older people one does not see this so much, as their long hair entirely covers their ears. The average length of a man's ear is two and three-quarter inches; of a woman's, two and a half inches.

144 People have classified the Ainu as Mongolians, notwithstanding that they possess no characteristics whatsoever of the Mongolian races.

144 The colour of their skin is light reddish-brown, and not
145 yellow and sallow, like that of Mongolians; they are very hairy, and the Mongolians are smooth-skinned; the features of the one race are diametrically opposed to those of the other; the mouth is strong and firm in the Ainu and weak in the Mongolian; and the Ainu eyes, the strongest characteristic of Mongolian races, do not slant upwards, nor are they long and almond-shaped, as with the Chinese or the Japanese, but with their long axes are in one horizontal plane, as in most Europeans. Indeed, the Ainu have a much greater resemblance to the northmen of Europe in their prehistoric stage than to any modern races, and least of all to the Mongolians.

142 But let us examine the eye more carefully. The iris is light brown, sometimes tending towards dark grey. One seldom sees black or very dark brown eyes save in half-breeds; and they are deeply set, as with Europeans. The

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyelids are no thicker than those of Caucasian races, though they droop, as is common among people exposed to the full glare of the sun. The broad ridges being very heavy and prominent, cover part of the upper eyelid over the outer angle of the opening. The eyelashes are extremely long, and the eyebrows are shaggy and bushy. The eyes are full of animal-like expression and emotional warmth, a thing very rare with their neighbours the Japanese or Chinese. The long eyelashes shading the large eyes and rendering them soft, together with their pathetic and slow way of talking, make men and women singularly interesting. Like most animals, the Ainu can "speak" with their eyes. 142

The hair in Ainu adults is for the most part black, wavy, and easily breaking into large curls. Among children, however, one sees brown shades, which darken with years, until the hair turns quite black. Along the north-east coast of Yezo I came across several Ainu adults who had reddish hair and beard; and in the Kurile Islands, at Shikotan, several of the children had light auburn hair hanging in large loose curls and rather flaxy in texture, while the hair of adults was even darker than that of the Yezo Ainu.

The hair, which is coarse and strong, is uniformly and thickly planted over the whole scalp, and reaches well down over the forehead, where, as my readers will remember, a space is cut out or shaved off. It grows long in men as in women, but when it exceeds ten or twelve inches it is generally trimmed in the shape of a half-circle at the back of the head, and is cut off level with the shoulders at the sides. The men have a luxuriant beard, whiskers, and moustache, which grow to a great length. The hair of the beard often begins directly under the eyes, and covers all the lower part of the face. Many of the natives also have a few short coarse hairs on the nose (especially noticeable in natives of the north-east coast of Yezo). The beard, whiskers, and moustache begin to grow in the Ainu when they are fairly young. A man at about twenty can grow a good beard, and at thirty his beard is very long. Ainu women, whom nature has not provided with such a luxuriant growth of hair on the lower part of the face, make up for it by having a long moustache tattooed on the upper and lower lip, which in their idea makes them look "very manly" (See Tattoos). 142 302 142 [304]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides. 302

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again. 765 302

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed. 302 304

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of 539 304

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms
304 and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

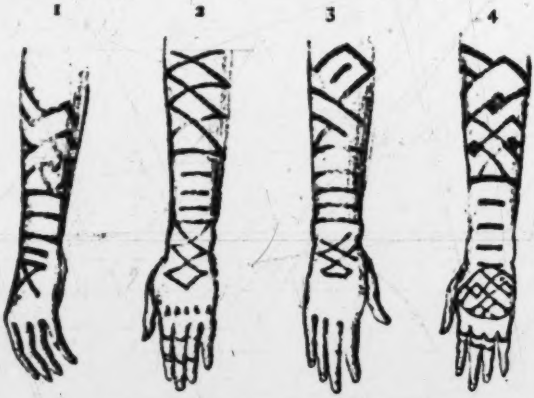
304 A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as
[562] the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line
[531] joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of 304 ●
Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and
Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori.



[531]

TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have 304
come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the [177]
fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the 184
two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2.

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have 304
already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 after they have become wives. The moustache is generally finished before a girl gets married, as she herself is anxious to be thus decorated; but there are no rules as to virginity or marriage, for the arms and hands are as often tattooed after marriage as before. Indeed, in the Ainu country, "tattooing" one's wife seems to be one of the pleasures of the honeymoon. The design of these tattoos is meant to be, but is seldom, symmetrical. The Ainu apparently execute these designs on a preconceived plan, but the results rarely come up to expectation, as no drawing of the design is prepared beforehand. The bluish-black colour of the tattoo is very permanent and strong, and many an Ainu woman is disfigured for life, who, according to our ideas, would otherwise be good-looking.

[481]

SNOW-SHOES.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
354
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p. 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

791
304

PLATE XXIX. TATTOOING ON HANDS AND ARMS OF A FEMALE MEDIUM (*TUSU*).

[p. 78, (M)]

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396
782
[778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534
789
[821]
[224]
[531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825
789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304
789

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araī Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
A 304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
A
[113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
[184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A
[113]

2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

/419 cont./

304 113

2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

304 184 among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

304 175

3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

[113]

Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3

A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsó (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

A [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about. 224

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2). 224 417 [311] [476]

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396). [114]

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental 224 342 [343]

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During
spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the
Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected.
Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [461]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain
kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though
not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitai*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow
poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and
collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[19]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[311] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
[134] no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
ing[2], especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "ldg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221
462
311

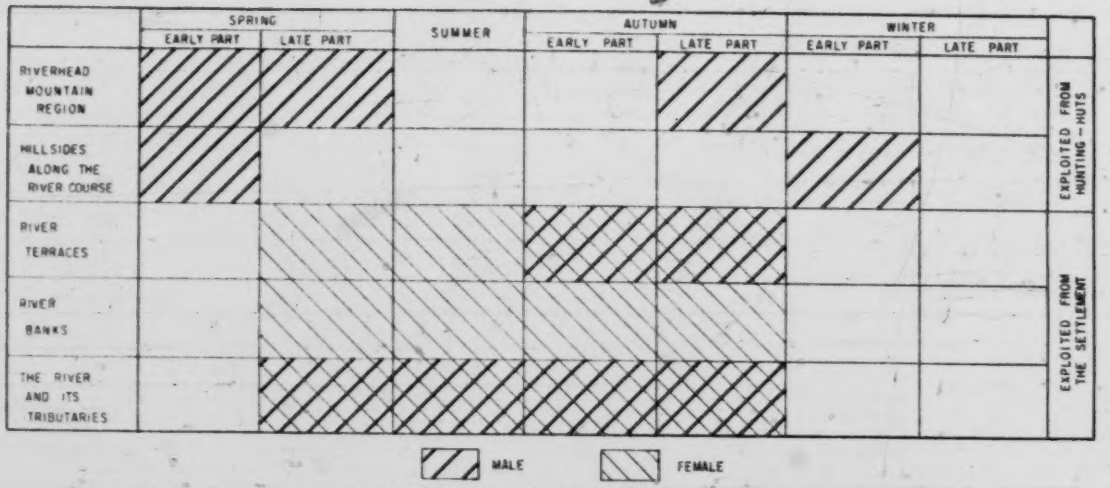


Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619
423

Geographically Defined River System	Component River around which a River Group Evolved	Number of River Groups & Their Territories
Azuma River	Azuma	1
Mukawa River	Mukawa	1
Ishikari River	Ishikari Shikot Others unidentified	2 (or more ?)
Saru River	Saru ?Nukapira[46]	1 (or 2?)
Tokapchi River	Tokapchi Tushipet Ashoro Otopuke Satnai	5

311
619
423

Each territory utilized exclusively by the residing river group can be divided according to Ainu's exploitation activity into the following five ecological zones (Fig. 8):

(1) the river and its tributaries,
(2) the river banks,
(3) the river terraces,
(4) the stretch of hillsides along the river course,
(5) the high mountain region around the source of the river.

In order to supply themselves with a set of biotic species needed for subsistence, the Ainu exploited these different areas in accordance with particular ecologies of species and particular techniques for their exploitation. In this manner the territory occupied by a river group formed a nearly or completely self-sufficient unit of Ainu habitat. Sometimes, a failing supply of a needed item within its own area or a finding of better sites without, induced some members of a river group to pass across its boundary. Two of such essential items were the bear and the aconite plant for preparing arrow poison. Except for these, all river groups were self-sufficing in necessary items (p. 85). In short, the Ainu had seldom to overstep their boundaries for gathering purposes. As regards the staple items in particular, such as deer, dog salmon, cherry salmon and edible plants, every river group was at ordinary times sufficiently supplied from resources found within its own territory.

619
423

When for gathering purposes any one was to step into a river group territory other than his own, no matter for what, where and how, the person was required to obtain from some one of the headmen of the river valley concerned a formal permission accompanied with a rigid ritual procedure. And there was possibility of such permit not granted by a headman who had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

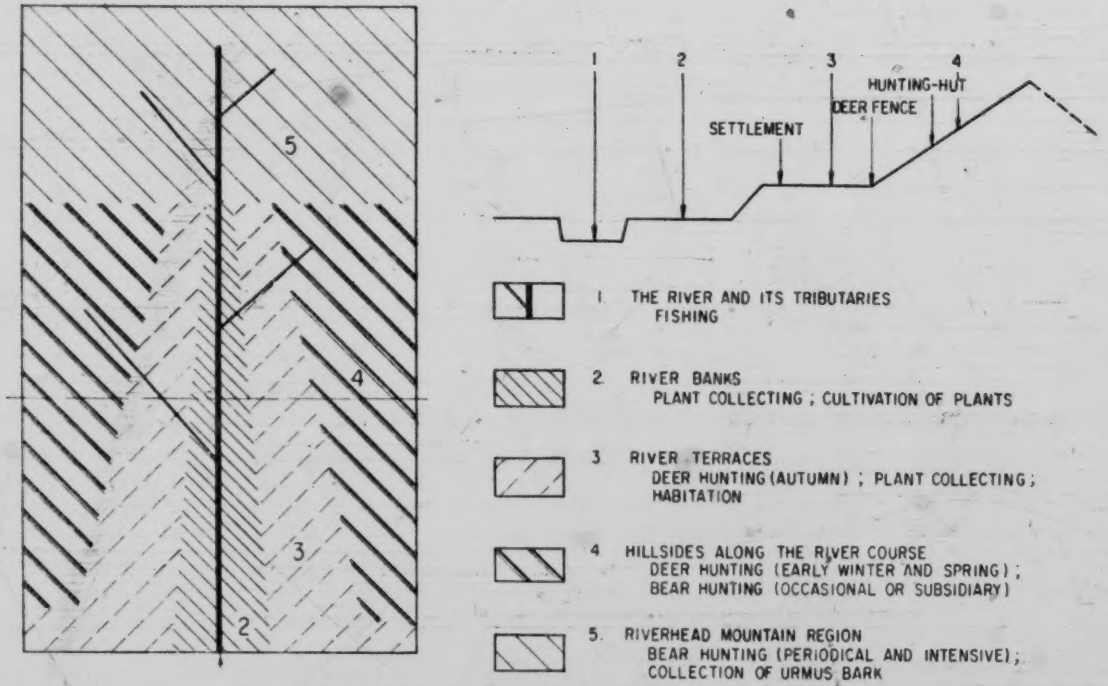


Fig. 8. Diagram representing a river valley as the territory of a river group and its ecological zones.

311
423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)		
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanuni*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[40]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423
311
103
621

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Fira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[60]
(in descending order of location)

621
423
311
[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[61]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources. 423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon 619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission [628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group; such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 season to concentrate on one region of its territory, a favourite wintering
311 quarter of deer on the Appenai.

Deer hunting with the hand bow was conducted also on and around the same sites near each settlement as fence-grounds and wintering quarters. They were seldom carried out into the area customarily covered by neighbouring settlement members. This meant the absence of such necessity, although any hunter with hand bow, like spearing fishermen with their movable instrument, might with justification enter an area covered by members of a nearby settlement. An exceptional case may be cited with the members of the settlement of the upper local group in Otopuke who concentrated on the area near the Wop settlement, where, alongside with local members, they chased with hand bow the deer gathering on the marshy grounds for mating.

Organized bear hunting was conducted by every river group on the uppermost reaches of the river, that is, the inmost recesses of the mountainous region where were hibernation centres of the bear. It was customary with every river group to send out their hunters in seasonal migration concentrating on the area. This does not always mean that every local group of the river group sent some bear hunter or hunters to the area. Among the Azuma river group, bear hunting parties were sent from two interior local groups, Tonika and Azuma, to the Shoruma and its surrounding area on the uppermost reaches of the river, but there is no evidence for any bear hunting party from the coastal local group, Spun, who it is said had no bear hunters. Of the Otopuke river group, the upper local group periodically sent their bear hunters to the riverhead area but the lower one did not, though some members of the latter group occasionally hunted bears while engaging in deer hunts on the neighbouring hillsides. As for the Tokapchi river group, the upper local groups, at least the uppermost *shine itokpa* group, had a number of bear hunters whose activities covered the riverhead area every season, while the local groups in the middle course had less bear hunters, who to all appearances went out in search of bears to the interior territory of the Satnai river group or that of the Otopuke river group. A few of the bear hunters from Pipaushi and Sanenkoro, both the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, went out of their river group territory into the area around the Sohshupet in the interior territory of the Saru river group, and some bear hunters from Kuttarashi, another local group on the upper Tokapchi, to an area on the upper reaches of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari river. No information is available for the lower local groups on the Tokapchi. Information from Shikot, Mukawa and Saru shows that bear hunters of the generation before my informants, even those from some lower local groups, went to the areas on the uppermost reaches of their own river.

Collecting Areas.

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an area[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited.

1. [Errata: the word "srea" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salmon. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 184 53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 182 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when selecting sites for their villages. The first thing they considered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be said at every stage of its production. He told me that

A F *648 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

● 314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing [396] boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of 008 it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3	Pe-rusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17	Shiuri	Prunus Sasori	Woods	Fruit
18	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
21	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
22	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
23	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
25	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
26	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
27	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

[285]
[285]
[283]
[278]
[283]
[283]

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During
spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the
Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected.
Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [46]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain
kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though
not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collect-
ing activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank of river terrace	*nuj*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow
poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and
collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf.
errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[a]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 to[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Collecting Areas.

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an area[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited.

1. [Errata: the word "area" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Mabô* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryô in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyûki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidô Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*

A F *648 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.*

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

* From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

joke so far; but, on the other hand, if placed in similar circumstances, when no redress from without is to be obtained, and one must defend oneself by main force, very few would treat such a serious imposition and offence as a joke.

In going through the village more than one fisherman came to tell me that I had done right in dealing severely with Yoshitaro, as he was known to be a scoundrel and a thief, and they all detested him.

There was little of interest between Otsu and Shaubets, with the exception of the beautiful delta formed in the low alluvial valley by the Otsu River and the Tokachi River, two large estuaries nearly two miles apart, by which the Tokachi River enters the sea. The Tokachi is a river of large volume and considerable length, and even when divided, the body of water carried by both outlets is so great as to make it necessary to cross in boats, fording on foot being quite impossible.

The Urahoro River was successfully crossed, but for the twenty miles on to Shahubets the track was flat and sandy, lying mostly under high clay banks, some of which form picturesque headlands. The country is not mountainous in the proximity of the coast, but it is of a moderate elevation all through, and wooded with deciduous trees. The formation of the south-east coast from Cape Erimo to Cape Noshafu is in many ways unlike that of the south-west coast. The south-western part is more mountainous, and is further characterised by the absence of extensive plains. The coast-line is indented, and there is a striking want of broad beaches. Precipitous rocks are also frequent along the south-west coast, and thick deposits of pumice—as we have seen—are lying over quaternary rocks, filling up the declivities of mountain lands and river shores.

In the western part the tertiaries are more tufaceous than on the south-east coast, and they are distinguished mainly by the presence of shales and andesite breccia. The south-eastern part is characterized by the almost entire absence of volcanic rocks and older eruptive rocks. After leaving the range of mountains forming the *Sparti acque*, east and west of Cape Erimo, high land is met all the way along the south-east coast. Nevertheless, pumice is found in the basin of the Tokachi

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
●317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-
[132] looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
361 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
222 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the goda. This is the first part of the festival. 231 527

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years. 178 527 321

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish." 527 231

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

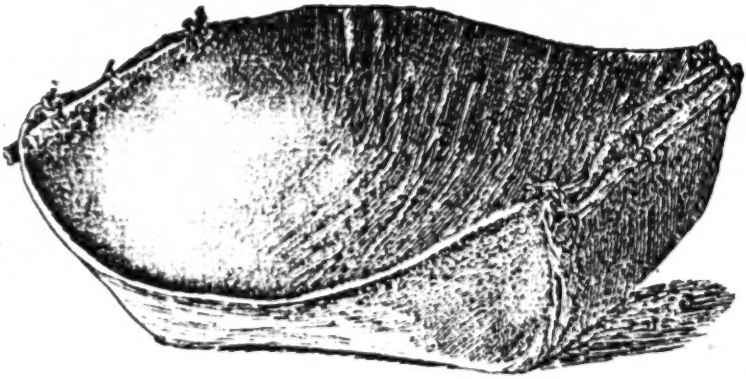
137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, [396] with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Wooden spoons

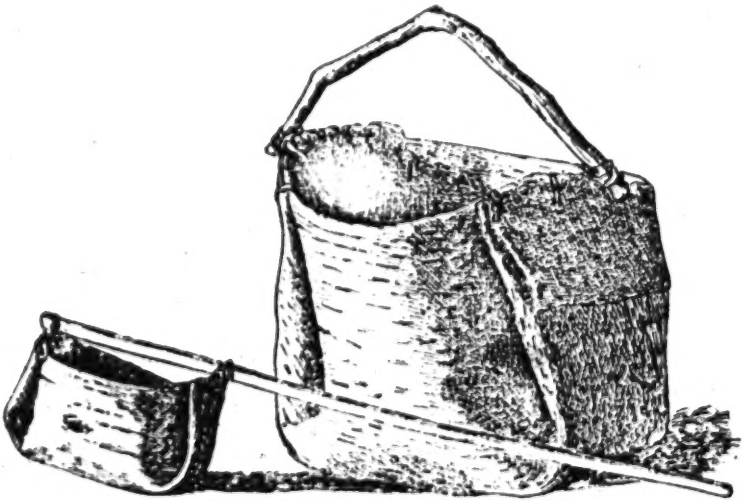
(Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or 472-322



[415]

150673
Fig. 72.
BARK DISH USED AS A FISH-PLATE.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



[415]

150688
Fig. 73.
BARK WATER BUCKET AND DIPPER.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

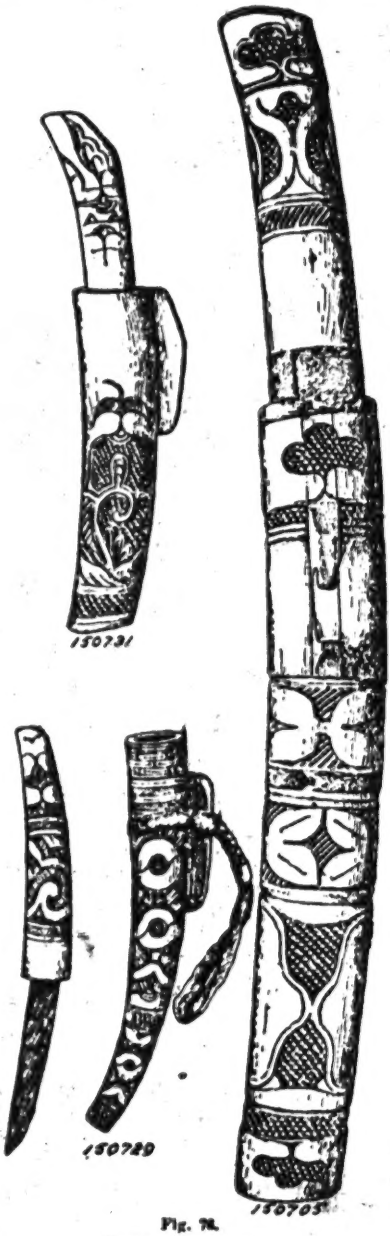


Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

begun (*Ciuta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

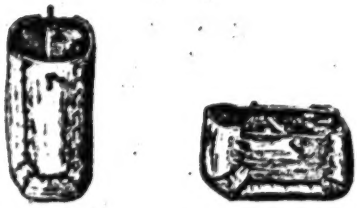
The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half-a-dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

322
415



AINU BARK WATER-JUGS

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nearing Civilisation.

SAPPRO, the present capital of Hokkaido, is a town of fairly large size, with wide streets intersecting each other at right angles. The Hokkaido-cho, a high red-brick building, the law courts, the *Kofikan*, the palace built for the Emperor, and used now as a kind of hotel, and the houses of officials, are the main buildings of the place. There are, besides, a sugar refinery, a hemp and silk factory, and a brewery, mainly supported by the Government. Neither of the first two were "flourishing industries," and one of the factories, if I remember aright, had long ceased working, and the other was soon to follow suit. The Government, I must say, have done their best to encourage and push on industries as well as agriculture in this district, but their efforts have produced but poor results. Machinery, which had been imported at great expense from England, America, Germany, and France, was left to rust and perish, and no private company seemed ready to continue the works. As a farming region the Sappro district has also proved more or less a failure from a financial point of view, though again the Government cannot but be highly praised for the money they have spent in trying to educate the people up to some kind of scientific, and therefore paying, method of agriculture. They have a large model farm of about 350 acres laid down in grain fields, as well as in meadows and pastures, stocked with cattle imported mainly from America. In the Toyoshira valley, south of the town, a

P.187 I

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

[p. 207]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

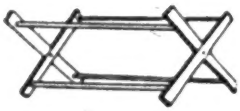
Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation. 532

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak. 532 322

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design. 532

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character. 532 189 412

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A 532 412

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.

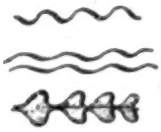
ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.



WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

REVERSED COIL.

Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.

FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.

532 I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in 532 bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.

OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

801 make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

201 149 Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

149 516 826 The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is [286] firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* ● [322] the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

283 When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two 826 middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*iisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 322 [412]

is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

798 532

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

EFFIGIES

776 778 322 532

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen [126] seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four [796] years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the [782] occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was [796] that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should [771] accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui [782] must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dis- [796] missal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of 776 being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually 773 killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

288 Those areas
177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware
● 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and
411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only
224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet
227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs,
411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were
501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their
556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar-
119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little.
181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women
[286] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirô, Ainu no nôgyô (Ainu agriculture), *Nôgyô Keizai Kenkyû* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsô, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyûdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kôhô*, No. 42.

Feudal Japan AB 9

A F *648 *115

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

A F *648 *115 939

A [111]

---

[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisei Zenshu* 1.

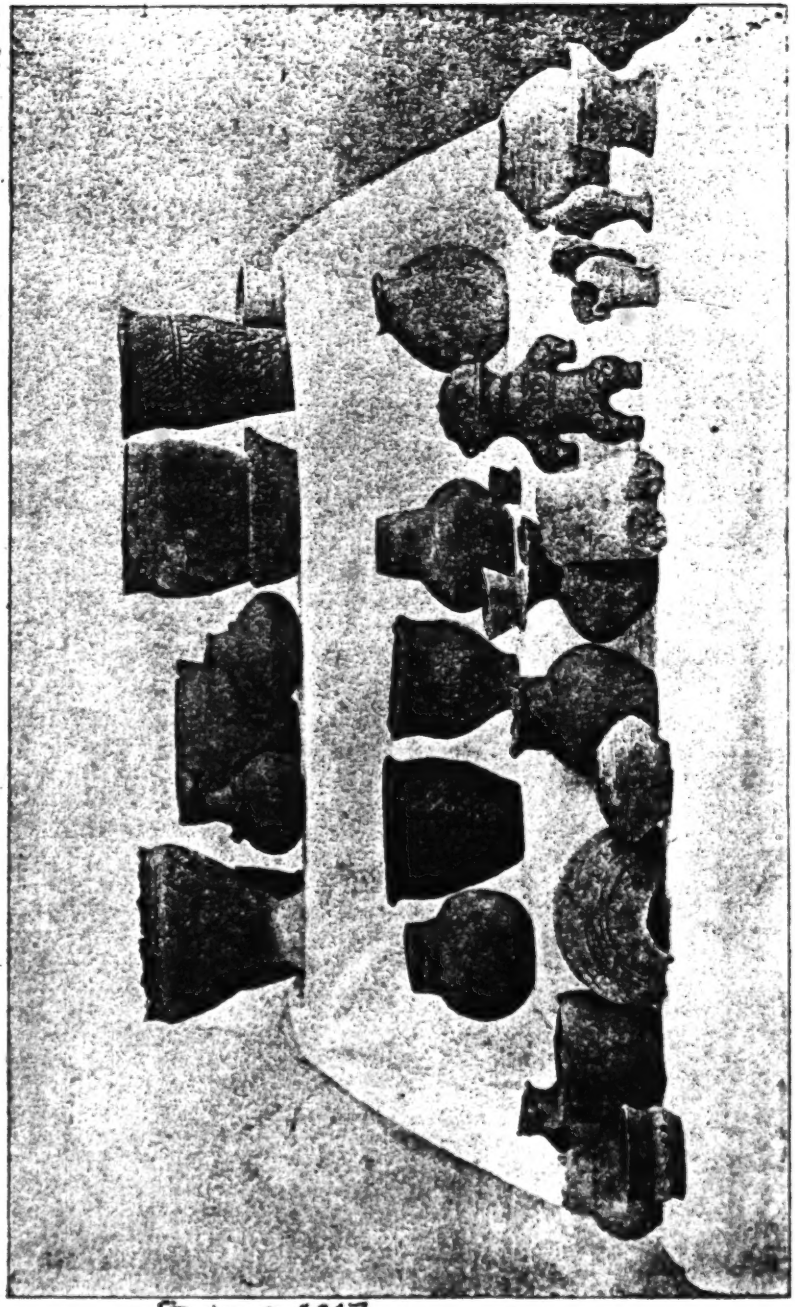
A [323] [11]

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

[P. 65 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
323
172
531



ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting col-
172 lection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were
323 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy
[145] of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor
[266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are de-
123 scendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rimsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

A
172
173
323
192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
171

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

Gi 325 174 Gi [177]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A G 325 17

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

A [439]

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 17

A 114 325 17 /569 cont./
cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categorization and conclusions. It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

A 325 17

G 325 17 /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1)

1. See p. 597.

with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

A /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's Testimony,
325 the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron
114 more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
174 result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork.
648 We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
G and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
174 in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
167 of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
648 and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G
174 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
648 maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the
325 Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
325 the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
171 it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K
823
A
439
823
186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A
439
435

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

G
A
K
439
17
325

A
[131]
[114]
[113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G
A
K
174
325

G
R
174
325

/572 cont./
of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

G
714 If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two
G
[192] types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

G
[192] One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than
G
114 those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak)
714 of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says
192

1. Op. cit., p. 194.

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy
224 and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of
114 the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up
[192] snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the
musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance
G with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am
A inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a simi-
224 lar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among
A them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein-
[411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, ex-
cept that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was
A mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear
411 pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to
439 them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging
325 skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant
198 lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded
as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and en-
couraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however,
A the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure,
224 not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood
181 chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give
433 them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy
648 and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them,
too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more
abundant and better existence through a more active practice
of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account
in trade with the Gilyak.

G The situation is different for the other neighbors of the
224 Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for
433 hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious
and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers
between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have
remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads
G in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely
[439] necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy them-
selves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting
along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from
sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told ●339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion. [171] [341]

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit. 172

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *tochc*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

NORTHERN AINU PIT-DWELLING

[p. 30(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A
539
648
G
648

"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Tan-atsi*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

A
[342]

*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

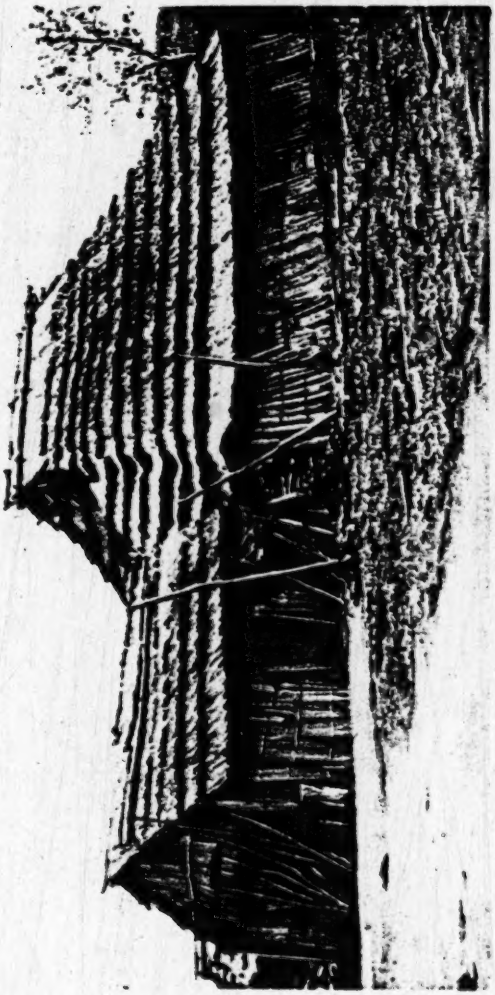
A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
291

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
342



CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE AT PIRATORI

[P. 60(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

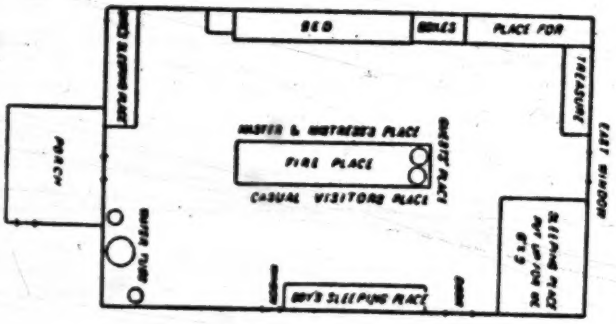
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A POTHOOK

son to sleep with me so as get a little heat. 342 The lad came for the night and then ran away. It was not until the year 1922, more than forty years after, that I could get him to tell me why he left me to suffer alone in the cold. He said, "Your back was so hot that I was unable to stand it. I could hardly breathe. I therefore ran away and slept in another house. There seemed to be a hot glow coming out of your person!" That is all I could get out of him. As soon as I found he would not return, I asked Mrs. Penri to fill me two big bottles with hot water, and let me have them to keep one on each side of my body. This was done and I went to bed John Gilpin-like. But the necks of the bottles were smooth and all there was to stop them up with were wisps of straw. Alas, I woke up very early in the morning to find that the water had run out and I was frozen down to the boards! That was on December 8. The next day saw me on my way to Hakodate, where I got a foreign room and bed and good European food. In this way, then, did my early life among the Ainu begin.

[417]

362



PLAN OF CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was 576
kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, 171
cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; [778
never throw anything out of any window; never throw 342]
anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was 117
in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so 342 runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of 778 Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lorest this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected.

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred [777] willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told 339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of [776]
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And
when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their
children to accompany them to battle, they enter here
and then all go off together to wage the war, and many
fights take place in the air. There are many allusions
to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 342
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons 778
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside
and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into
an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is
another door which leads into the open air. In the
ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and
so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to
occupy this place. That part of the house extending
from the top of the east-end window is held in special
honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all
the treasures are kept, also a great number of family
charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these,
heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and
fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings
from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes
next to these are preserved the special ornaments and
clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things
may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folk-
lore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and
of great importance always. When the highest gods
are worshipped or when prayers are said to the an-
cestors, they should often be addressed through this
window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 778 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window [576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them, [264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 273 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point. 342 273

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival! 731 342 273

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke! 117 273

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
● [347] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he informed me that the pattern of the original household fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his father before him. It is short but to the point, and runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

T78 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[188] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-

THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 T78 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals. 342 776

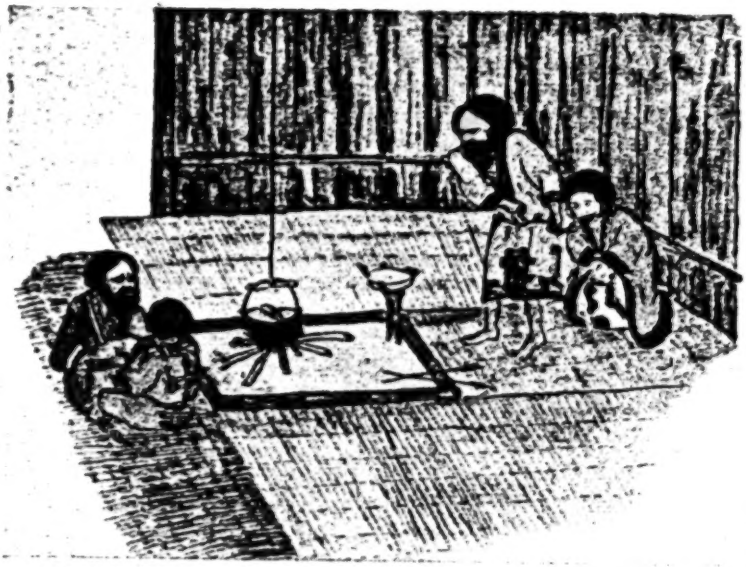
But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment. 783 776

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

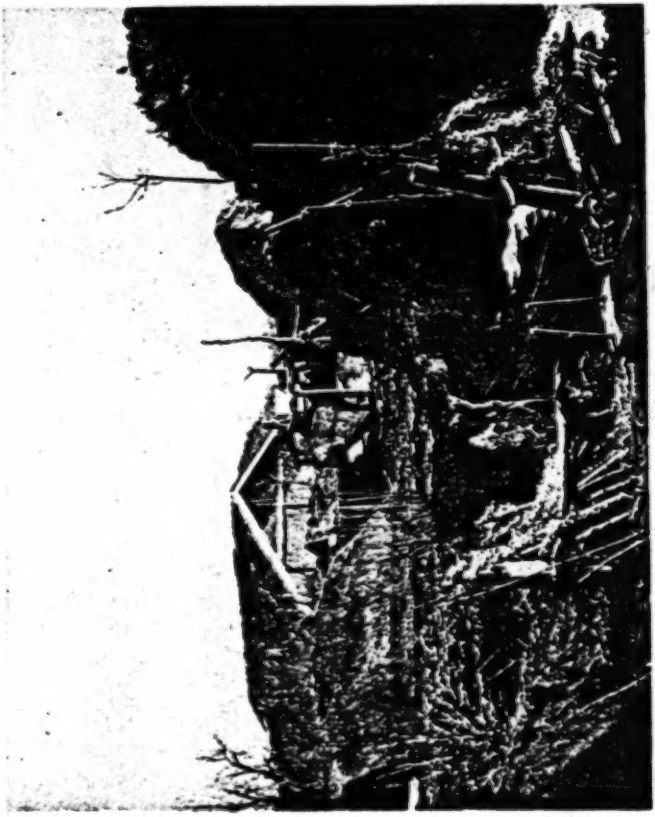
531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
226
342



A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

[p. 296(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
516
342

AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

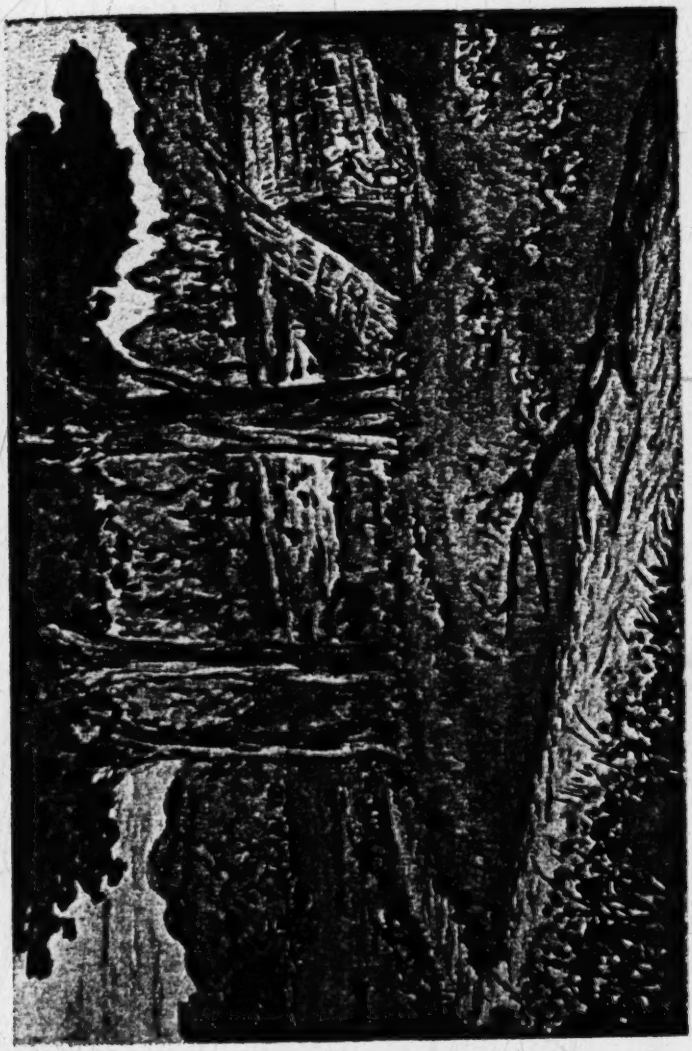
342
492
494

ONE OF MY STOPPING-PLACES

[p. 408(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
531
342

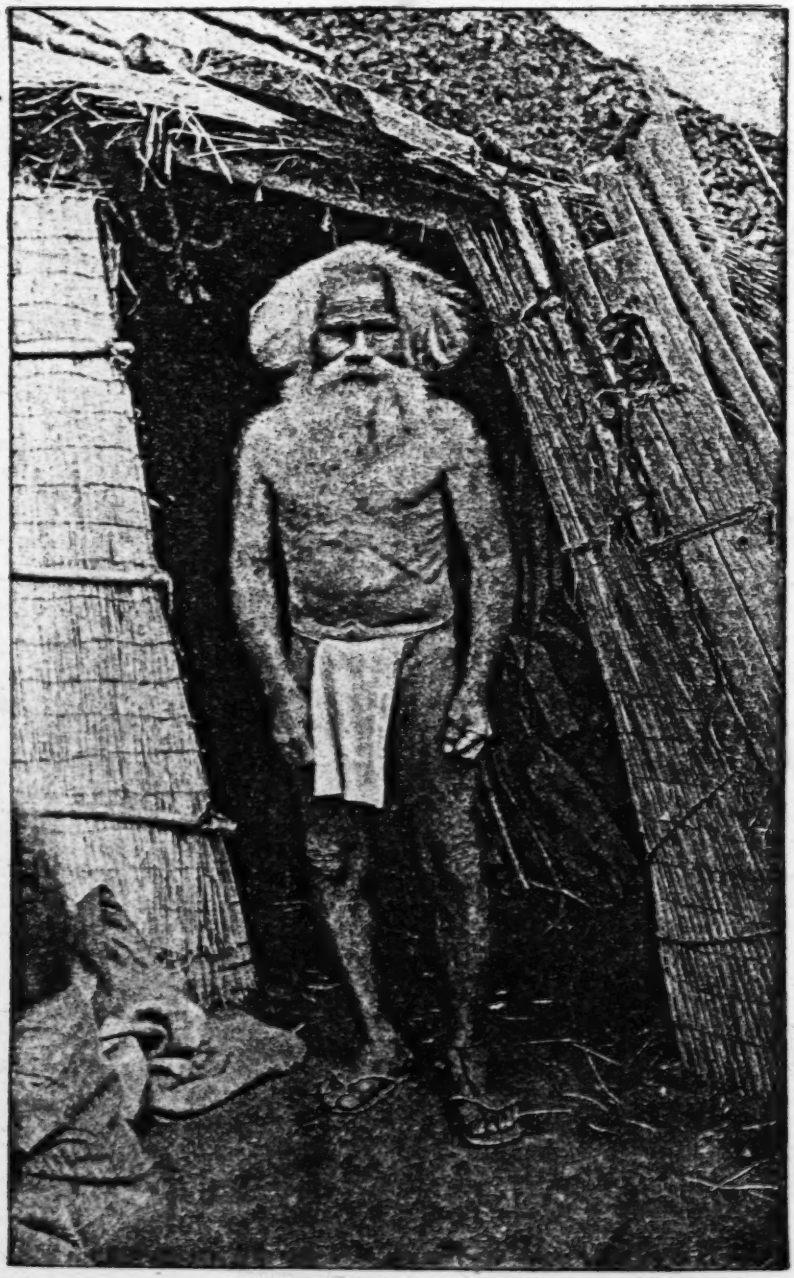


THE HOME OF KUTKI AND YAEMAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.444]A

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Aina AB6

142
291
342



OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 142 (E)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

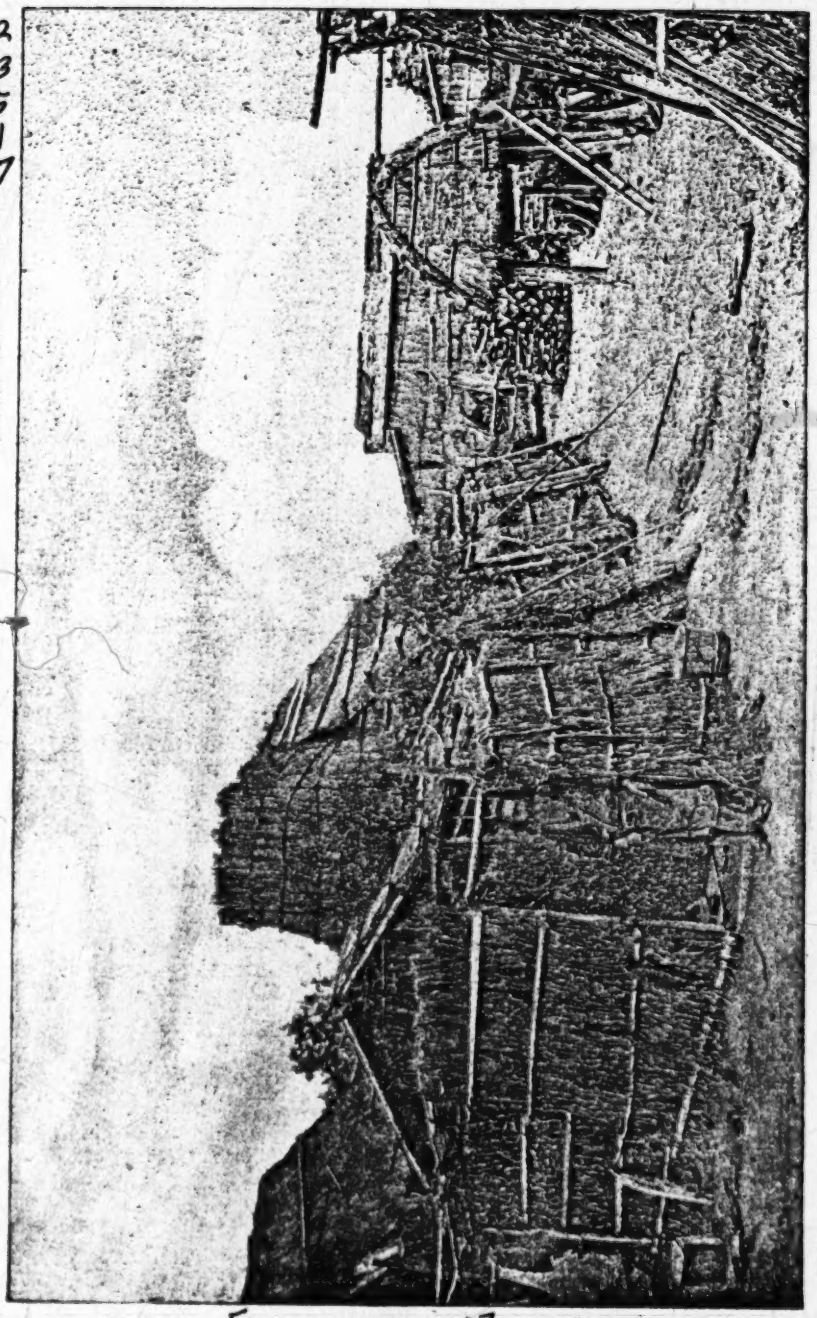
142
302
291
342

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417

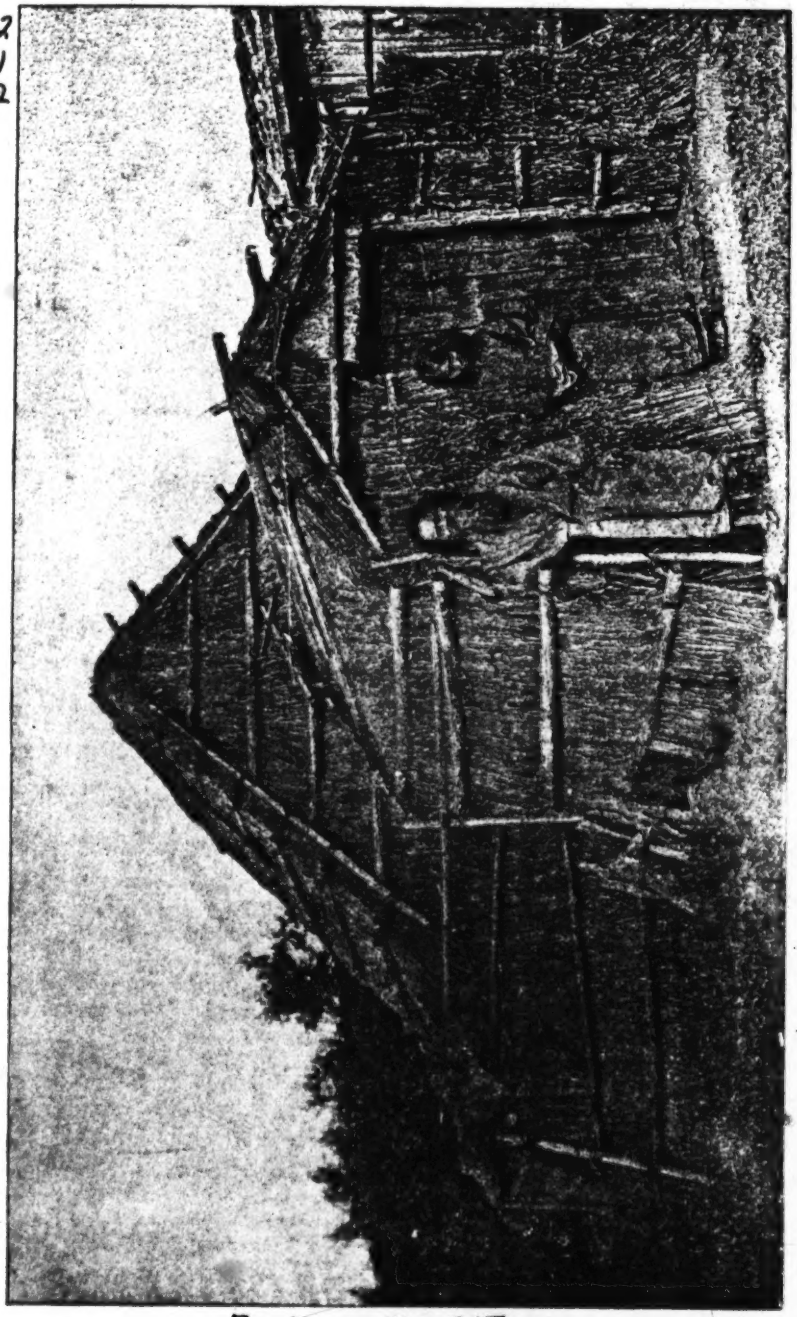


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
291
302

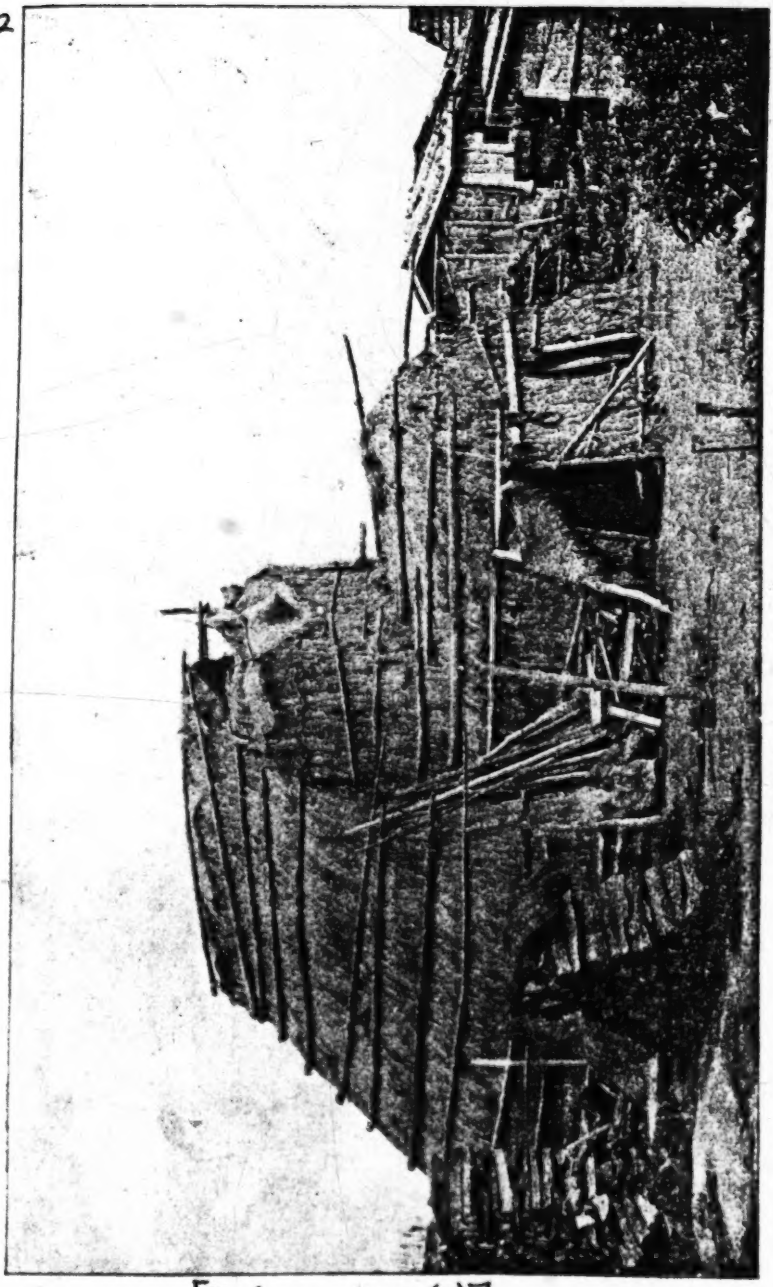


AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342

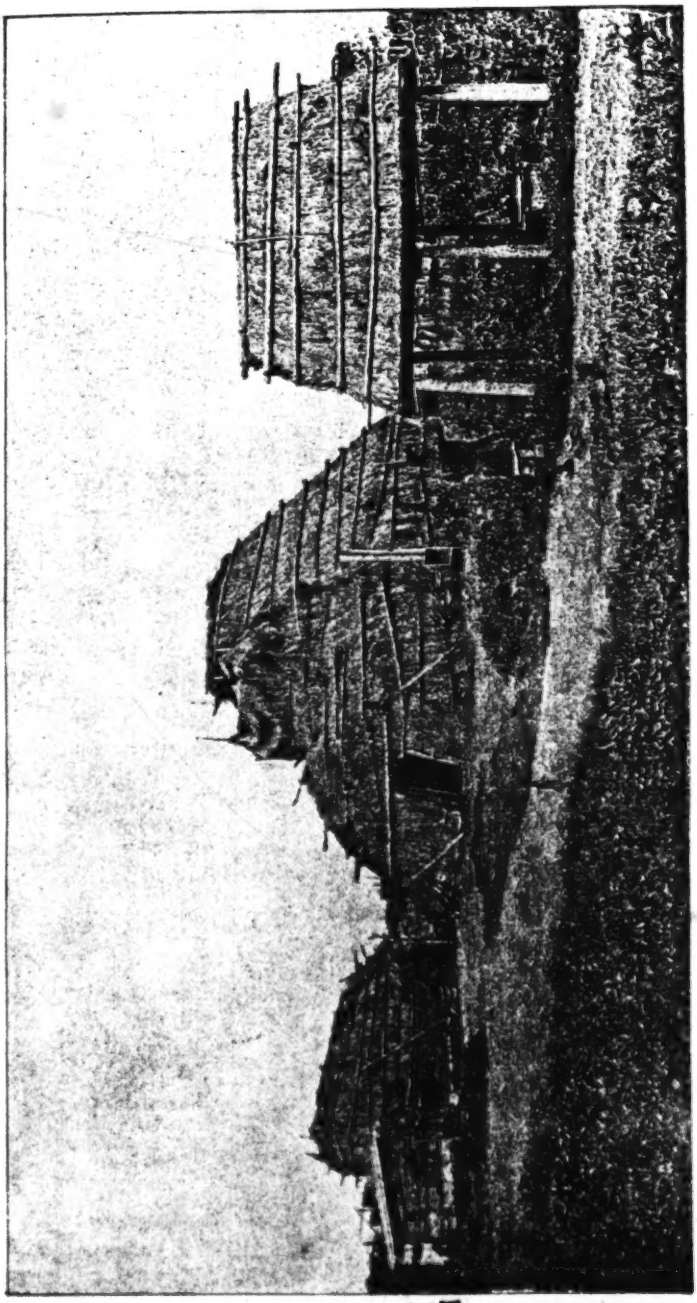


AINO HOUSE AND SIDE TENT, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343

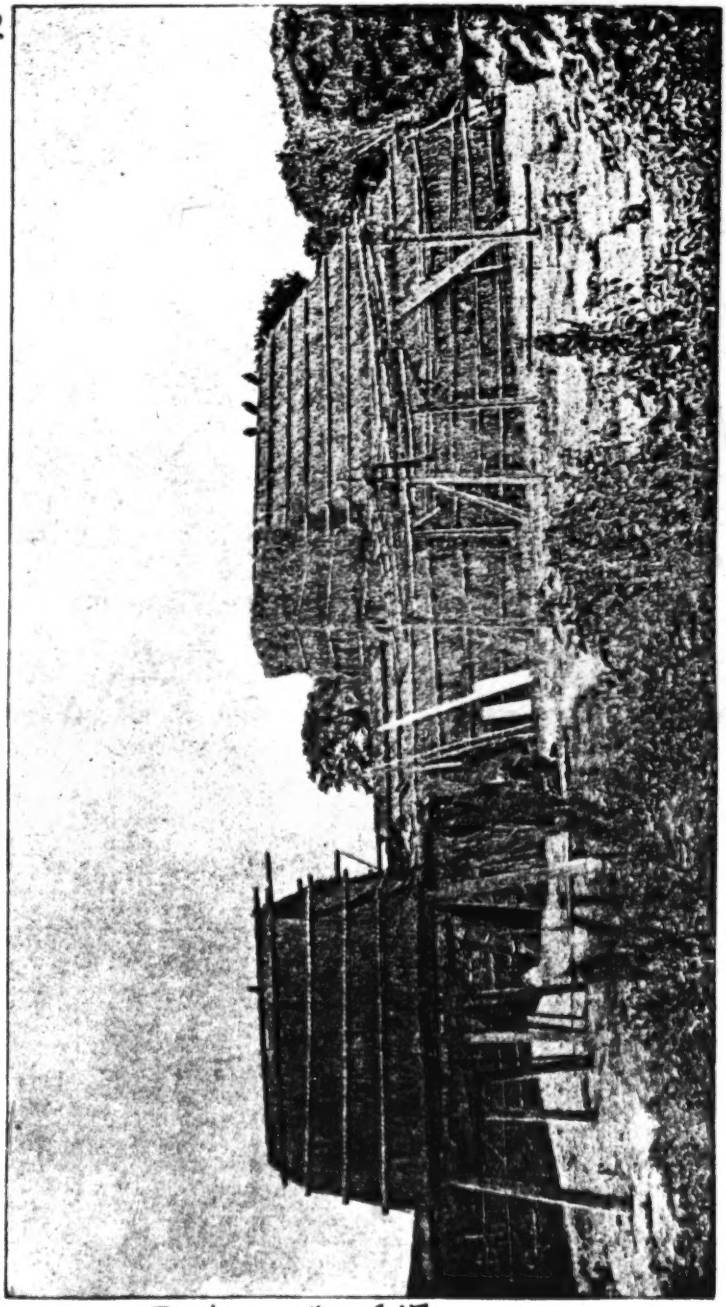


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 431]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [888] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

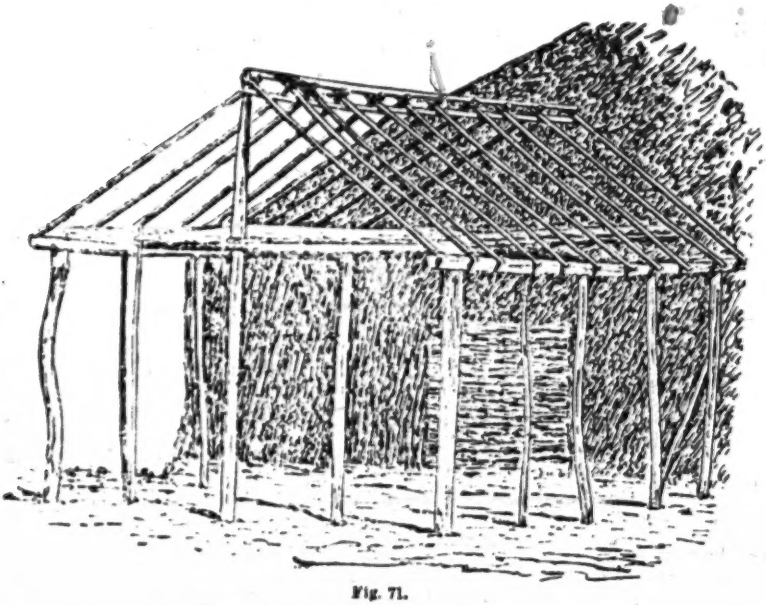


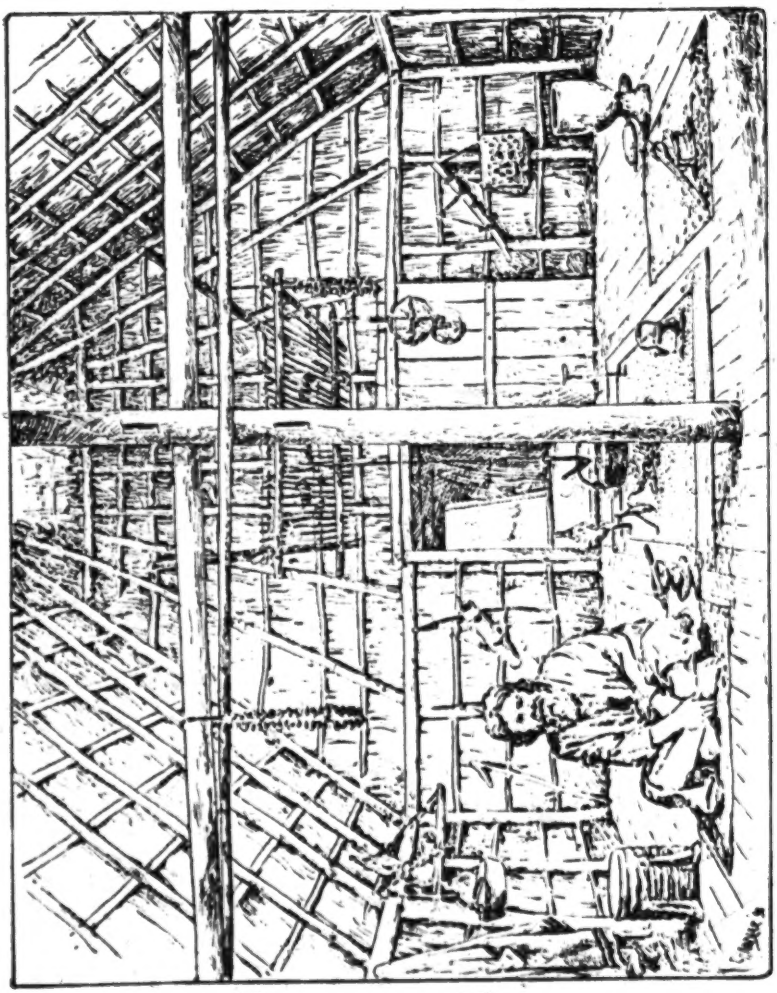
Fig. 71.
FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINU HOUSE.
(From a photograph.)

The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

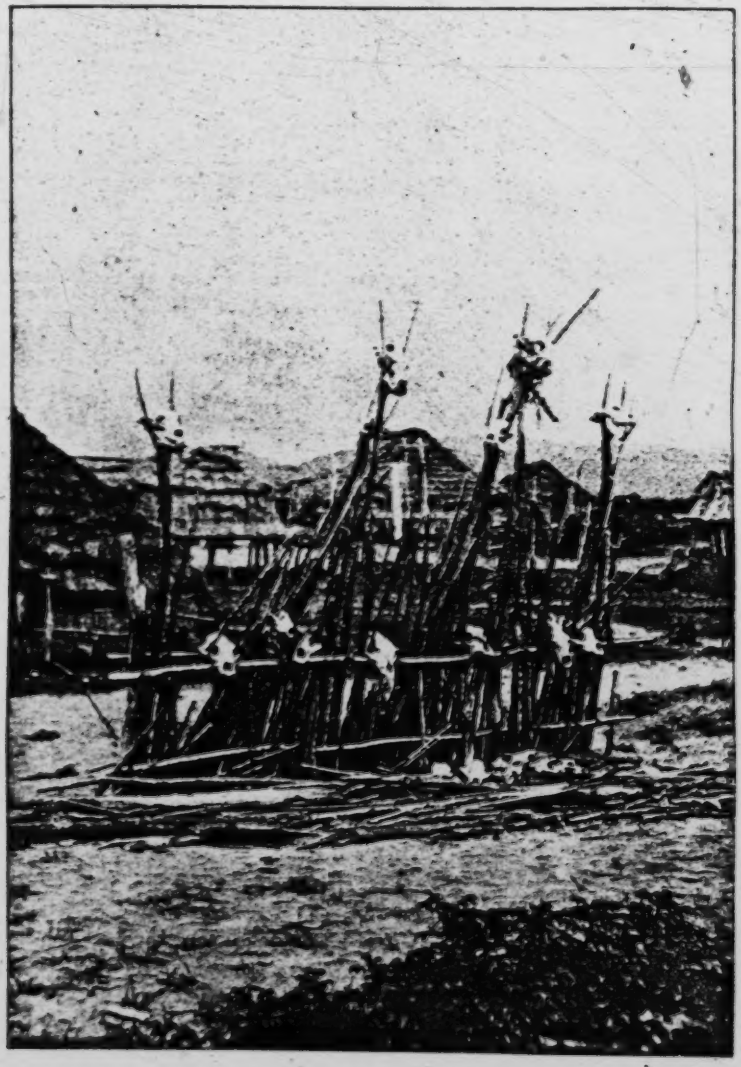
343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778
237
342

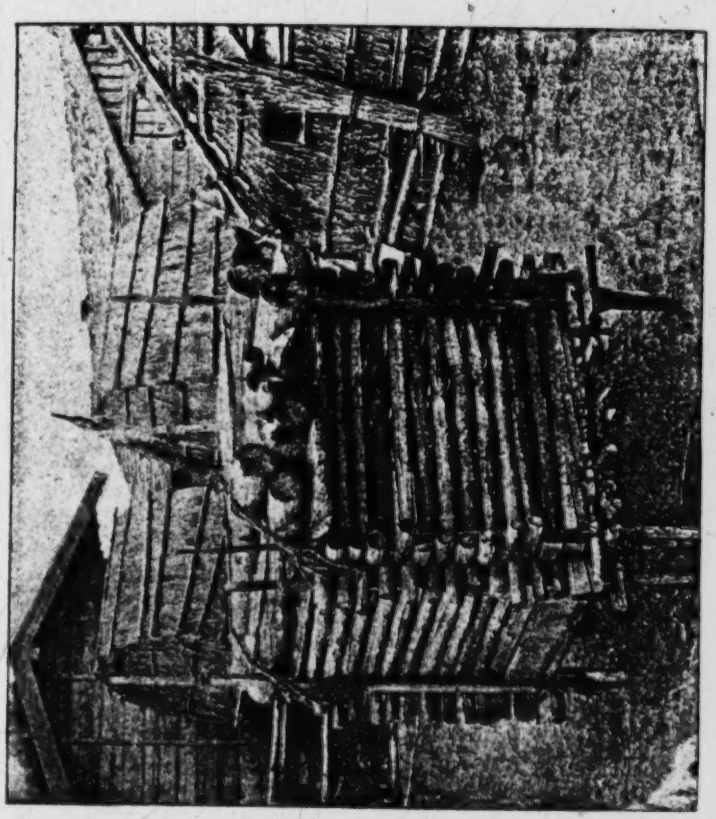


SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO BEAR CAGE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 474]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786 [411]

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150789

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plates.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416 [445]

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745 [342]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[343]

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—This house has a thatched chimney in front of the smoke-hole under the ridge, but no opening in the roof. The smoke-hole is larger in houses of this kind than in those like 745. The entrance is through a passage way in front of the door, which affords protection from cold winds. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 748

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Showing the characteristic strong growth of hair on the legs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 749

Aino house, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the method of construction. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 750

Two Aino girls, Tokoro, Yezo.—Showing the ordinary dress and the rough sandals. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 751

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Leaning on his staff at the door of his hut. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 752

Aged Aino woman, Tokoro, Yezo.—The wife of the man shown in 752. Showing the tattoo marks on lips and arm. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 753

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Nude figure, showing growth of hair on body and limbs. The hair about the breast and shoulders is very long, but the color is not dark enough to show distinctly in the photograph. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 754

Aged Aino man, Tokoro, Yezo.—Back view of the man shown in 754. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 755

Aino canoes, Tokoro, Yezo.—Boats used in river fishing, rudely dug out of a single log. The form varies in different parts of the island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 756

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—One holding a child. Good faces, long unkempt hair. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 757

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—Good types of Yezo Ainos in ordinary dress. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 758

Two Aino men, Abashiri, Yezo.—One an old, patriarchal Aino, such as may often be found in Yezo. Dressed in good clothes, he would appear a dignified and wise old gentleman. The hairiness of the lower limbs well shown. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 759

Two Aino women, Abashiri, Yezo.—Excellent types. They are both tattooed, but the blue marking does not show distinctly in photographs. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 760

Aino man, Abashiri, Yezo.—A large and powerful man, chief of the Aino village. A sleeping dog on the ground. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 761

Main street, Abashiri, Yezo.—A Japanese town on the northeast coast. The low houses, with roofs weighted down with stones, being characteristic of the whole island. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 763

Aino man carrying a water tub, Abashiri, Yezo.—The usual manner of carrying a load on the back. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 767

Aino Village, Yezo.—The village adjoining the Japanese town Abashiri. View along the beach, the houses all facing the sea, only far enough back to be beyond the reach of the waves in stormy weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 768

Beach, and fishing boats, Abashiri, Yezo.—View of the beach within the bar and boats, from behind the houses shown in No. 763. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 769

House on Shikotan.—Occupied by Kurile islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 770

Shikotan village.—General view of village from the hill-side on the west. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 771

Street scene, Shikotan.—General view of the street from the south. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 772

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them.

Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their

[p.1]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

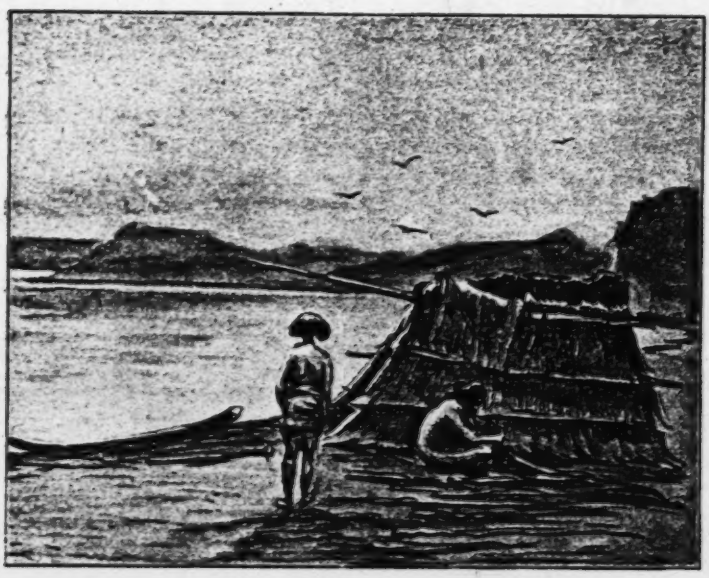
Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 342 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[550] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [990] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123 609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

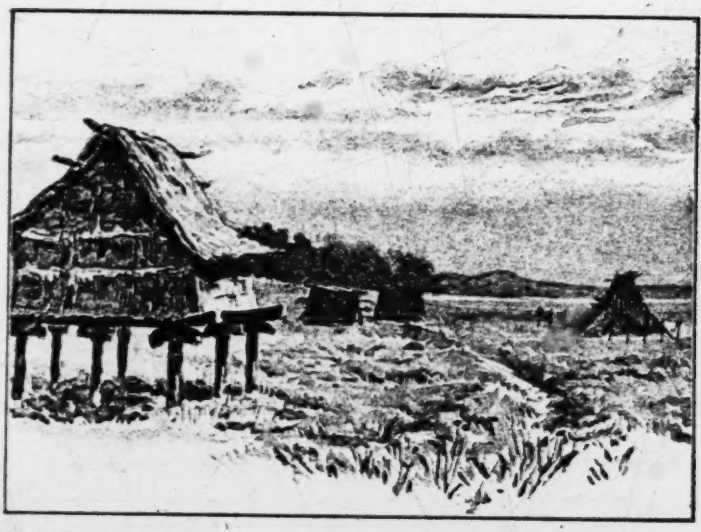
a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKOBETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

[P. 50]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it was extremely useful to me. [122]

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for Ainu doorways have no doors. [342]

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

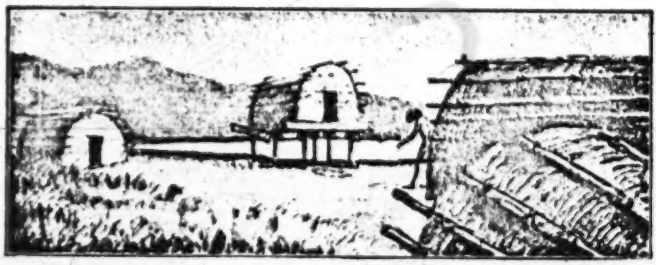
through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down. 342 132 184

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with [171] the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those [341] built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must 172 have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



342
343

AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [347] 184 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three [361] Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about 291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

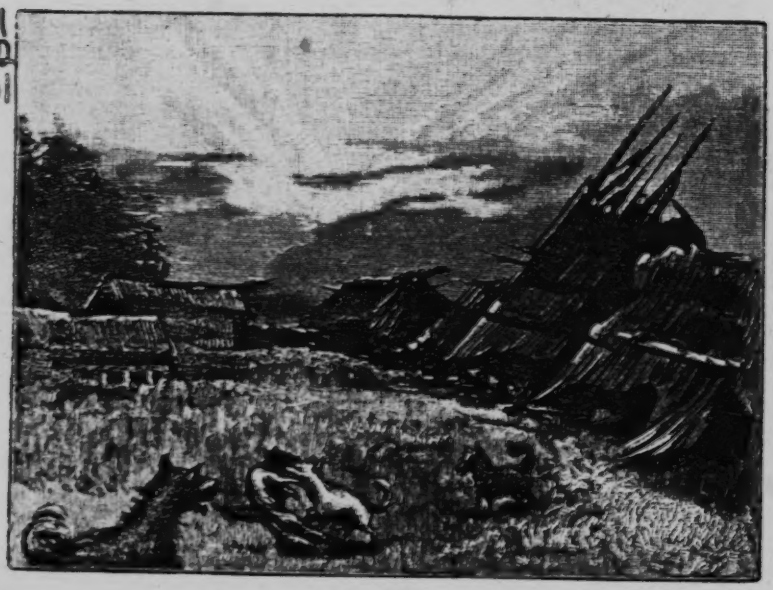
142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

361
340
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one [184] room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own 342 architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive [476] the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter [352] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds 399 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a 517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping 412 accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly 415 carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

342

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days 354 are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

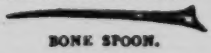
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

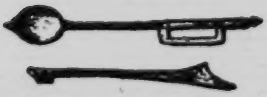
It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.



WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very 58
stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes
a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his
affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and
there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of
closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate
the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids,
no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the
happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom 591
either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for
his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's
hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective
families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The 585
honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride [467]
carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom 342
accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together
as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the
happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and
perched on the forked poles, during which process "family [598]
rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when
the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns
within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds
to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her [304]
arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, 595
for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would
like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782

Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

● 342.

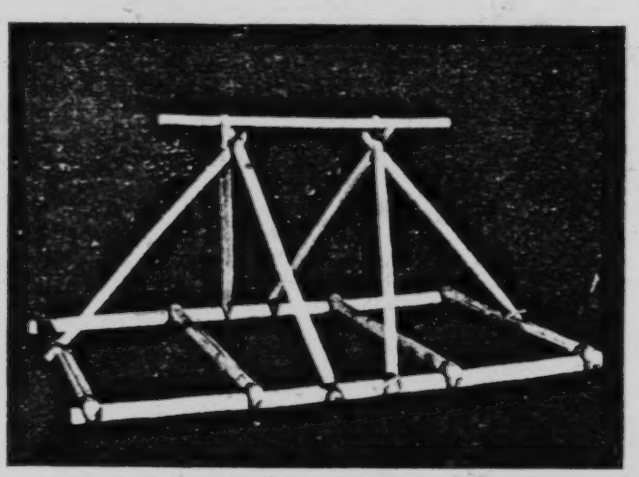


Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-pi

PLATE X. *INAU* AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30 (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
302
291

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (v)]

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chiset*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over
[231] which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789 776 231 782 778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

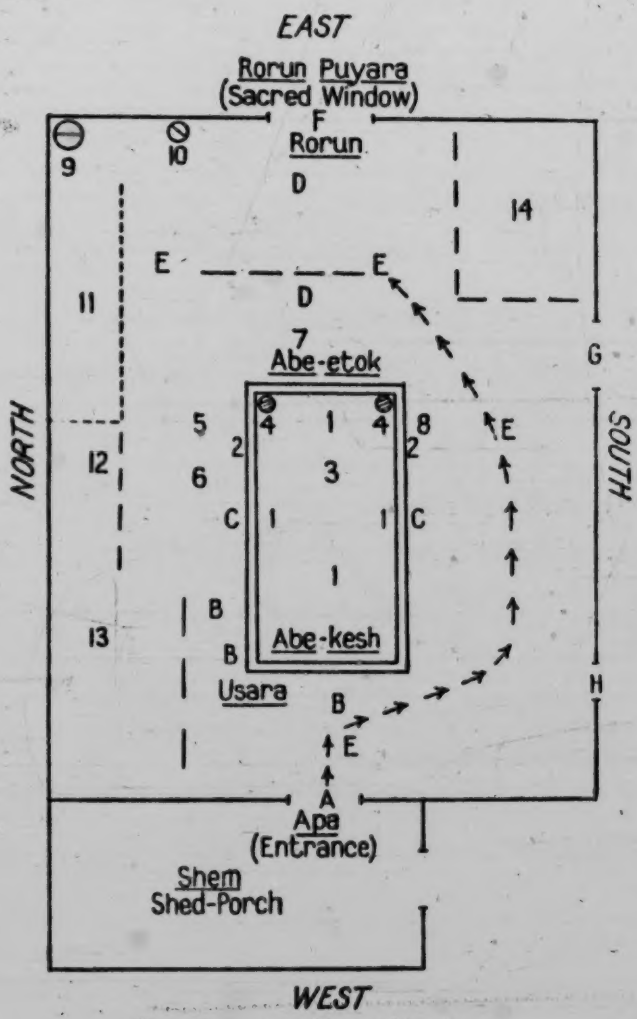
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME

Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

342
778
353
354



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

415 523 [796] [782] [322]

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

301 177 789 422 [554] [304]

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

411 177 353

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

523 422

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

353 523 422 177 342

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

[428]

422 [353] [523] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

[177] [342] The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and 422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, 411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least [531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when [755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden 789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value [777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike [773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, [532] the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes 342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre- [513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), [264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the 342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing 574 (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuiat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 772 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an inte[illegible]ing dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a [778] backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
[171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, [782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 576 527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 [554] The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

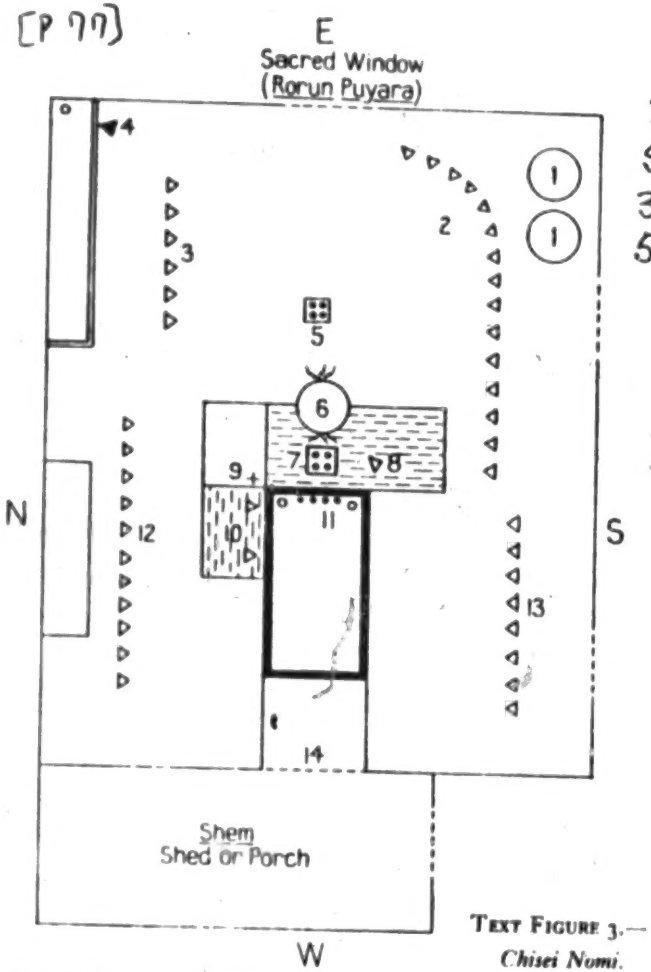
342 527 273 When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that [411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [789] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

[P 77]

342
527
353
554



TEXT FIGURE 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

•342
535
291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

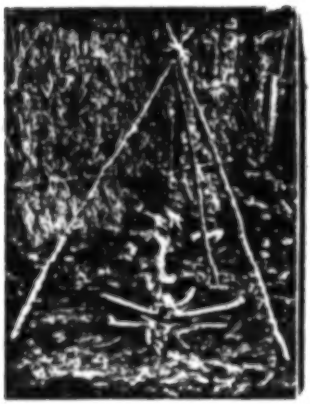
• 342

1.

343 ←

342
796
354
→

2.



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisi mika*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 527 782 292 789 582

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

342 527 782 177

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342 527 782 273 769 796 115

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

342 527 782 554 516

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M. 177

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

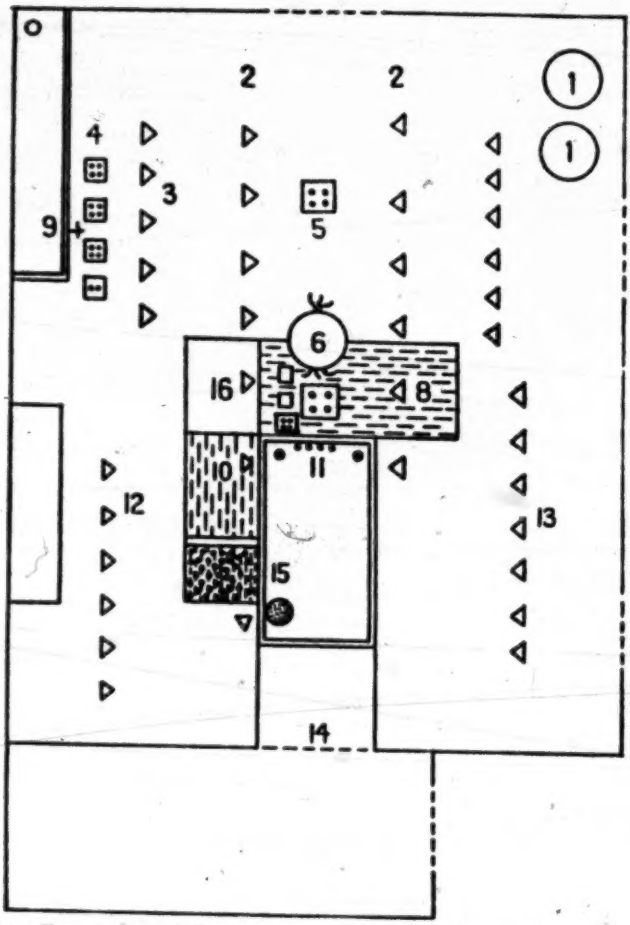
A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 83]

342
527
782
554
353



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

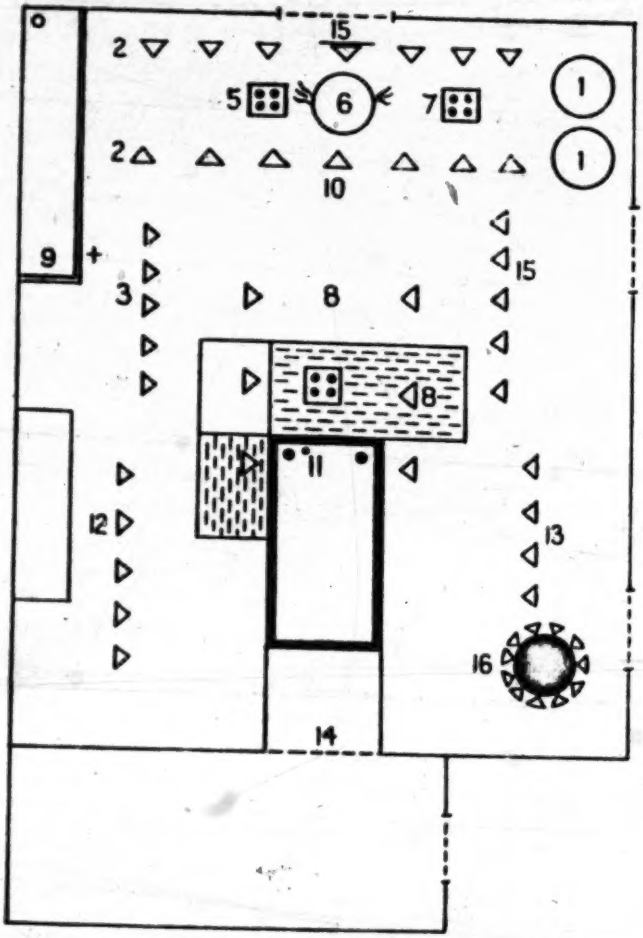
2. Arrangement of *U-eshophi*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

[P. 95]



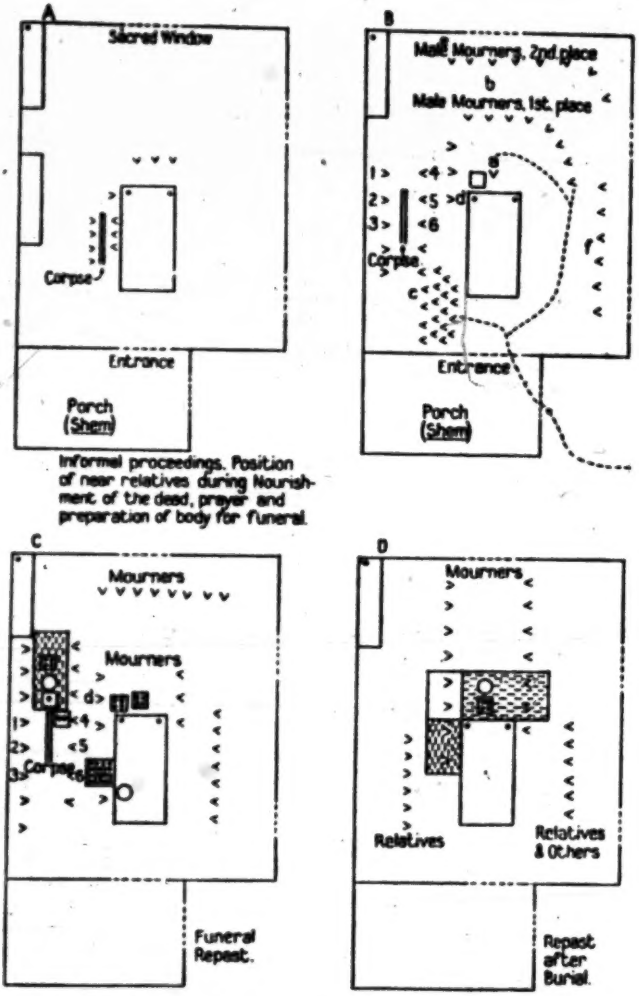
574
769
353
778
342

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-rshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-ush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

[P. 127]

342
764
602



TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

/326/

172 • 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, 223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *1*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [311]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

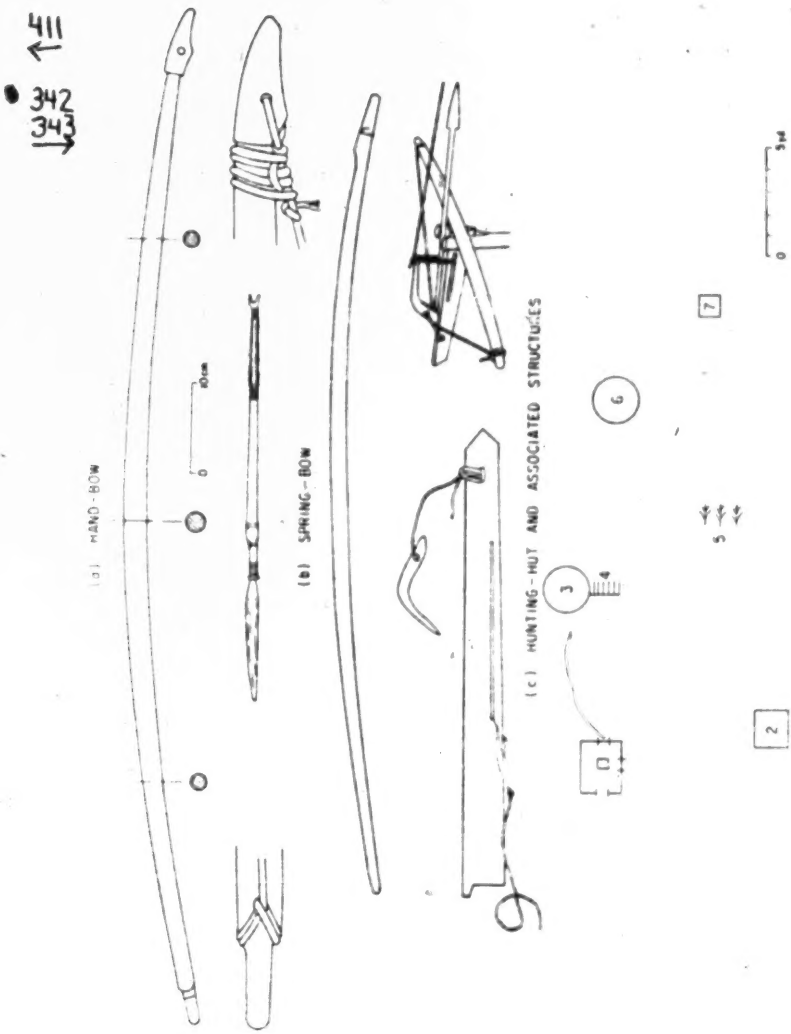


Fig. 5. (a) and (b), Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as ***kimun iworu***, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below ***kimun iworu***.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, ***tekehe utari***, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to the river-owning ***kamui***[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the [361] junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, ***kamui***. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had 342 a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other ***kamui*** outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

NOTES

I

161
162
342

(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175 361 342 103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushikọ on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 60 The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are
[825] *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [78] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 199 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[13] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[13] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont./

195
342
354
113
352
199
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195
342
352
354
[199]
[171]

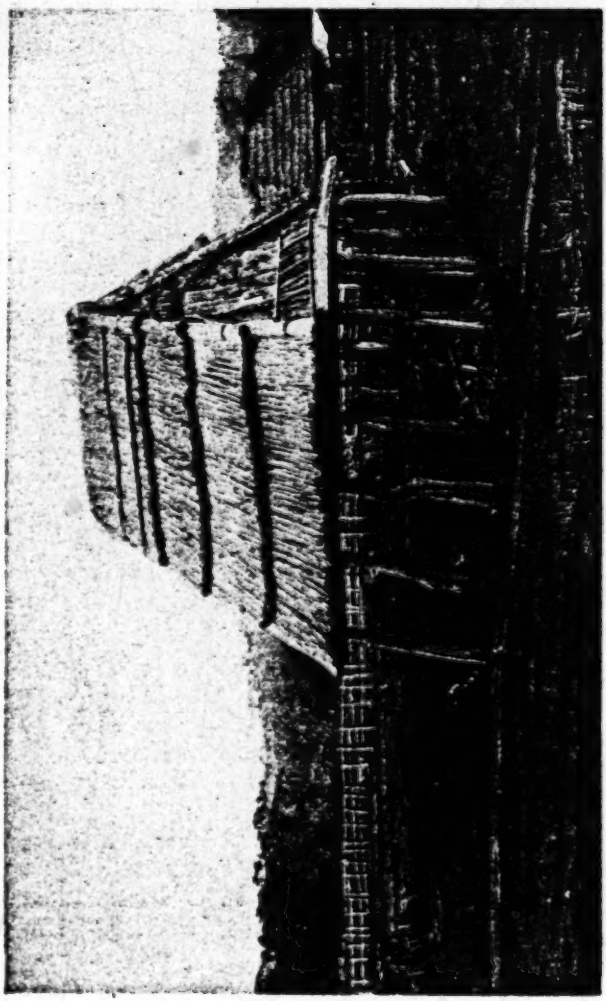
detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin
[184] those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
251



AN AINU GRANARY

[P. 88(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

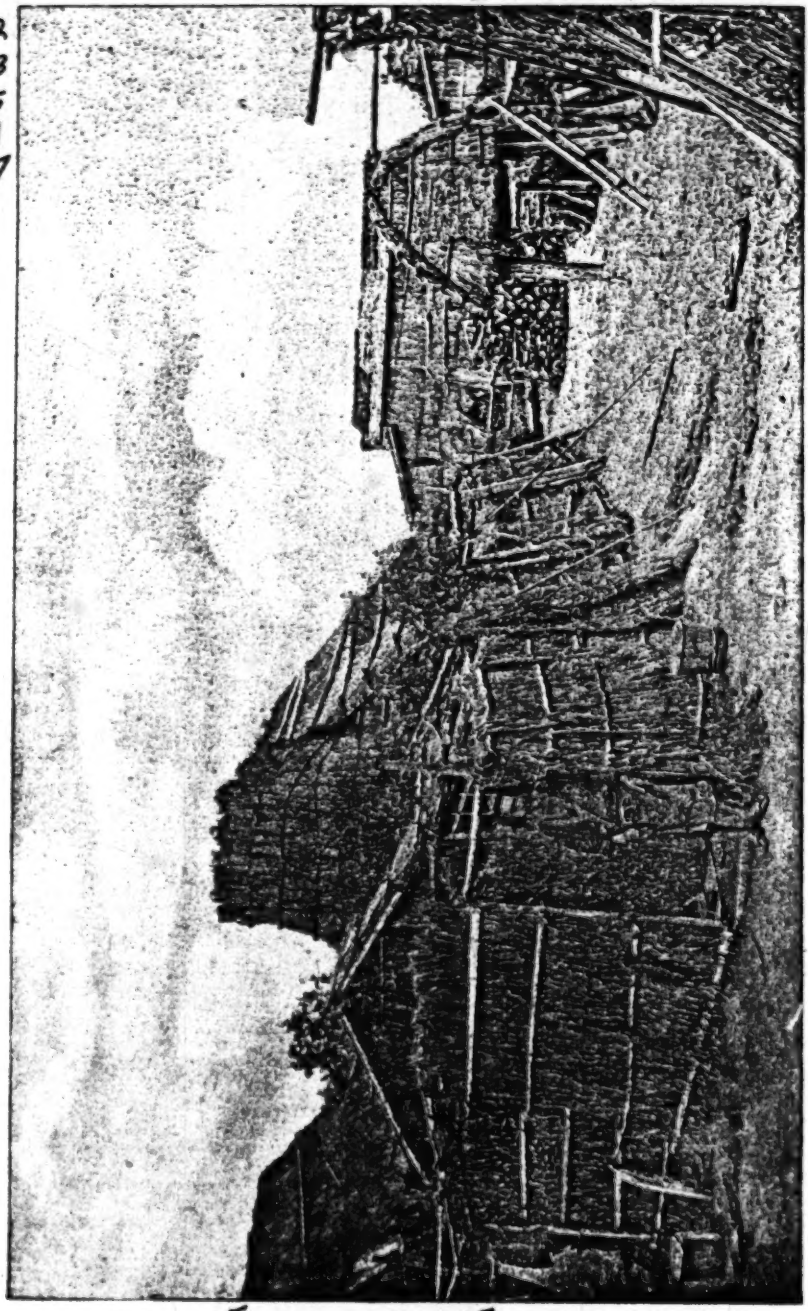
343
488
417

OLD JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN AINU STOREHOUSE

[p. 286]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417

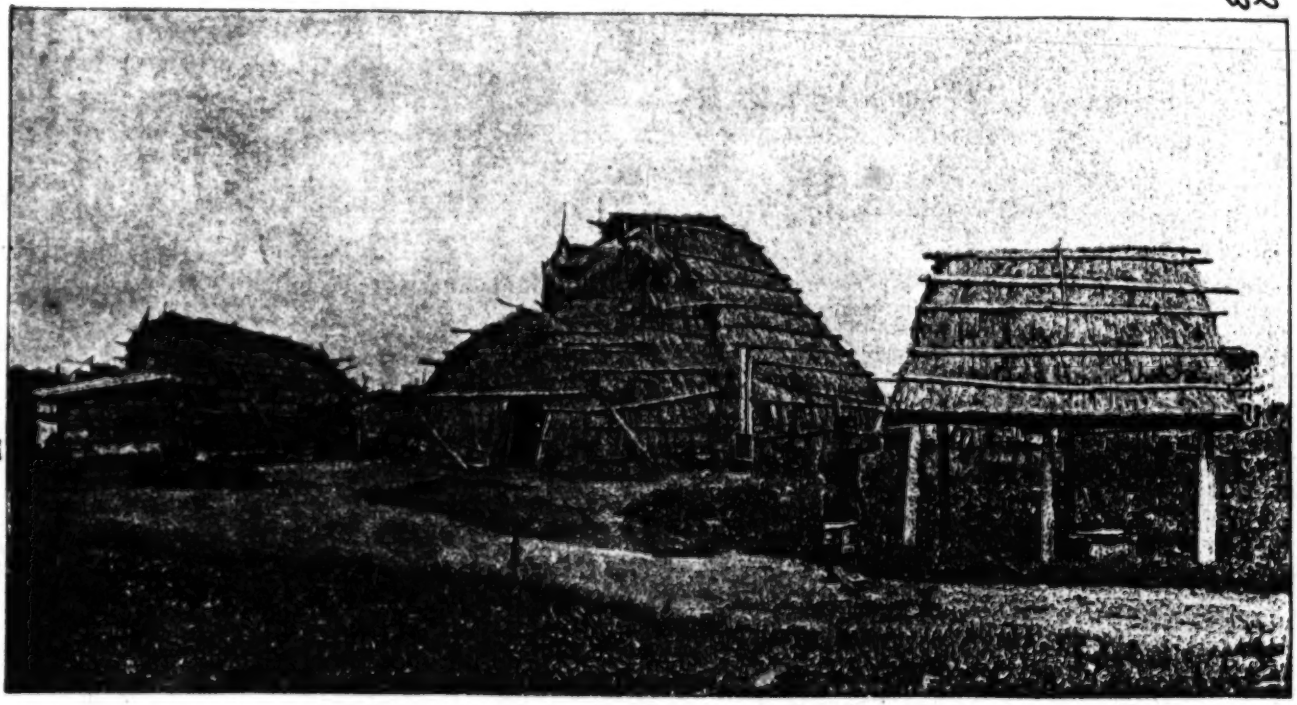


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343

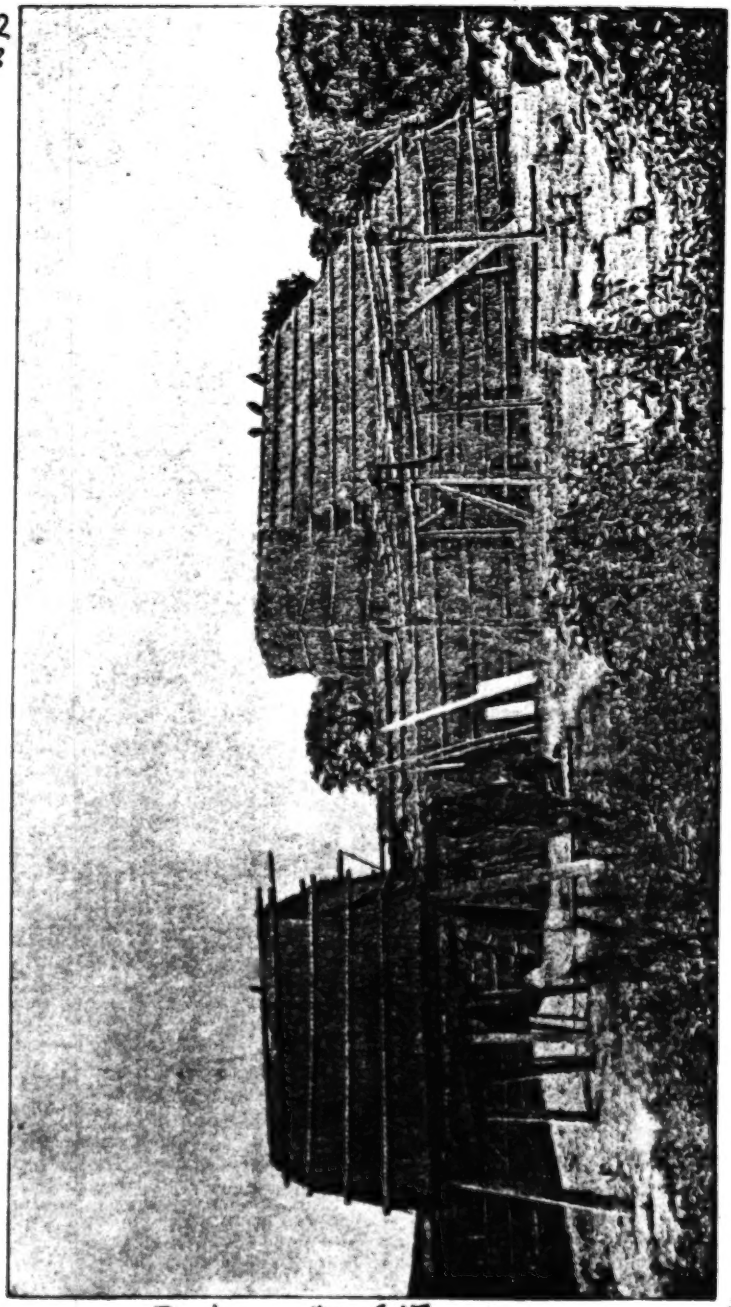


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

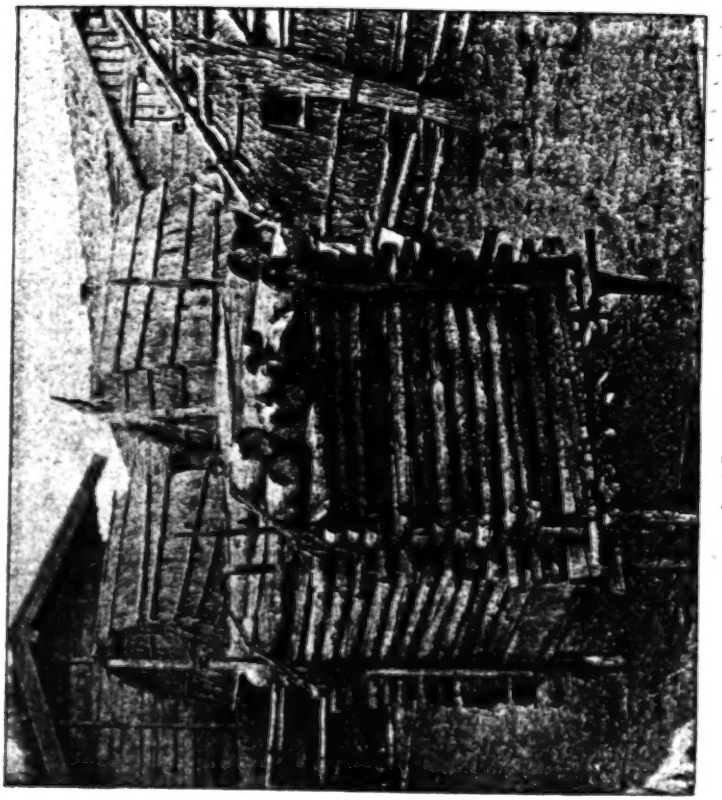
● 343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343



AINO BEAR CAGE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 474]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 796
present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343
nusha kamui should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778
Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114
substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825
bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1889.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

•343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

[P. 22]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

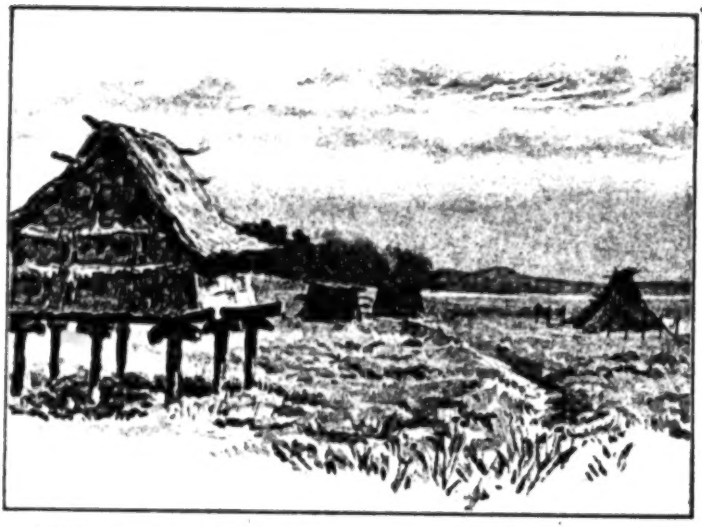
The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKOBETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

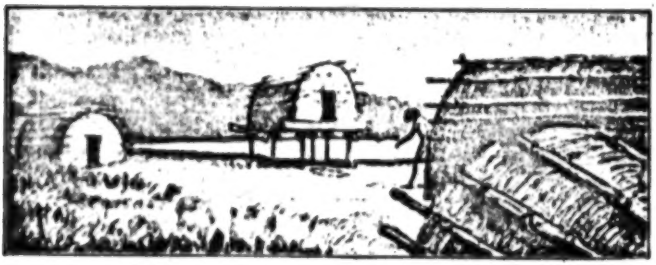
CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan ; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

[P. 50]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



342
343

AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be de[redacted]d in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses. They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary. The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atsis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

● 343 Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui* [262] *haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

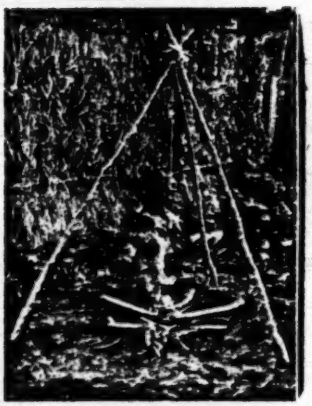
342

1.

343

342
796
354

2.



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX, HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [31]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

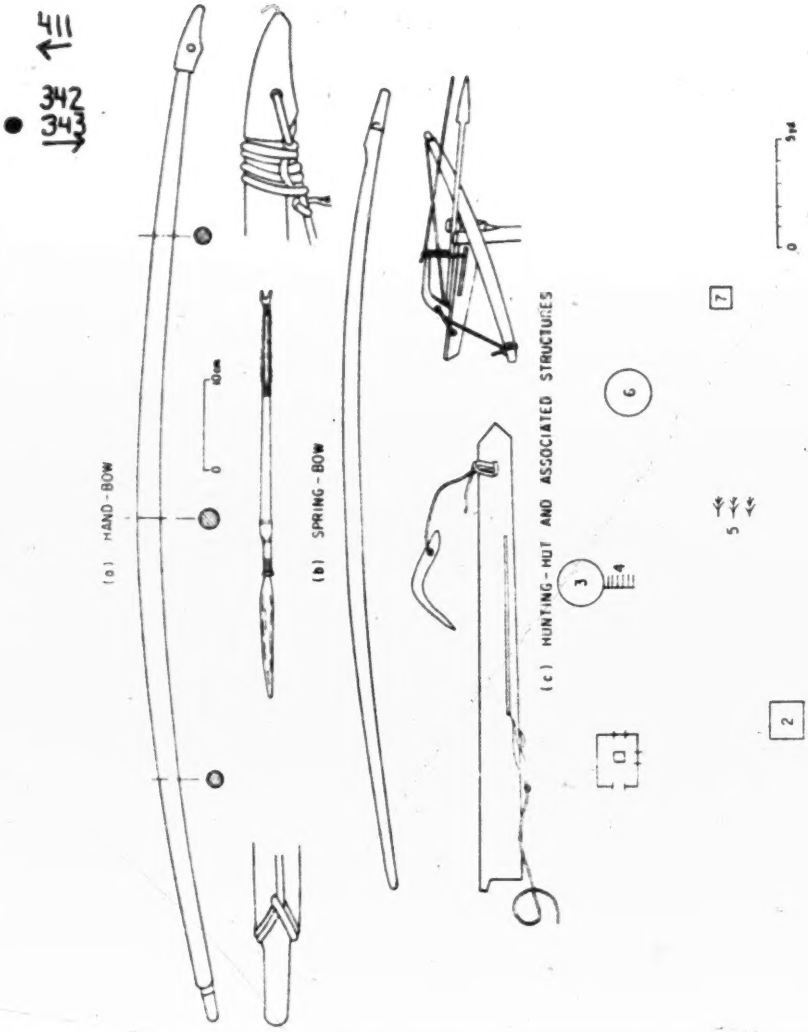


Fig. 5. (a) and (b), Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the
window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest 778
violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed 776
of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, 342
my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information ob- [784]
tained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my [171]
attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated struc- 342
tures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, 343
these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of [178]
arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what re- [538]
mains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, 342
altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido 343
Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative posi- 361
tion of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the 778
storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the 184
altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [888]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

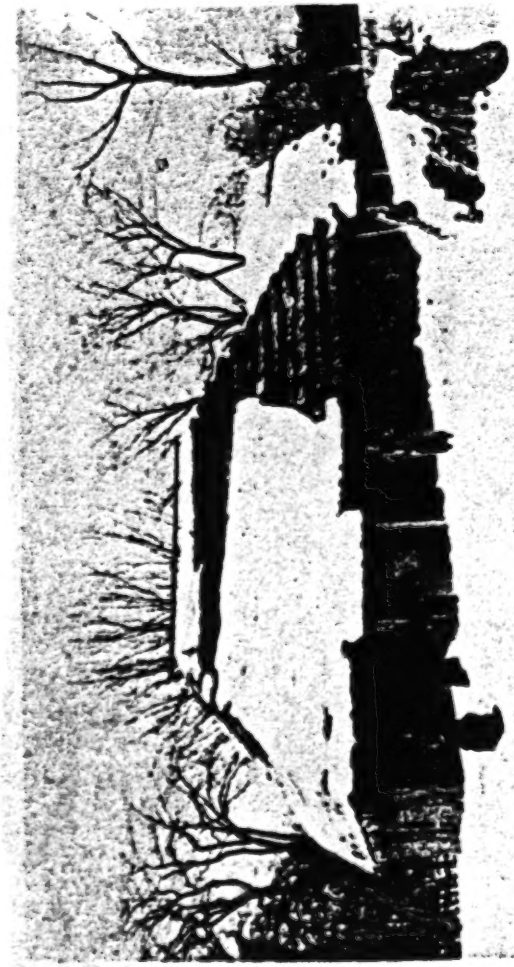
When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●344



OUR OLD HOME BUILT FOR AINU SICK AT SAPPORO

[p.252]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

346

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES--description of shrines, temples, churches, libraries, museums, schools, and other religious and educational structures; special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Administration of schools and colleges 87
Administration of libraries and museums . . . 217
Administration of sacred places 778
Administration and functioning of churches . . 794

F A *648 461 579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A F 658 212 177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A F *648 702 *175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A F 346 797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami. . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

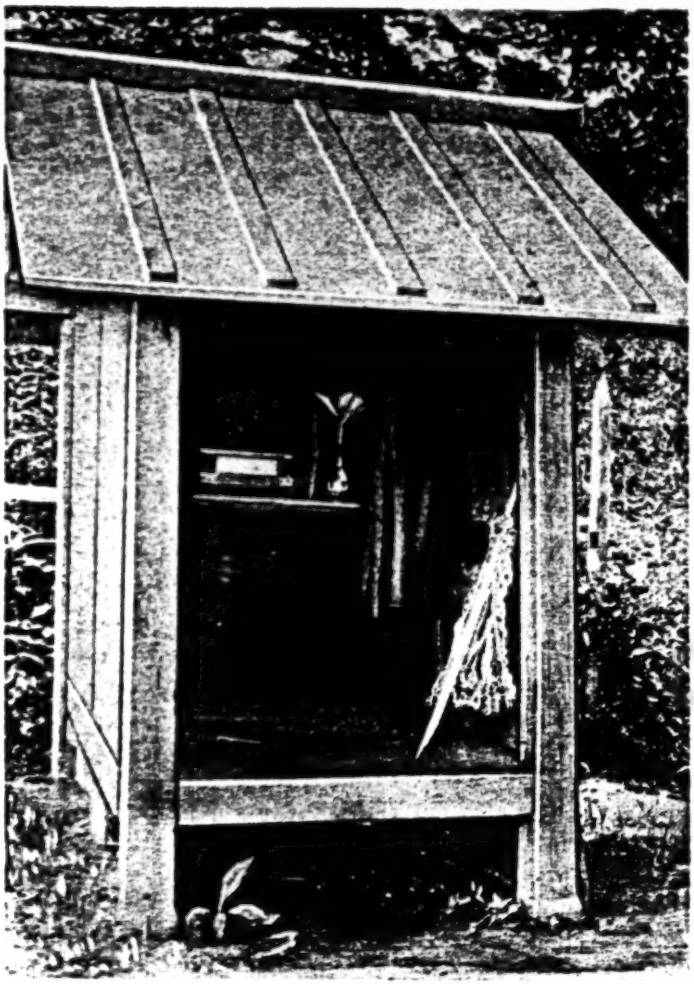
THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 348
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [824]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
171
346



SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (c)]

A F *698 *175 439 were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *698 *175 452 439 This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [349] A [567]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [651]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

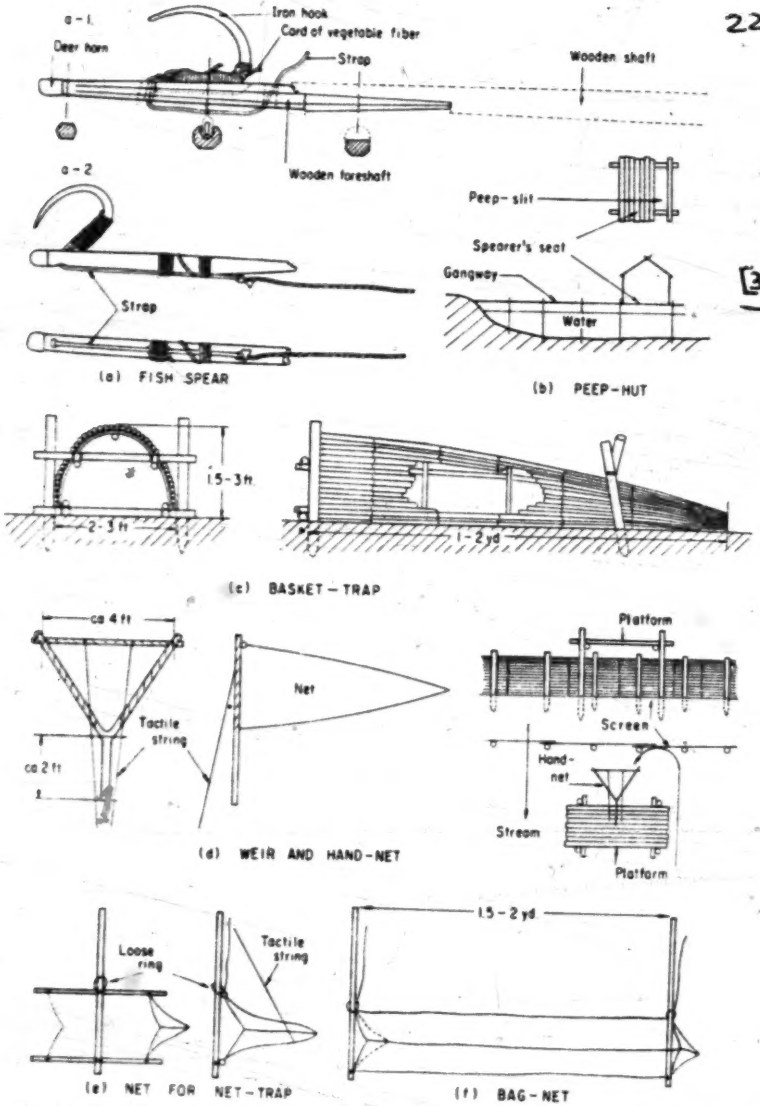
[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [567]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

227



[349]

Fig. 2. Fishing gears. (a), 1-2, Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (b)-(f), reconstructed on the basis of the data from the Ainu informants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[324] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[324] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

● 352 All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was
744 just one empty whisky (*saké*) barrel which I used for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

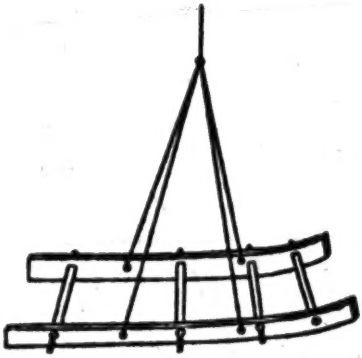
744 A long time after this, when I was talking to
825 another friend about these creatures, he told me they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

846 Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

[352 855]



AN AINU CRADLE

846 843 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or gohei sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving

THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

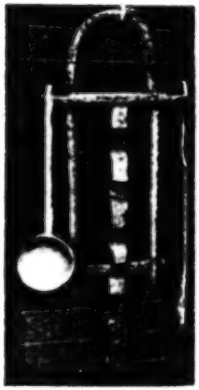
THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

47
352
415
301



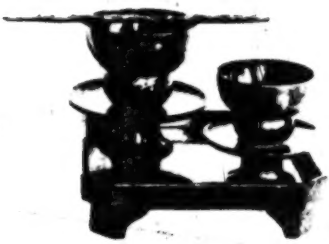
1.

2.

3.

415
[782]
[413]

4.



5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shinteko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

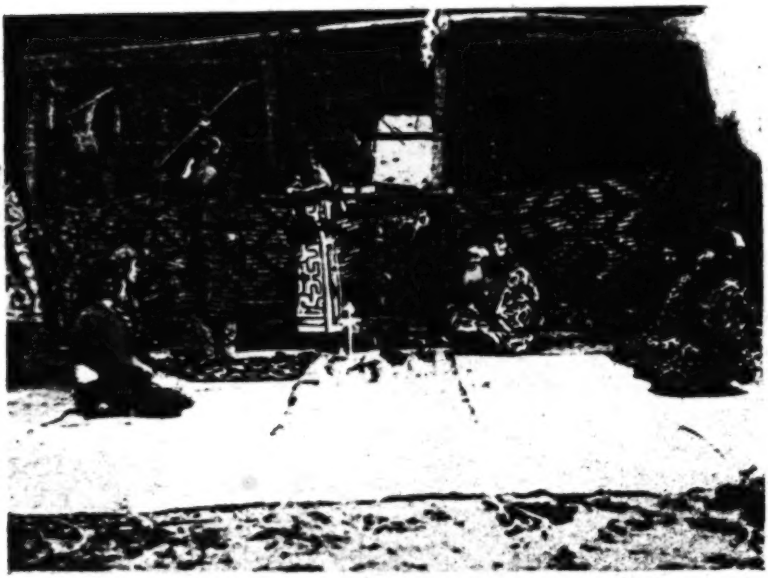


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshoplu* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

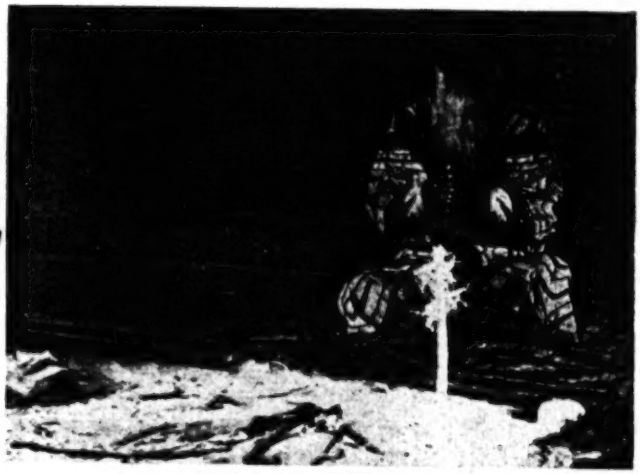
The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

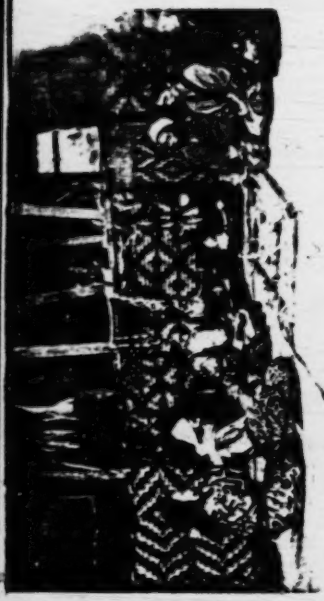


Fig. 1. An'*imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *inao* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

2: Schrenck--472 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

/333 cont./

175
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

175
342
352
354
[177]
[171]

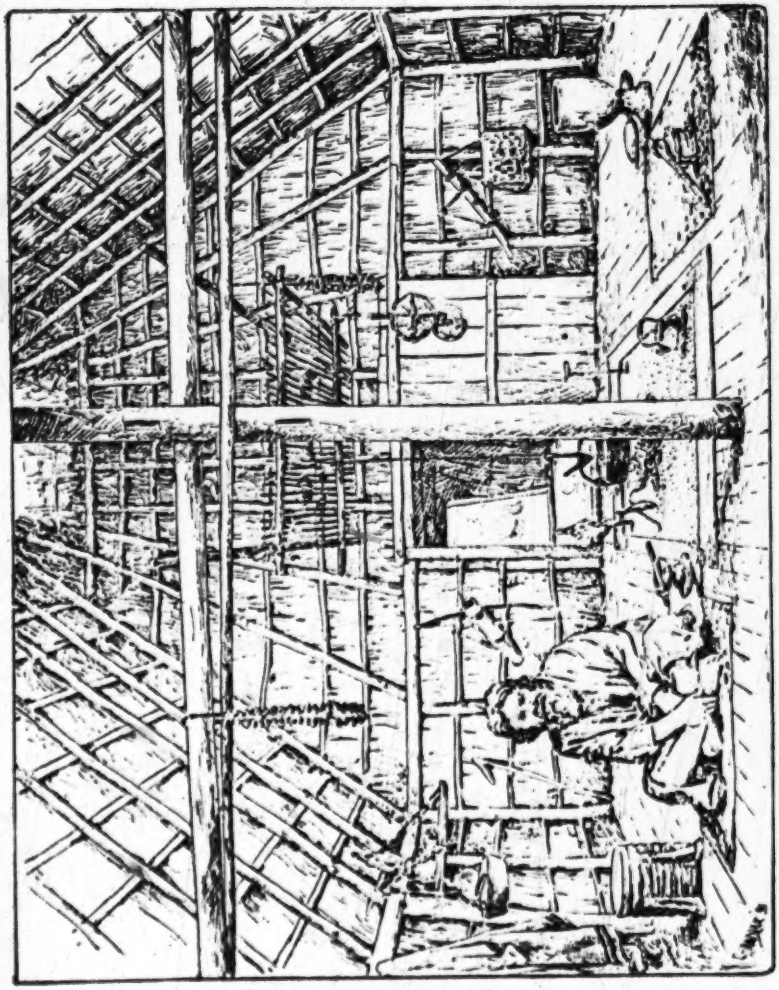
detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin [184] those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

342

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except [512] on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

523
415
●353

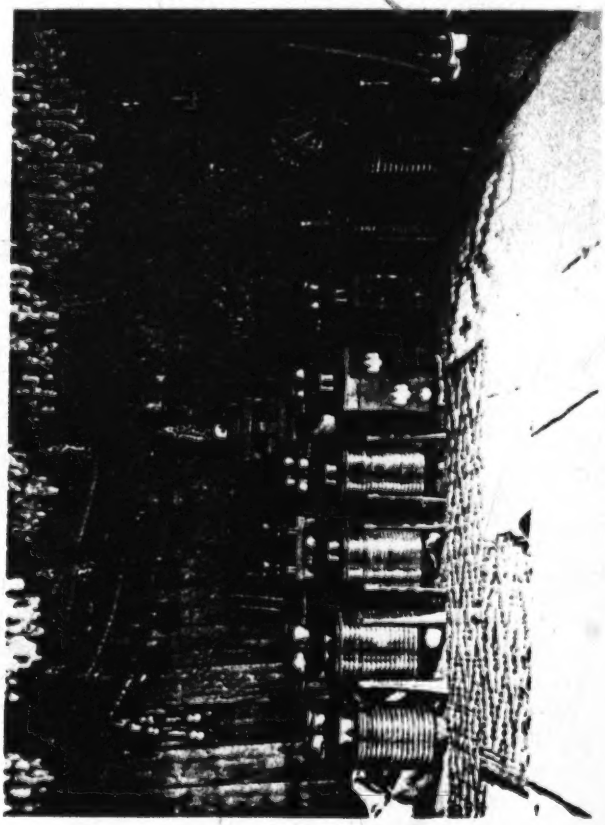


PLATE XII. Household treasures.

[p. 30 (4)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
302
291

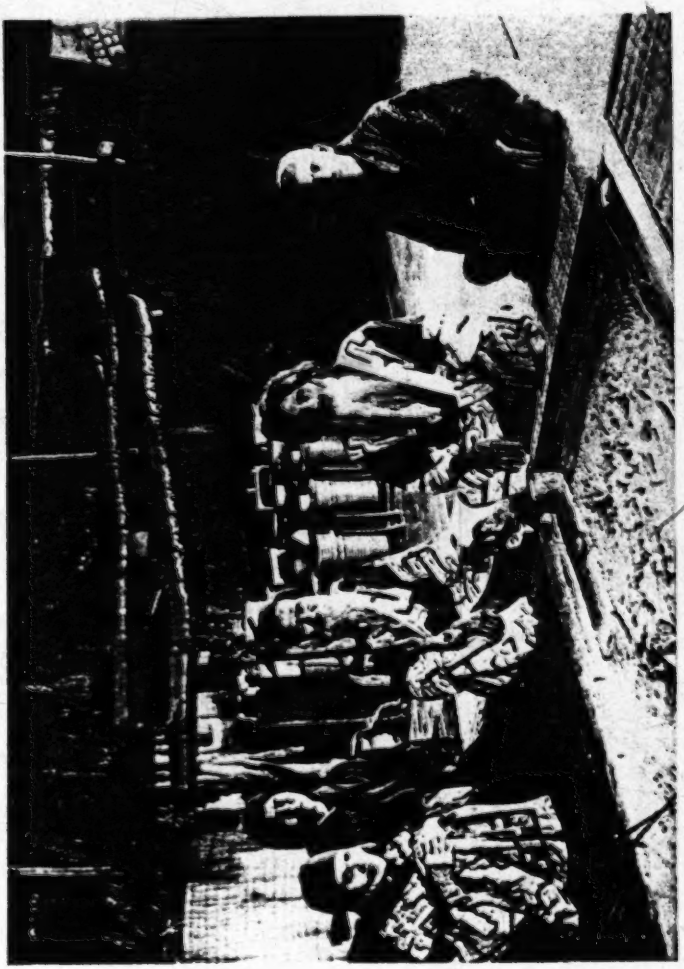


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
● 353
352
789

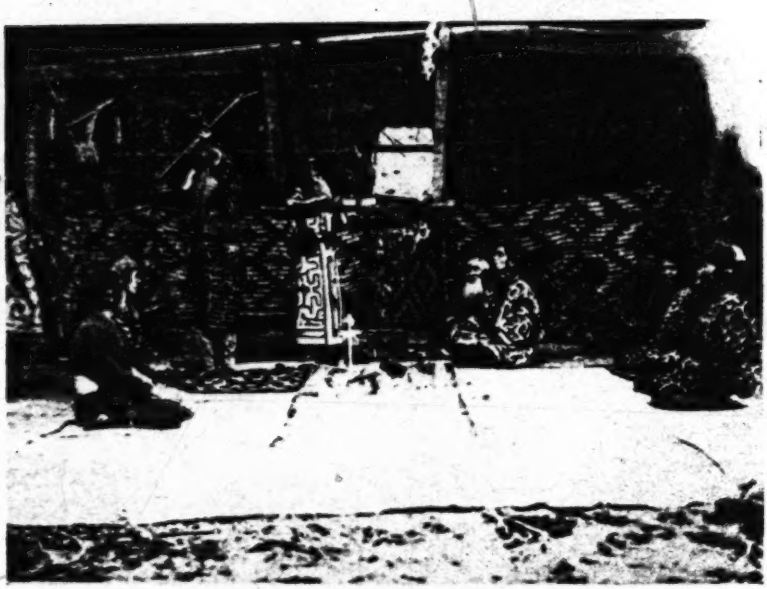


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-ushopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

●[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

542 353 354 [796] [782] from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

354 764 774 354 775 Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, [184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354 776 774 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe [688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no [586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

[796] [782] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

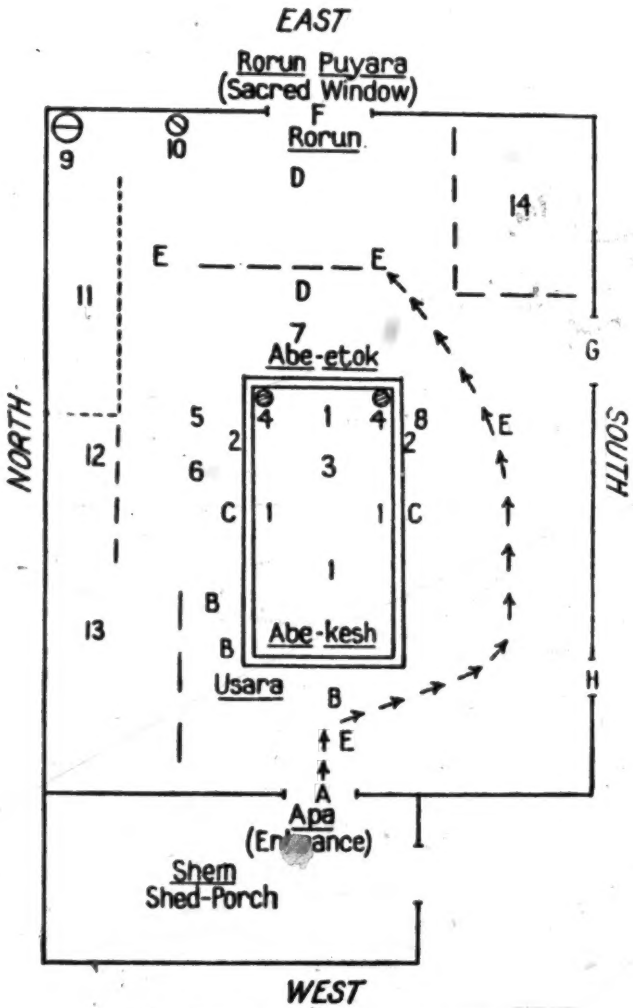
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME

Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

342
778
353
354



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). [776] Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. [439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and [177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

422
[353]
[523]
[177]
[342]
422
411
[531]
[789]
[755]
422
789
[777]
[773]
[532]
353
342
[513]
[264]
342
574

HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

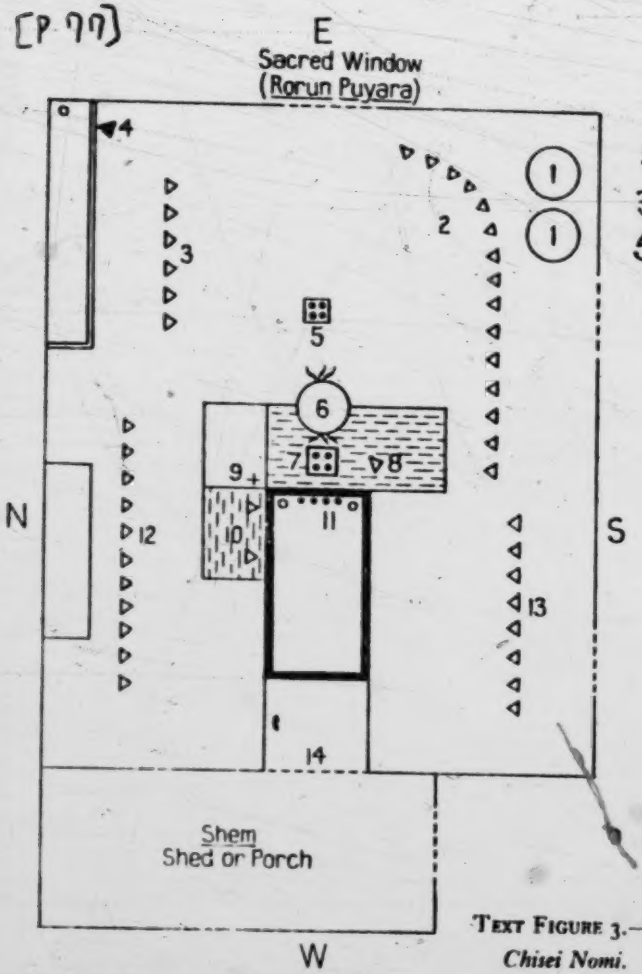
All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 77]

342
527
353
554



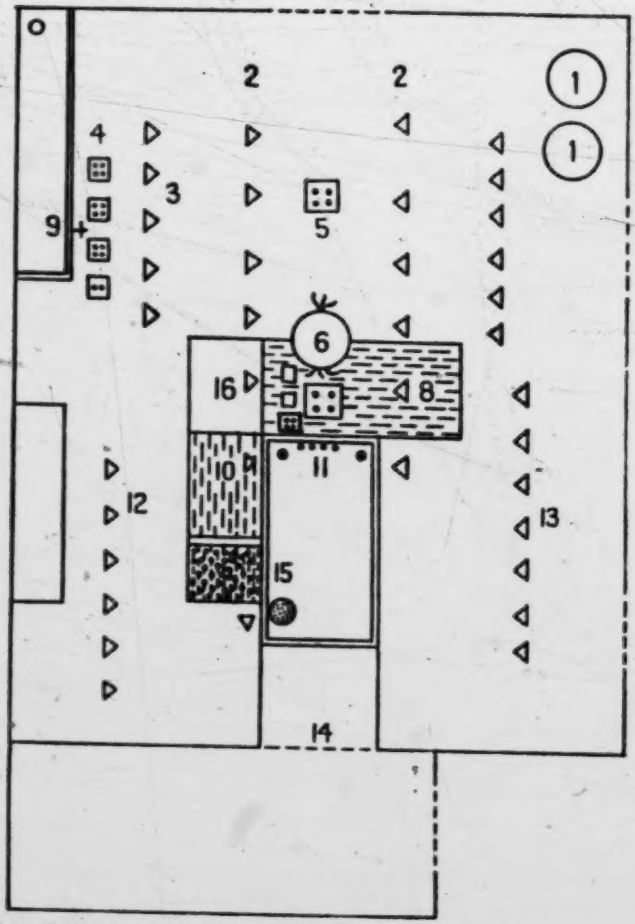
TEXT FIGURE 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau.*
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 83]

342
527
782
554
353



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshophi*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

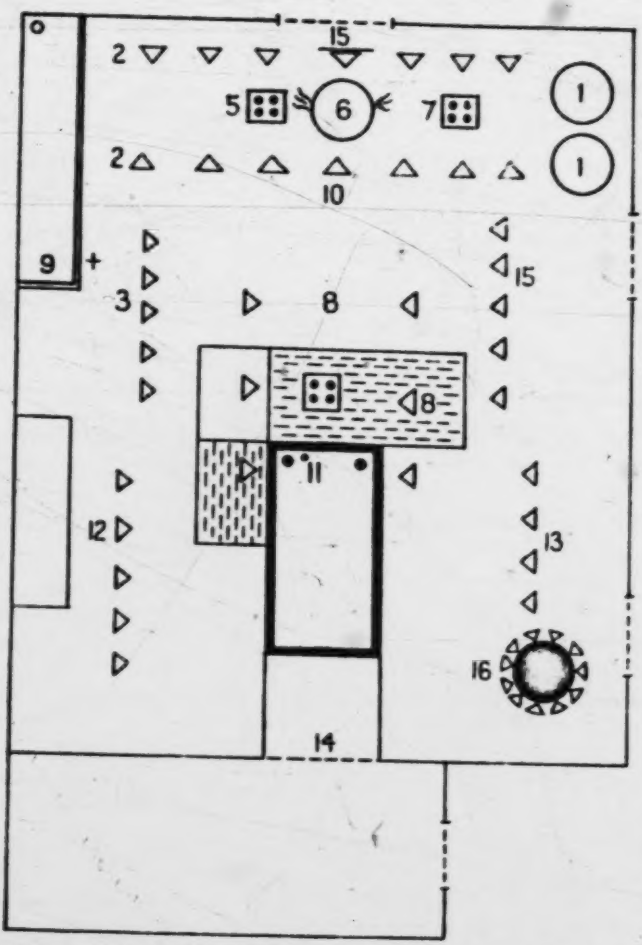
Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 95]



574
769
353
778
342

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

APPENDIX II

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

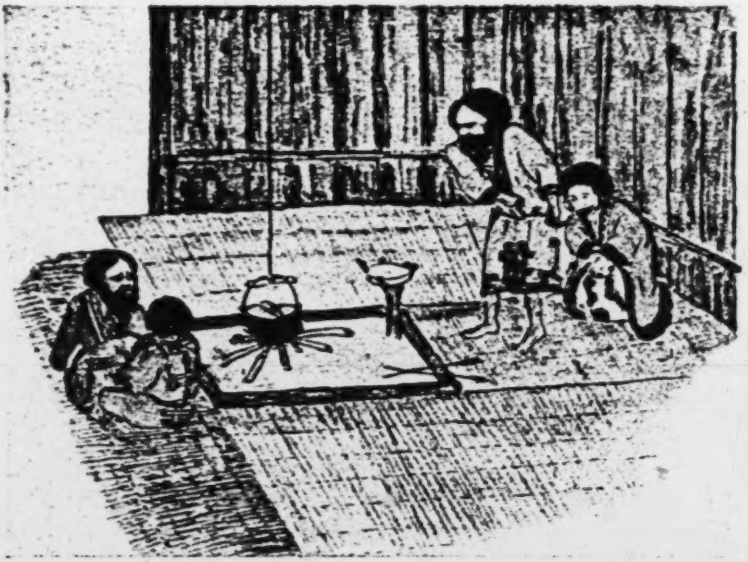
117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354 778 372]

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



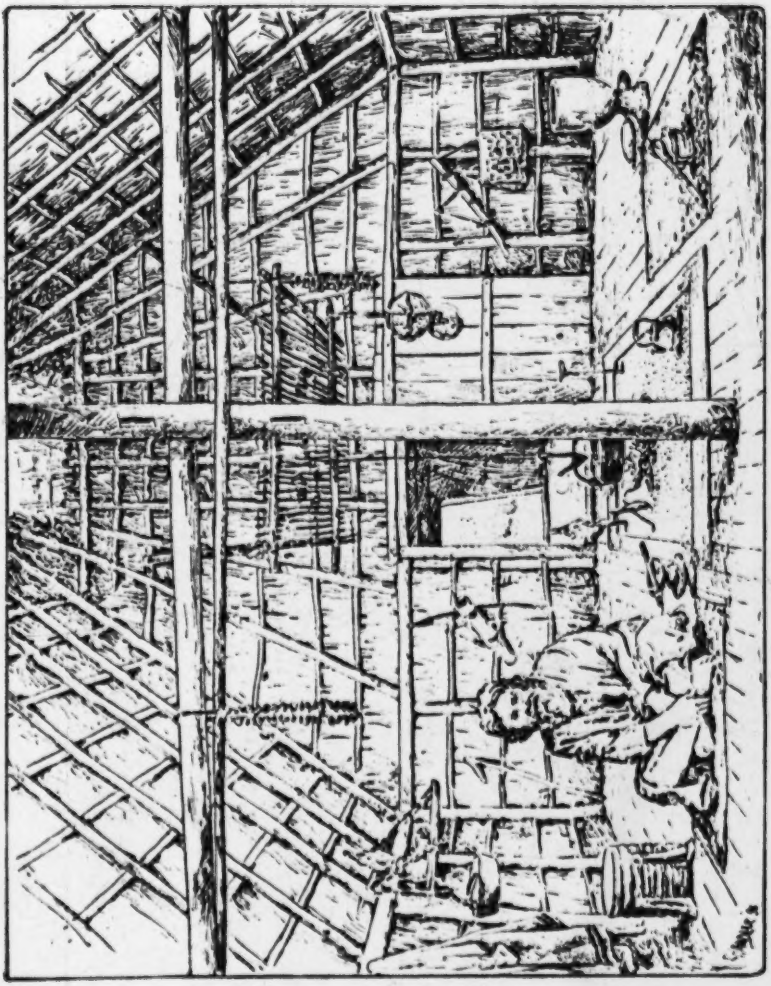
A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276 531]

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking sakó, and for throwing drops of sakó as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for sakó. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

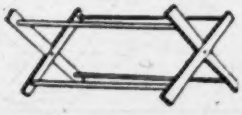
Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the
same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window. 285

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty 342 The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ehashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
302
291

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (important) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami province, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau* are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in childbirth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

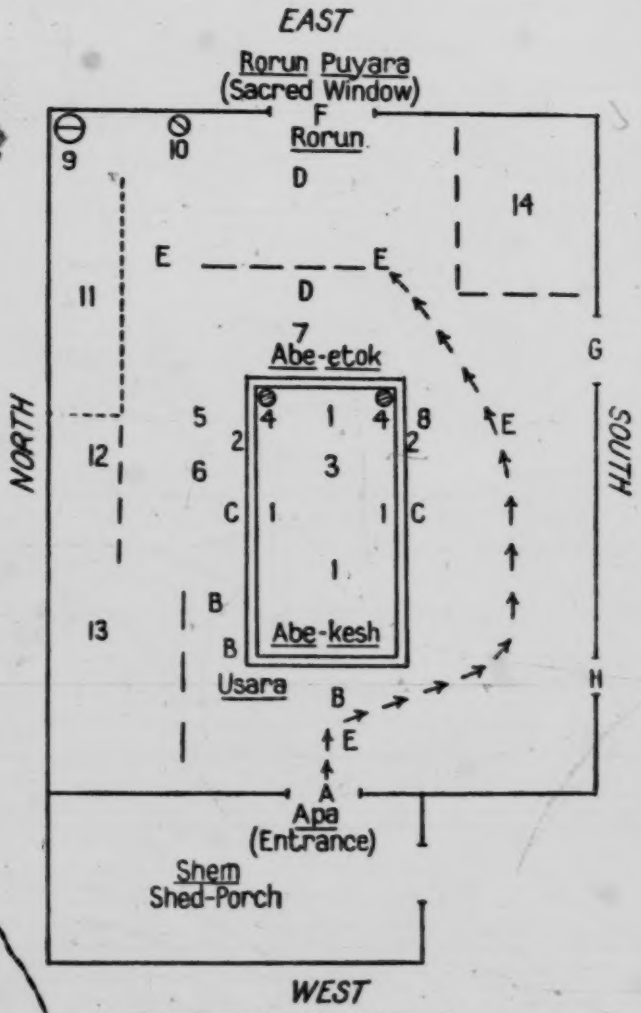
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME

Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

342
778
353
354



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamuj.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer
[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new [illegible] must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
● 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he ~~were~~ one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

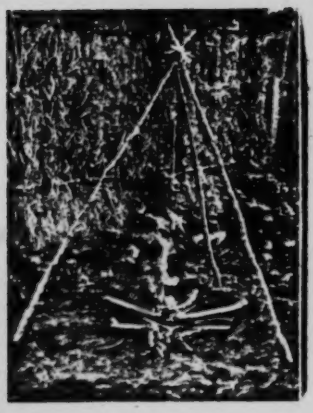
342

1.

343 ←

342
796
● 354
→

2.



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755
844
[354]
[782]
[825]
[237]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *I*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 342 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be 171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont./

175
342
354
113
352
177
171

4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

175
342
352
354
[172]
[171]

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[184]

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife—three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu—was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

574 609 most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during 985 the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

356 264 There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier. Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mos- [136] quitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

356 136 Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

342 The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death [168] of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[23] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[278] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

C21 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi*
361 [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[24] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[23] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[24] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P. 16 (B)]

621 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms
361 this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter
[166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
[172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family
622 groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki*
192 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidô, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and
[241] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 273
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	*Koku.**	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5,929,489	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110,729,265	Do.
Beche de mer, *Iriko*	1,027,569	197,211 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, Kombu	186,373,249	29,650,587 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4,773,840	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572,374,304	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15,511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostrota*)	22,230,300	Do.
Other kinds	14,885,711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7,006,905	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	605,600	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously
361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors
103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitakai	14			34
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboro		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakecho		2	5	7
Matsubecho		61	55	116
Homtomura		2		2
Shiariowa		12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

162
361
103

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obetsukowashi	9	18	13	31
Ainshi	3	2	4	6
Osanen	4	6	6	12
Tafukurai	30	54	41	95
Tobetsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashiba	10	23	17	30
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokonashibe	4	7	7	14
Pombetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirott	22	24	27	51
Bett	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Fushikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Mémurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urakorept	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	49	84	77	161
SHIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154	540	580	1,120
Mitsuishi	67	194	191	385
Shidzunai	374	774	891	1,669
Nikap	136	321	307	628
Saru:				
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	152
Shinukotan	28	55	68	123
——?	22	38	48	86
Piratori	61	103	104	207
——?	34	77	88	165
? Nisi	37	80	92	172
? Ogashirunaye	12	28	27	55
? Horonai	30	69	71	140
? Kashibetsu	10	28	20	48
Monbetsu	20	73	53	126
——?	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	56	66	122
Harabetsu	19	43	54	97
——?	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidzumi	23	27	28	55
IBURI.				
Youfutsu	240	499	531	1,030
Shiraoi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle [361] undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag- 166 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* [131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, 142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching 304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. 415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from [197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, [515] it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the 354
middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled
with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the
gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended [445]
above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or
more *inao*, or gohei sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is 352
usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, [778
on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vege- 251]
table products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectan-
gular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such
as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore 342
always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coat-
ing of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the
fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so
full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-
shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing up- [237
right in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is 354]
a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped
around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, 342
about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. 361
The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, [161]
but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of
a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there
can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have
Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families
there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back 342
window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular
notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face
the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, with-
out any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on
the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on
the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the
east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one
corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different
authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses
in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the
position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more mean-
ing in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern
land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window.
It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have
not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo.
They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C,
for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the
custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

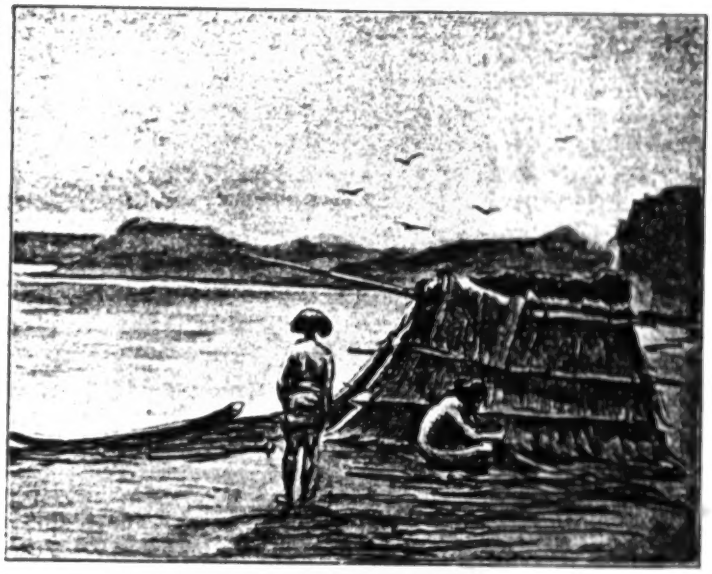
Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

●361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [553] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

excited fishermen. Myriads of sardines are caught each time the net is hauled in; and it is a fantastic scene to see the naked crowd which, in clearing the nets from the beheaded fish, get covered with silver scales, which stick to their arms, legs, and body, and give them a strange appearance.

Look-out towers are built on four high posts, where a watchman is posted to signal the arrival and approach of the shoals. The sea is so dense with them that it changes its colour, and these moving banks of sardines are distinguishable four or five miles from the coast. This method is the same as that adopted in Cornwall when the pilchards are expected, and the same discoloration of the sea takes place.

From Tomakomai a road branches to the north leading to Sappro, the capital of Hokkaido, and it is the last place on the southern coast which is visited by that rare specimen of the globe-trotter who ventures to Yezo. He hastily makes his way from here to Sappro and Otaru on the northern coast, and waits for a ship to be conveyed back to Hakodate. He then, of course, tells his friends that he has been round and about and through Yezo, while in fact he has seen absolutely nothing of Yezo or its inhabitants. About half-a-dozen Europeans, however, have been further on—as far as the Saru River; and each one has written a book on the Ainu, for the most part copying what the previous author had written.

As far as Tomakomai there is a road—a sure sign of civilisation—but nothing but a horse-track is to be found all along the southern coast after this place has been passed.

Changing my ponies at Yuhuts,[1] nine miles east, and again at Mukawa and Saru-buto, I was able to reach Saru Mombets that same night. Many Ainu and Japanese fishermen's huts are scattered between Horohuts[2] and Yuhuts, on the sandy track along the sea.

The traveller then leaves the sea on the right, and by a very uneven track, and after fording several rivers of little importance comes to Mukawa, a dirty little village fourteen miles from Yuhuts. My lunch that day consisted of a large piece of raw salmon, which was easily digested in riding nine more miles to Saru-buto. *Sharu* in Ainu, corrupted into Saru,

[1] *Yu*, springs; *huts*, mouth of river.
[2] *Horo*, large; *hut*, *huts*, *put*, the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291

STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

•361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133
361
[103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

[P. 22]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
482

UTAROP ROCKS.

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo.

AFTER quitting Saru Mombets I was altogether out of the beaten tracks. The twenty-two miles to Shimokebo were monotonous in the extreme. High cliffs towered above me on the one side, and the sea stretched into infinity on the other. River after river had to be waded, the At-pets,[1] the Nii-pak-pets,[2] and the Shibe-gari-pets.[3] The Nii-pak-pets is wide and fairly deep. Near the At-pets river the Japanese Government has established a horse farm, in order to improve the breed of Yezo ponies. A few miserable Ainu huts are scattered along the coast, and millions of scavenger crows, with their monotonous cries, seem to claim sovereignty over these shores. Near the Takae village, on the Nii-kap-pets, is an enormous perpendicular cliff, which, jutting out into the

133 [361]

[1] At-pets—Elm-tree river (*at*, elm-tree ; *pets*, river).

[2] Nii-pak-pets—also called Nakap-pets. *Nii*, a wood ; *pak*, under ; *na*, more ; *kap*, bark of tree.

[3] Shibe-gari-pets—Salmon-trout river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *sayono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

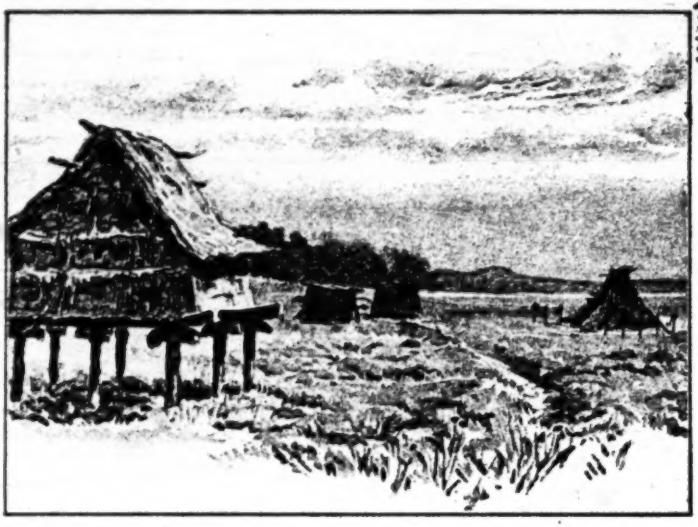
The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKORETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan ; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 511 609 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a [609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they 342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark 184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not
317 form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

133 The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-
[132] looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure
000 accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for
• 361 twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls
136 and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from
133 the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from
36 Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village,
322 the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and
000 drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in Yezo. My coat and trousers were showing signs of rapid decay, and I thought with vain desire of needle and thread, buttons and hooks. My boots were falling to pieces owing to their continual immersion in salt water. The impossibility of cleaning or greasing them added to the original damage; and, worse luck of all, they could not be replaced. Altogether, what with frayed garments, leaky boots, a battered hat, and a general out-at-elbows air, I was scarcely presentable in any society a grade above that of the hairy Ainu.

A road has been cut between Kushiro and Shibetcha, a distance of thirty miles; but though quite new, it is already out of repair, and it will not be long before it is washed away entirely. The Japanese Government does its best to open roads near the largest settlements, but Japanese officials do not seem to understand that after a road has been made it has to be kept in repair.

The country all along is good, and the soil seems rich and fertile. Nearly half-way up, on the east side of the Kutcharo River, are three lakes,—the Takkobe, the Tori Lake, and the Shirin. The Tori is the largest. Its length is five miles, its width about one mile. On the southern shore of this lake is a picturesque Ainu village, with its old tumble-down huts, and close to it is a group of Japanese houses. The contrast between the dirty and neglected old hovels of the Ainu and the clean, spruce, and somewhat finikin houses of the Japanese is very striking. In this difference we read an epitome of the way in which civilisation has travelled from primitive barbarism. The road runs through dense forests; but in several places, especially on its highest level, we come to lovely views of mountain scenery, towering over the shimmering water of the underlying lakes.

In the evening I reached Shibetcha, a nice little place, constructed on each side of a large road which rises considerably as it goes through the village. The village lies in a small valley surrounded by moderately high mountains, and is on the western side of the Kutcharo River, which intersects the valley. A wooden bridge and a three-storied Japanese tea-house are the two main structures in the place. There are sixty-eight houses in the village, and nearly half of them are houses of ill-fame, the three-storied tea-house being the principal.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea. 133

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

361 [184] [342] 184 [142] [291] [304]

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

184 152

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider. 492

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another. 000 [361] 463

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons. 133 [136]

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till 000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses. They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary. The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

080 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly [441] swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a ●361 village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of 142 them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of 231 their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

142 The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern 304 point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge 136 quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated; and, riding from morn till night, I [361] reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133
342

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru,
[361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of
491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about
291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her
[302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

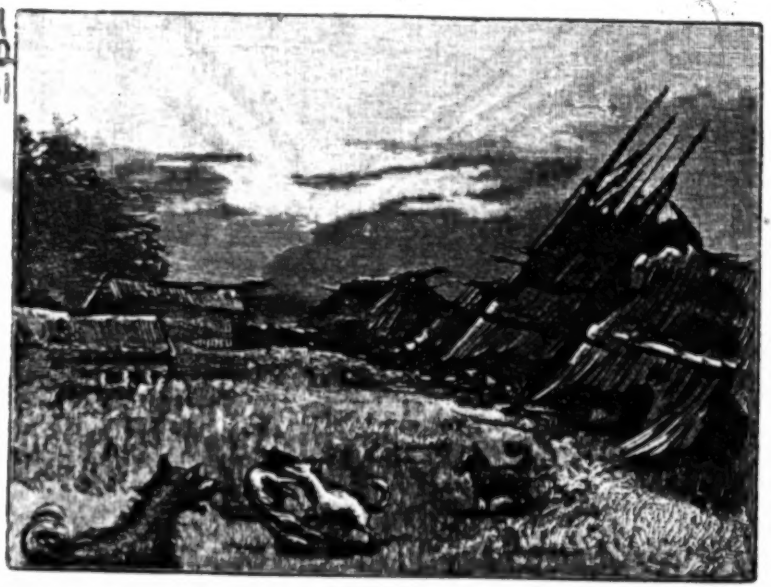
The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

361
340
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles. 361 167

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast. 000

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 142 184 [164] 304 291 177

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

On the western side of Cape Benke is the village of Masatomari. There were formerly some Ainu villages on this part of the coast, but hardly any natives are to be found now. The few remaining have adopted to a certain extent Japanese customs and manners.

At Baraputa I heard that it was impossible to continue my journey south on horseback along the coast, for the track was almost impassable, even on foot. It was a steep and difficult trail over the mountains, among rocks and precipitous cliffs, and I was quite unable to accomplish it; so I retraced my steps to Shitzo, and from there struck across the peninsula on the road for Oshamambe, on Volcano Bay. The road is a good one, and when bridges are built where needed it will be practicable for *bashas*, the four-wheeled vehicles of Southern Yezo. The way is across mountains or among well-wooded hills. Kuromatsunai is the largest group of houses found along the road. It is about halfway between the two coasts.

Late at night, after having ridden twenty-five miles, I arrived at Oshamambe, a semi-Ainu village on Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1. 592

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI. [343] 778 231 417 251 592 778 372

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley. 361 103

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi Pennai	6 2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi Nyashikeshi Fulka Sarunnai	6 3 1 1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

361
103

			Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
R. G.	S. I. G.	L. G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L. G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
R. G.	S. I. G.	L. G.	Nupokomap	9
		L. G.	Munhunki	3
		L. G.	Urekarip	3

R. G. River Group
S. I. G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L. G. Local Group

361 621 The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[19].

[103] The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60–62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72–73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880–85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[362] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensis.[33]

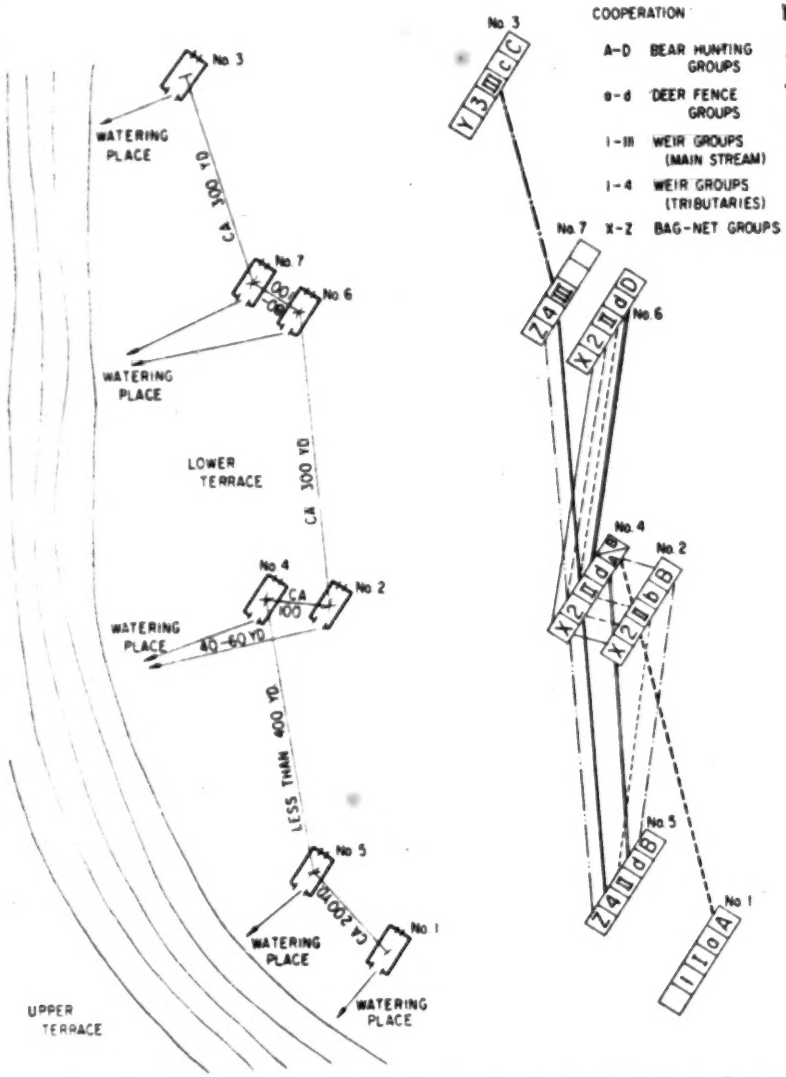


Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the [361] junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group

[36] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next

614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley

619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more

[186] at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the 105
members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley 619
except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon.

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each 105
of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, 182
was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them.

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological 105
system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in diff- 476
erent places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division [592]
of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow 105
area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. 361
the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main 311
hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman.

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category 105
was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as 423
distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

175
361

For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102
175
648

Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six

175
361 •

1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty
361 houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

175
361
342
103

Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Ikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

(The river forked here into two streams)			
Aneshum	6		
Nutabeto	3		
Urahoroputo	2		
Obekkohashi	9		
Betumoshiri	3		Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11		Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai			A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.
Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	16 houses in total		
Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	21 houses in total		
Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	27 houses in total		
Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet			
	13 houses in total		

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Ishikari River		
The main stream (in descending order of location)		
Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
361
103

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduc- [177] tion from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Nor is
there any proof of nomadic wanderings without fixed habitation, although 361
they had the habit of seasonal migrations from fixed homes to fixed huts for 221
hunting or fishing. As regards seasonal migrations among the Ainu, an inference has been made of those between inland dwellings for summer and seaside dwellings for winter (ibid., pp. 112-113); a report has been made also of migrations of male members of each family in the home settlement to mountain huts in winter, to seaside huts in summer and to riverside fishing-huts in autumn (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 214 and 229). In either case, no attempt was made to analyze the mechanism of migrations or the relationship between them and the community activities in general.

In the earlier stage of his field survey the author made a report that, as 221
far as the inland Ainu were concerned, there is no trace of seasonal migrations ever taking place between the inland and the coasts except for labour migrations by some to Japanese-owned fishing grounds (Notes 6 and 9) and seasonal visitings for trading purposes; that, shortly after the land allotments, some male members of certain coastal settlement families migrated in spring and autumn to their seaside fishing huts in order to occupy themselves exclusively in stretch-rope fishing (WATANABE, 1955; Note 53). Later investigations have increasingly convinced the writer that, save for the labour migrations to Japanese fisheries, no seasonal migrations to the coasts were attempted by inland Ainus. As for the coastal Ainu, on the other hand, only fragmentary information has been obtained for the period subsequent to the land allotments. As regards the inland Ainu at least, their seasonal migrations to fishing huts on the inland waters were in no way a general phenomenon. In the upper Tokapchi area, for instance, a section of the family members of its settlements had a habit of migrating each summer to huts for cherry salmon fishing on one of the tribulets (p. 27); but no such group habits are observable among the neighbouring lower settlement group or any of the upper Otopuke or upper Azuma settlement groups. Again, in dog-salmon fishing, usually practised in the main streams near each settlement, there is no instance from any river valley of regular group migrations to such fishing sites and of erection there of fishing huts to pass the season in. Huts were sometimes built in relation to their fishing activities in main streams; however, those were usually for the purpose of taking rest or warming by turns on weir fishing or net-trap fishing which was usually done at night. In fact some members of certain individual families made fishing expeditions going a long distance from their settlement and staying the season out. But those are exceptional cases as far as dog salmon fishing is concerned (p. 64). It might be concluded that seasonal migrations common to all the inland Ainu groups investigated by the present writer were only those undertaken by certain members of families to their hunting huts in the hills and mountains.

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

44 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with vary- 192
ing situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own 224
settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial 423
distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some 342
writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to 361
the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the [778]
altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning [776]
of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [78] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

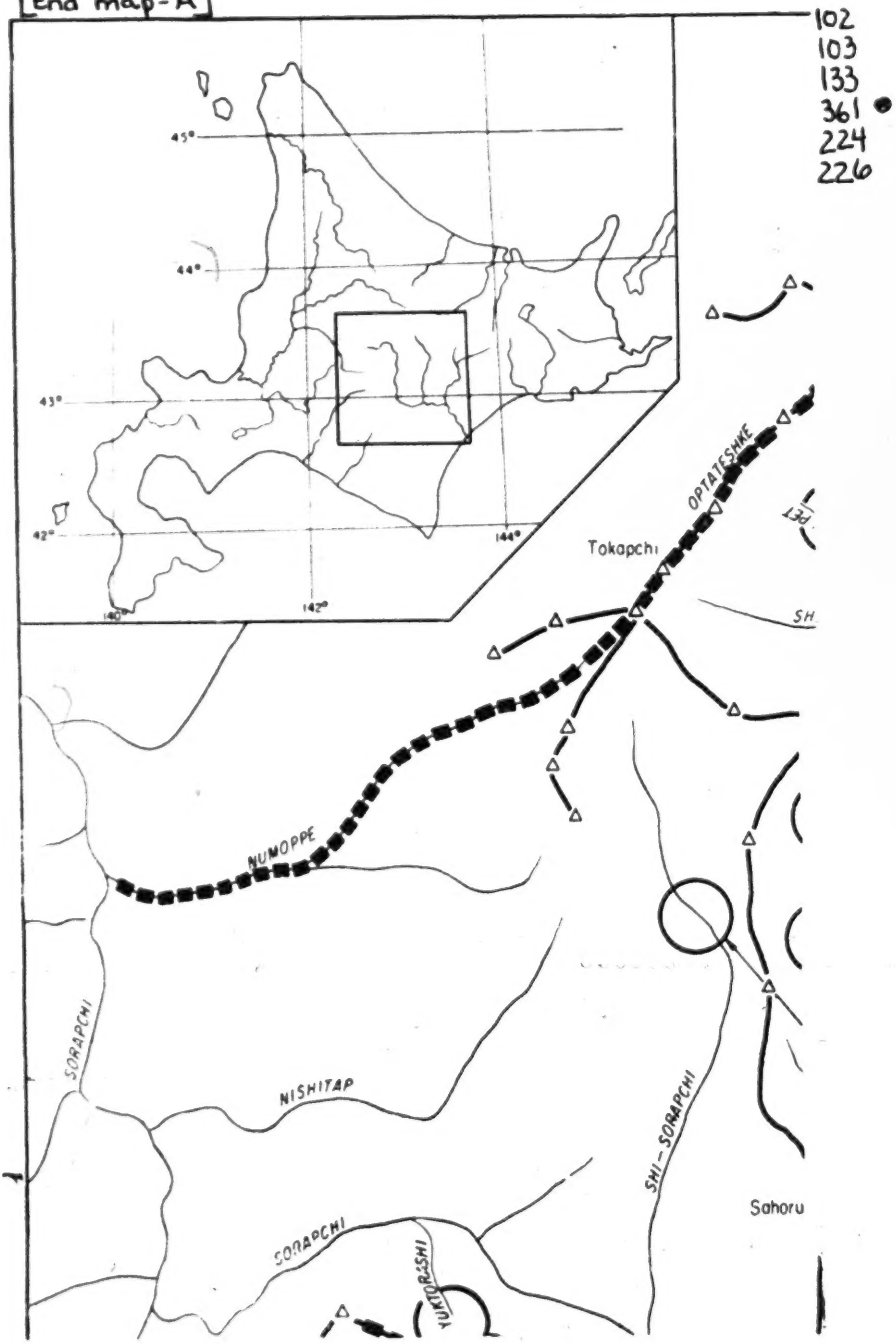
102
103
133
361
224
226

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

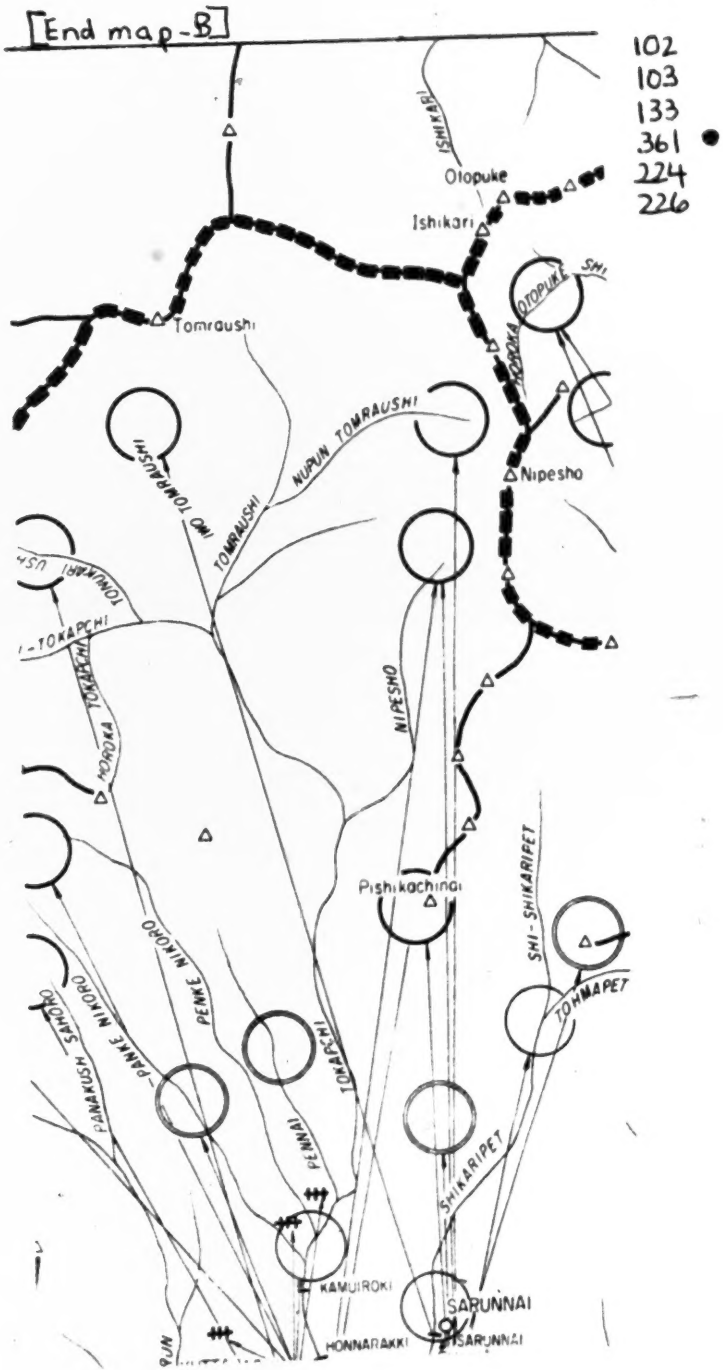
Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-A]

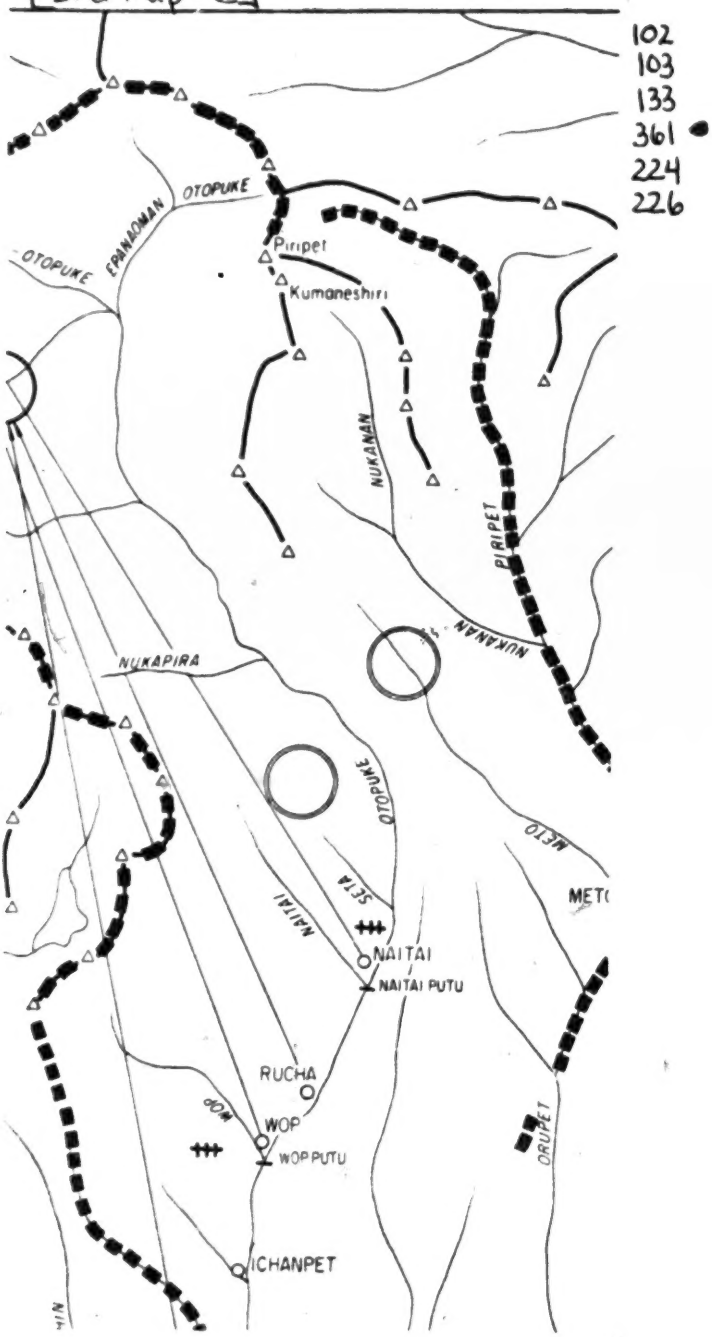


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



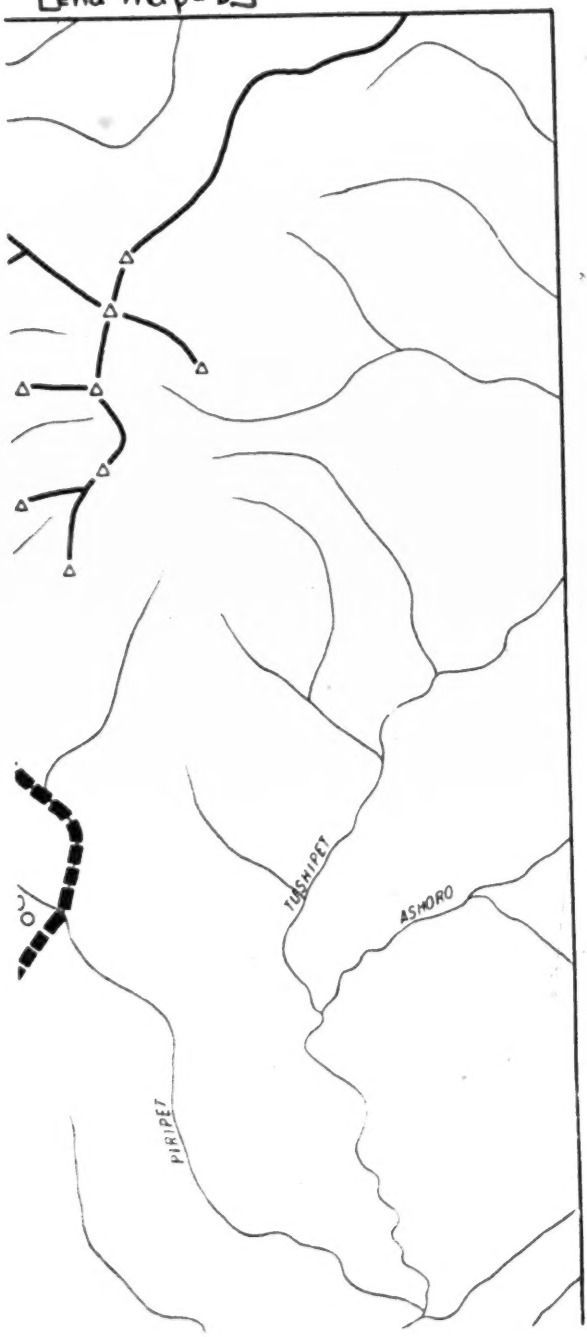
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map - C]



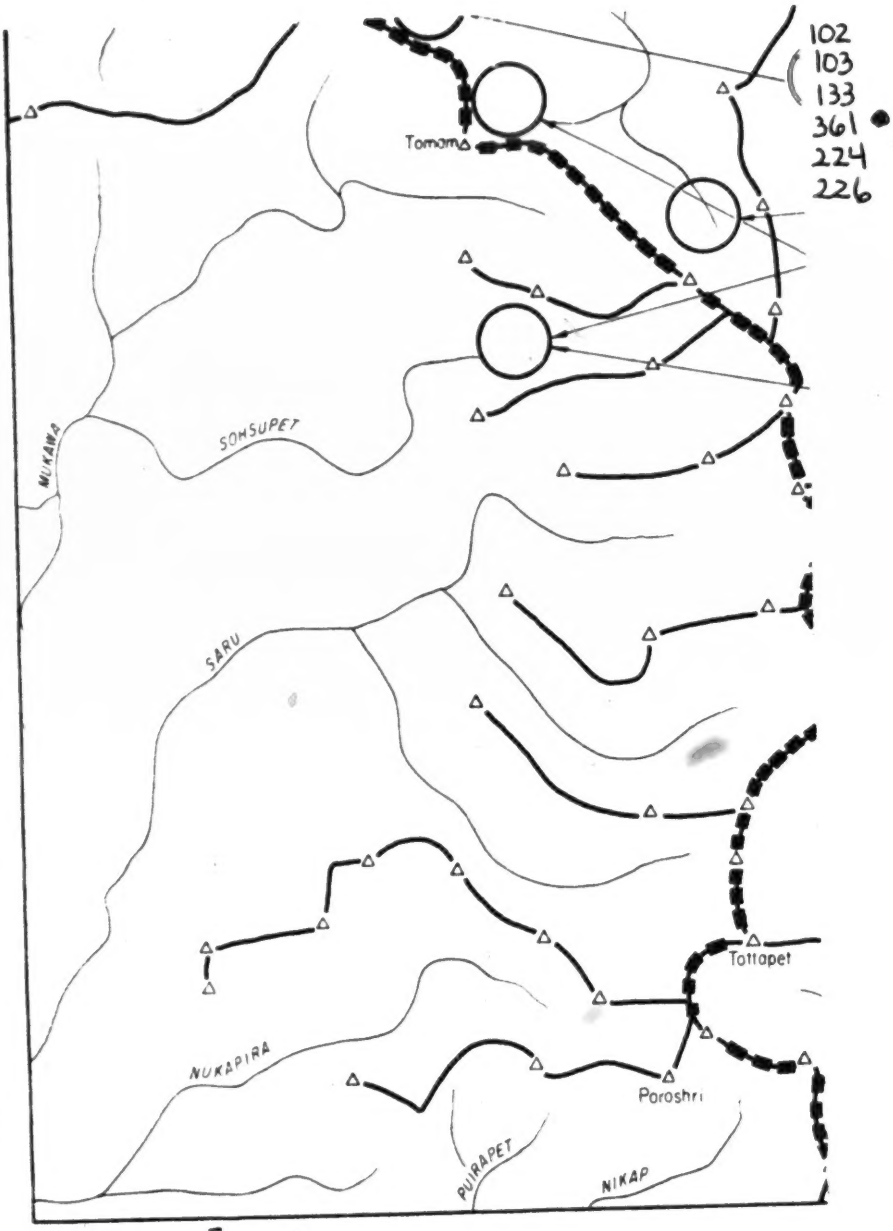
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



102
103
133
361 ●
224
226

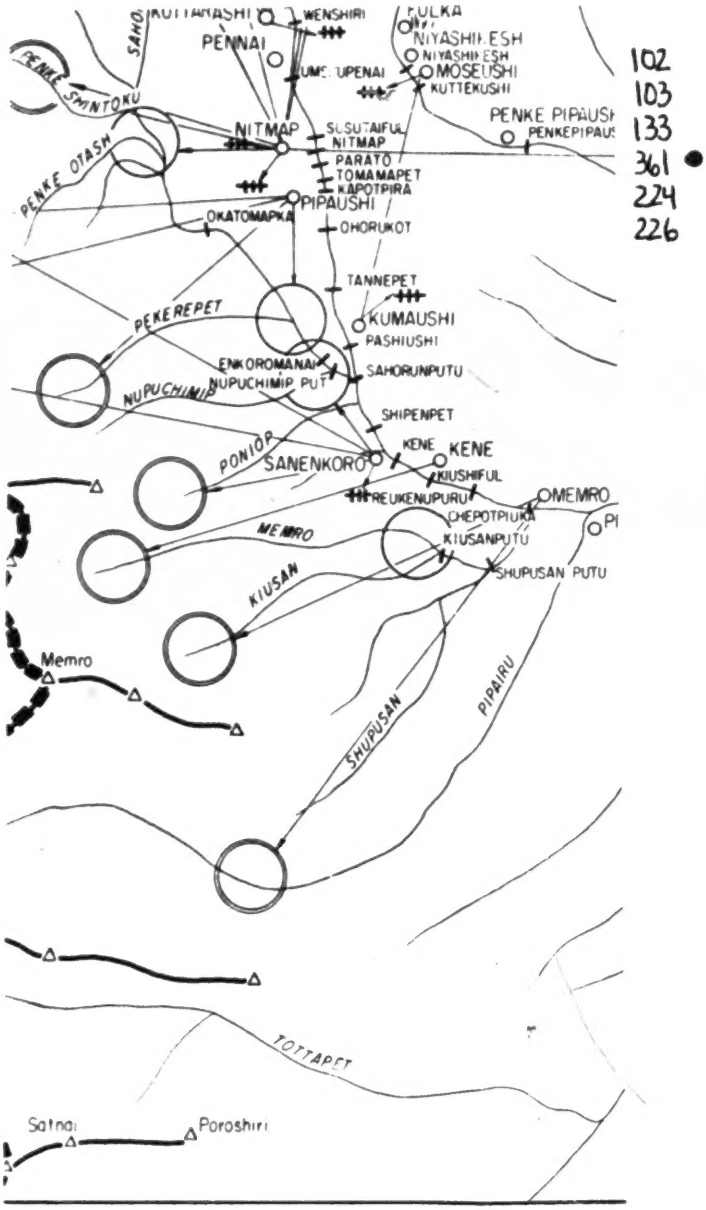
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

Map. 2.

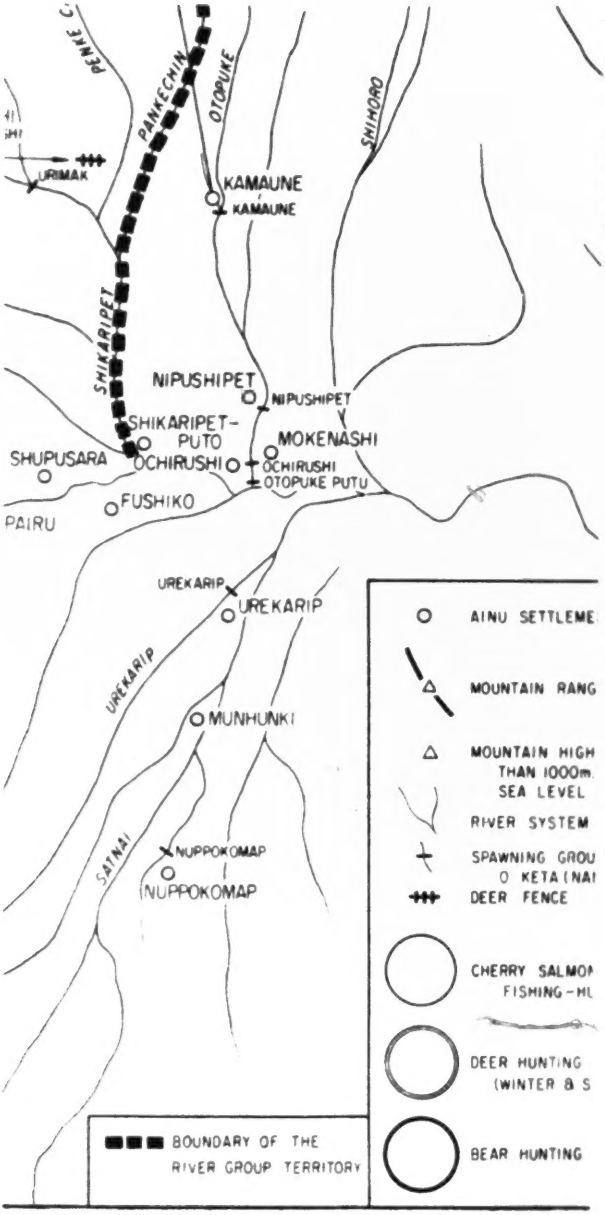
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



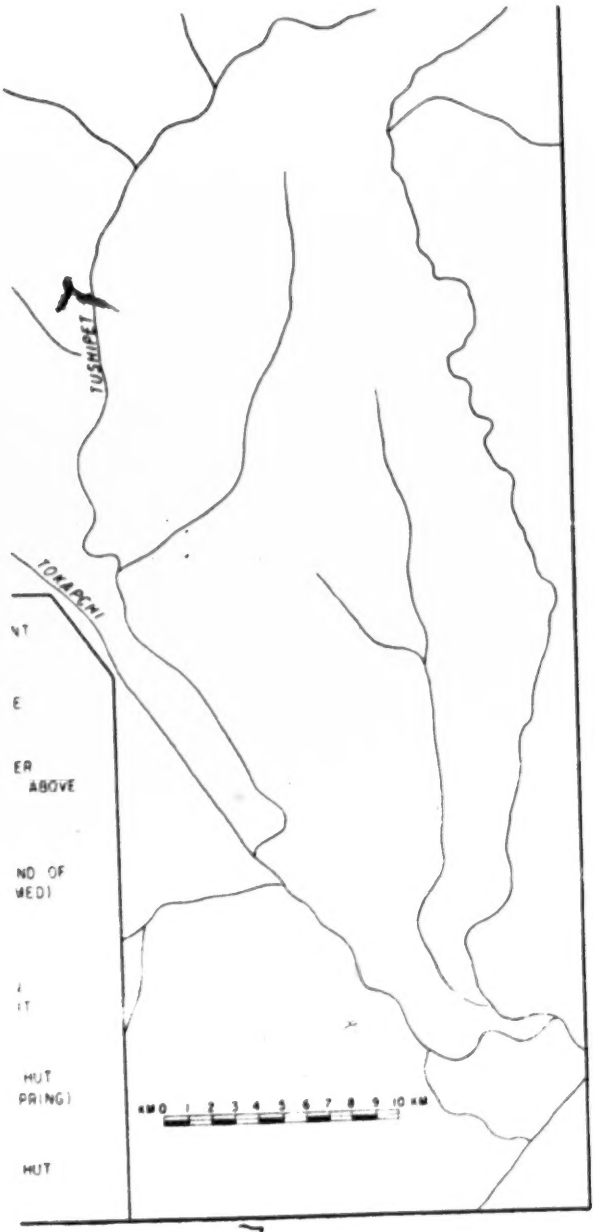
102
103
361
133
224
226

er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

102
103
133
361
224
226



[End map-H]

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

Gi A 101 A G 101 162 361 103 A G 103 361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

G 361 A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G Gi A 101 361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G Gi A [113]

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
G
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
114
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A /17 cont./
Gi dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
101 lationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
● 361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one
[131]

A
[113]
[114]
[103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

2: Schrenck--156 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ 175 636 361 [113] /76 cont./

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

FJ [226] [251]

A [361] [101] [161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

/452 cont./

A 172 173 323 192 114

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G 262 191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A 133 36 [101] [262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

/453 cont./

361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation 226 262 [361] for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 648 464 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175 648 464 113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

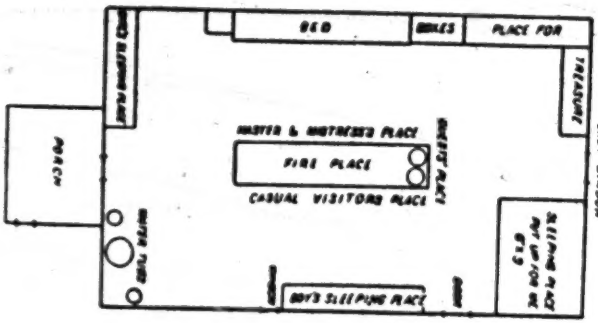
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A POTHOOK

son to sleep with me so as get a little heat. 342 The lad came for the night and then ran away. It was not until the year 1922, more than forty years after, that I could get him to tell me why he left me to suffer alone in the cold. He said, "Your back was so hot that I was unable to stand it. I could hardly breathe. I therefore ran away and slept in another house. There seemed to be a hot glow coming out of your person!" That is all I could get out of him. As soon as I found he would not return, I asked Mrs. Penri to fill me two big bottles with hot water, and let me have them to keep one on each side of my body. This was done and I went to bed John Gilpin-like. But the necks of the bottles were smooth and all there was to stop them up with were wisps of straw. Alas, I woke up very early in the morning to find that the water had run out and I was frozen down to the boards! That was on December 8. The next day saw me on my way to Hakodate, where I got a foreign room and bed and good European food. In this way, then, did my early life among the Ainu begin.

[417]

362



PLAN OF CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

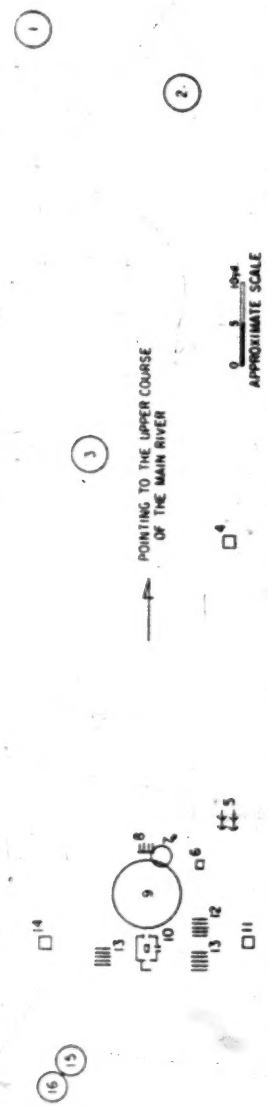


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354 778] 372

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776 [372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [373]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RV2

A
Y
372
171
[776
782]

ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y
784
372

As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and [774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly [552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the [778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[778] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [335]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

342

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a [778] backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
[171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

287 into the mountains to get the bark, and when enough had been taken they carried it home and put it to soak in warm water. After about a week or ten days, the stuff had become quite soft and the women then separated the inner layers from the outer. The whole was then divided into threads and wound up into balls for weaving or for manufacturing into sewing thread. Thread manufacture was quite a simple affair, for it was done by chewing it with the teeth. Many an evening hour have I sat and watched, in a dim light, Mrs. Penri patiently chewing the fibre into thread. To see her jaws working incessantly up and down, up and down, as she chewed and chewed and chewed again, was to me as pleasing and comely a sight as watching people "chewing gum" today! Some of the garments I saw were much darker in colour than
[386] others. This was because they were dyed. The dyeing was done by steeping in a warm decoction of oak or alder bark, and in some cases by putting them to soak in marshy places. This gave them a dirty reddish colour and they were then called *kunnep*, which means "black things."

291 The women and girls wore, under their outer garments, smocks made of soft Japanese material, reaching down to the knees. This was called *mourn*, i.e. "soft raiment." The men wore no shirts.

During the winter months all dressed in the skins of such animals as dogs, deer, foxes, badgers, bears, otters, martens, seals and birds. They were often sewn on a background of the fibre garments mentioned above, or on Japanese material.

During the summertime all wore leggings made of sedge or bark. This was in order to protect them from flies and other insects. Those worn in the winter were made of skin. For foot-gear they wore in mild weather sandals made of bark and vines, and shoes made from the skins of salmons. These were good for walking on the ice, as they were very rough. Straw

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

WEAVING.

As already stated, the Ainos use the bark of the *Ulmus montana*, 286
which they call *ohiyo*, sometimes also the bark of *U. campestris*, for the manufacture of cloth. The fiber is not disintegrated, as for spinning, but the bark is softened by soaking in water and working, when it is easily separated into thin, wide ribbons, and these are readily split into long, slender threads. These threads are tied together end to end, without twisting, and wound into balls. Such threads are used for both warp and woof.

The loom is simple, but well made. Fig. 82 represents an Aino

Fig. 82.
AINO WOMAN WEAVING.

woman engaged in making the *ohiyo* cloth. The weaver sits on the floor, passing the rope at the lower end around the body, and stretches the warp by leaning back against it. As the cloth is woven, it is rolled on the stick in the well-known manner.

Mats are woven in the same manner as in Japan. Plate CIV repre- 285
sents an Aino woman making a mat. The long binding-threads are weighted with stones at the end and thrown over the beam, alternately backward and forward, twisting the threads each time. Such mats, varying greatly in size, are in universal use among the Ainos. They are made of the rush known by the Japanese as *suge*, *Scirpus maritimus*. They are usually woven with brown and black squares, arranged in peculiar but regular patterns. The colored parts are made with dyed 285
bark, probably because the rush does not take color well. The bark of 386
Shina no-ki (*Tilia cordata*) is usually employed for the colored portions, but I have also specimens of the *ohiyo* bark from Abashiri, which have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *okiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Ainu was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Ainu into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1¾ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, [396] with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam hathimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

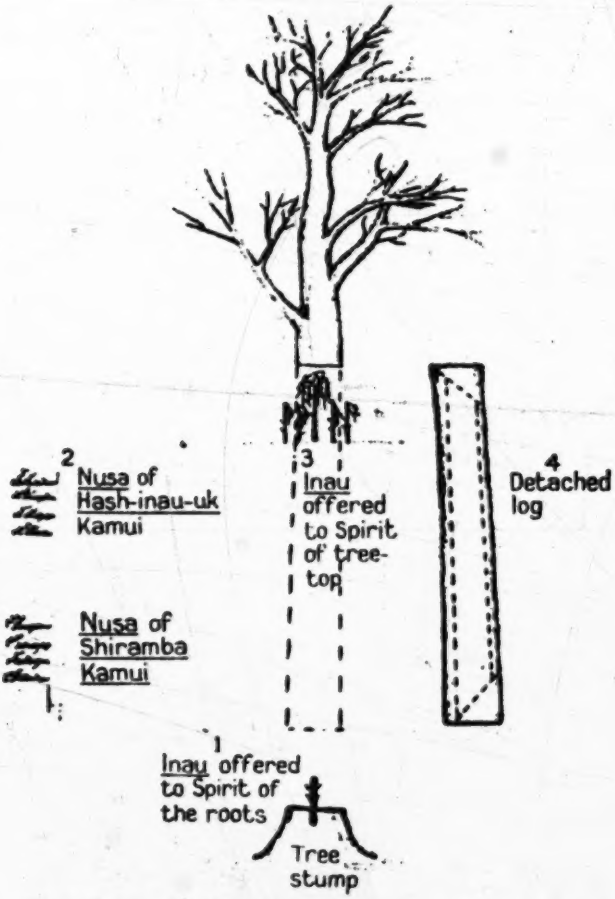
[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

396 789 782 778

Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304 789

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and spring bows) along with traps constituted their only hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Esochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3

AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

AF *175 *648 628

AF *175 669 *648

A [411]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A 539 648 G 648

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

A 764 184 A [441 171]

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession. 777 431

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past. 777

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it. [411 234]

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid- 527 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

[411]

BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife 224
into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch!

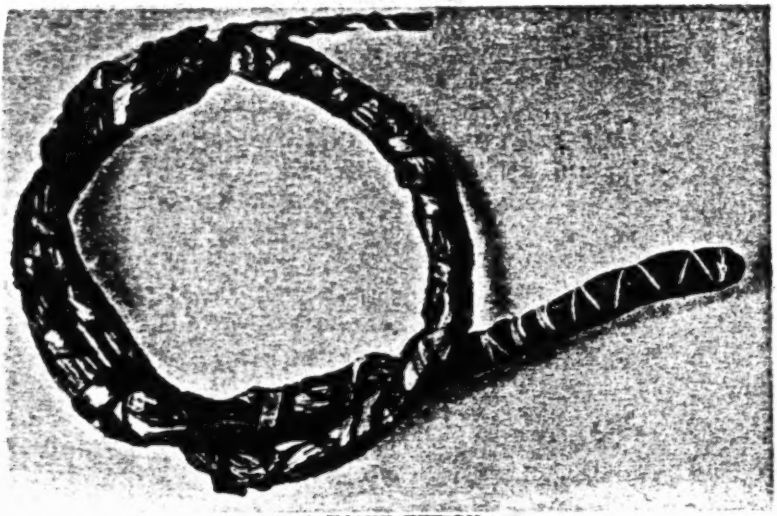
I was always on the look-out for curios when among 411
the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow.

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times 224
on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up [278
spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which 411]
they got not a few. Any animal going along the track where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him.

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at 797
Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for

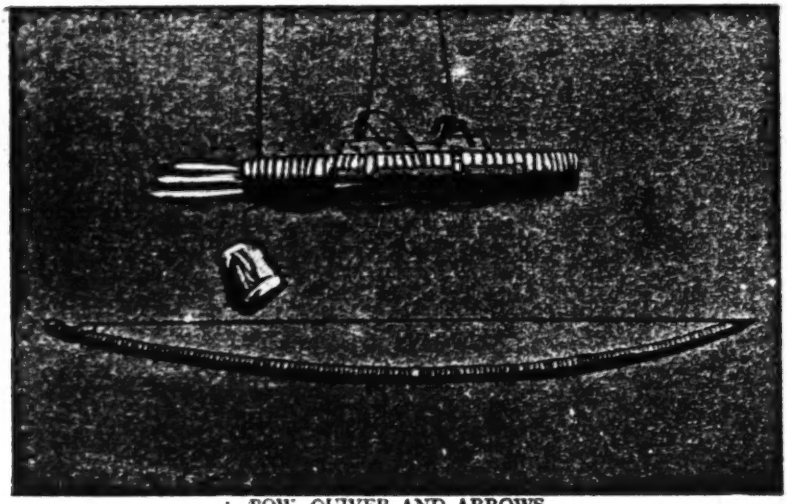
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



A SNAKE EFFIGY

411
778



BOW, QUIVER AND ARROWS

[P.258(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
411
133

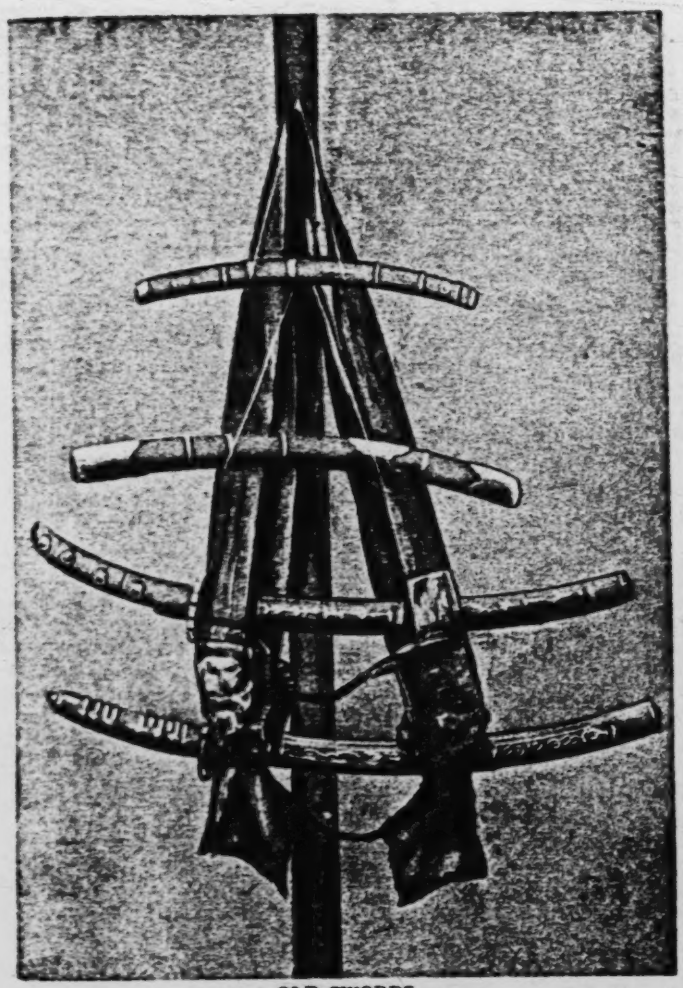
SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

411
789



OLD SWORDS

[P. 336 (A)]

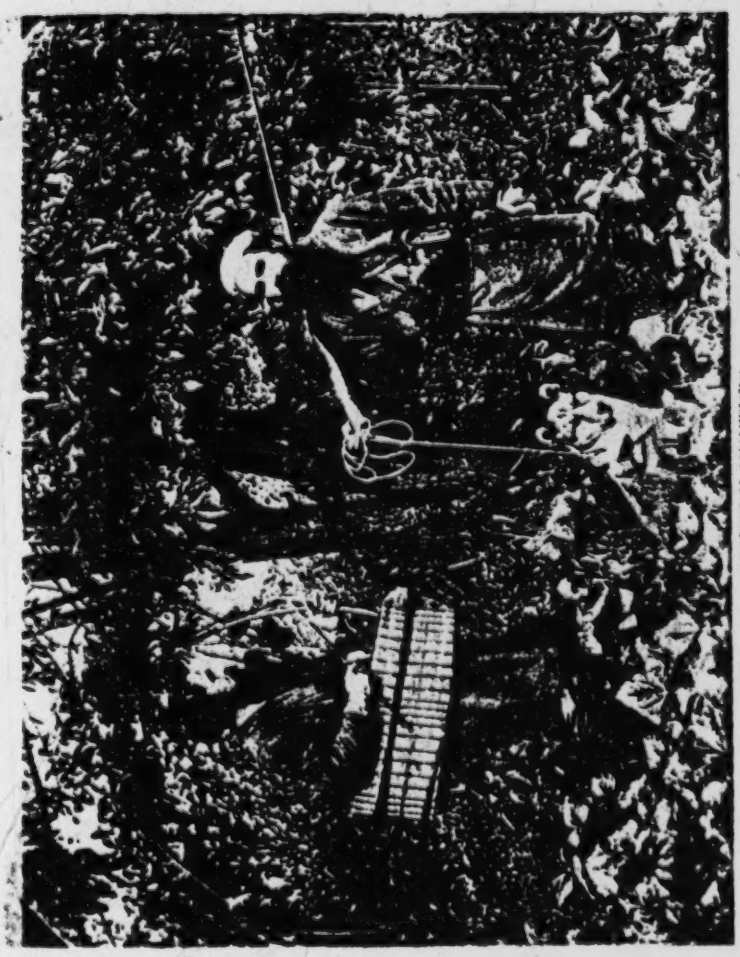
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
441

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231



MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 These fe-
411 rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 81. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

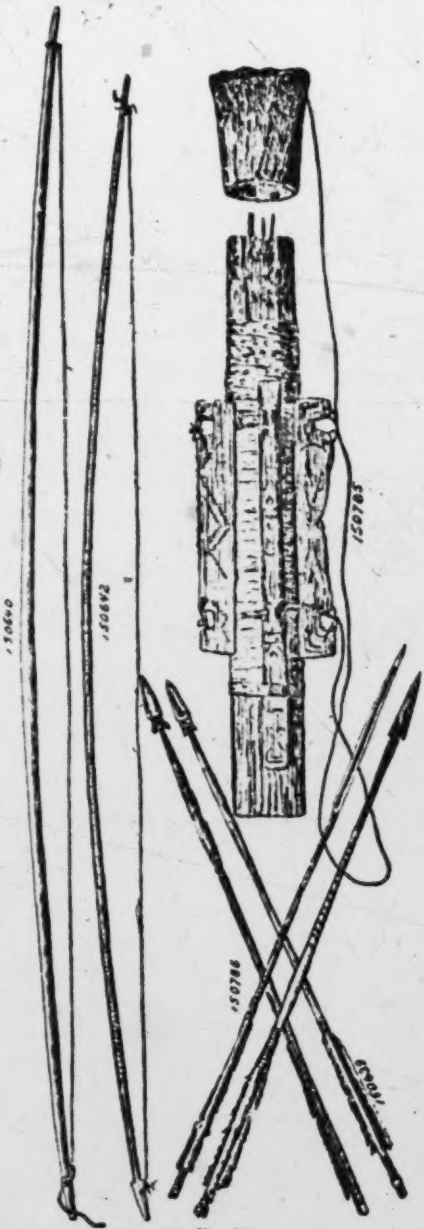


Fig. 81.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side. 441

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII. 224 441

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows: 278 441

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation. [387]

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead. [224]

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278
411

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

224

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

226
[442]

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

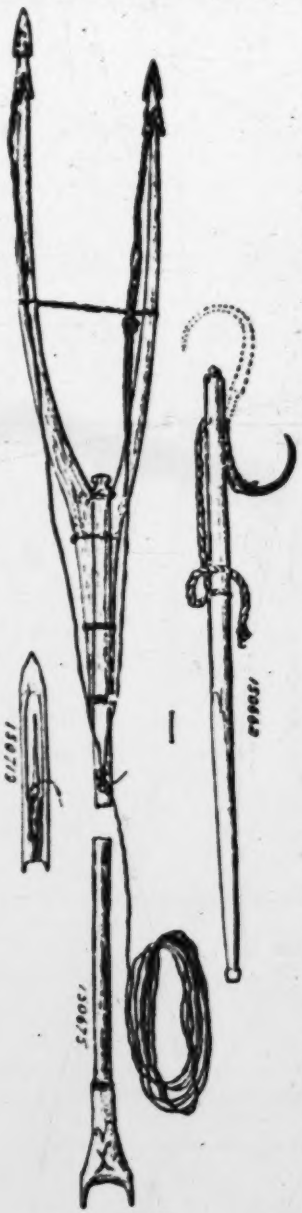


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1¾ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukori. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashira, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [415]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [291] 150688

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. [292] 150687

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [778] 150690

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [252] 150693

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150694

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. [413] 150695–150699

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [354] 150701

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150702

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. [411] [415] 150705

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[2+] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150789

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plates.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

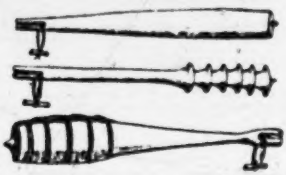
The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

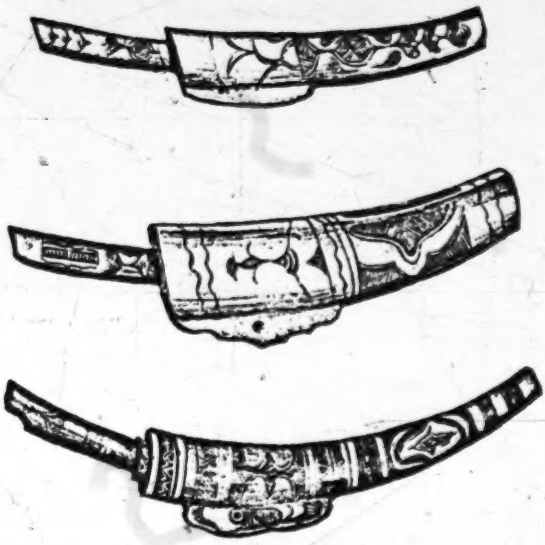
411 and how when the arrow is drawn from the flesh the poisoned point remains inside the wound.

The arrows, when in war or hunting, are kept in a quiver, and a small *Inao* is hung to it to bring good luck to the owner.

Spears and harpoons of one barb are common, and some of the poisoned spears have heads similar to the arrows but of a larger size. Spears are out of date now, but harpoons are still employed in fishing.

Knives are the weapons on which a modern Ainu most relies. Some of these knives are of such length that they might pass for swords. The blade is single-edged, and is protected by a wooden sheath. Nearly every man possesses one, which he carries in his girdle when dressed ; when naked, he

[531]



AINU KNIVES.

carries it in his hand. The illustration shows knives of different sizes, and with different patterns worked on them. From an artistic point of view the sheaths of knives are the most carefully wrought over, and ornamented to a greater extent than any other article of Ainu manufacture.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

415 523 [796] [782] [322]

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

301 177 789 422 [554] [304]

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

411 177 353

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

523 422

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

353 523 422 177 342

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

[428]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has
[533] not been found.—B.Z.S.

[2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789
224
226
[782]
[825]
[774]

BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411
789
774
224
[422]
[211]

The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825
782
224

If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 . AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron-points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made ~~of a~~ kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the ~~males~~ were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

411
342
343

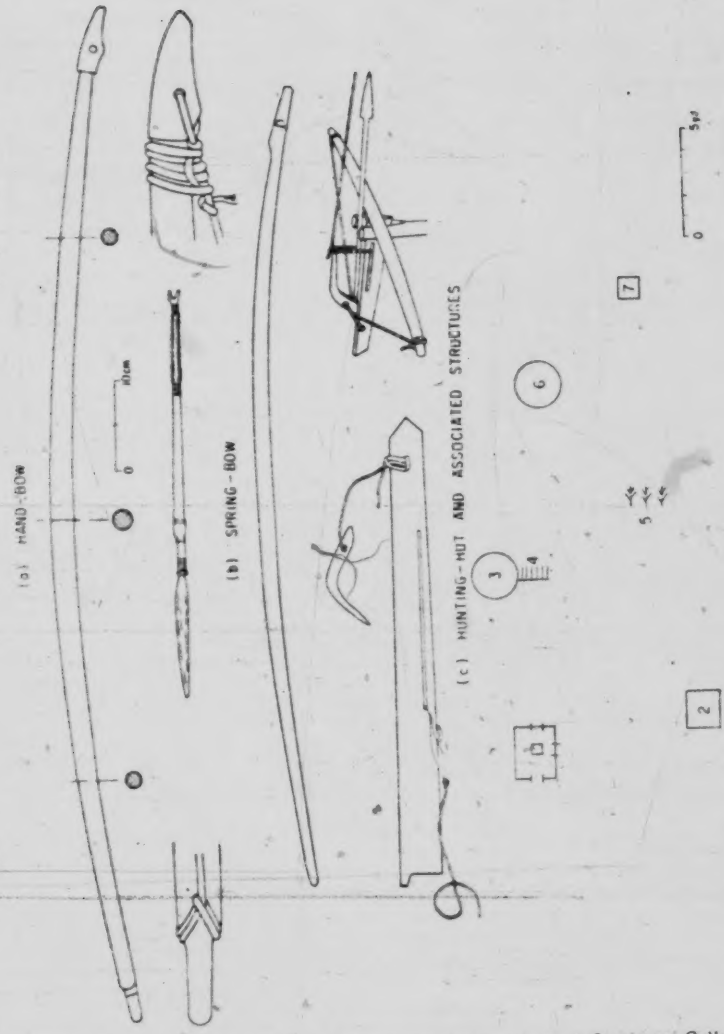


Fig. 5. (a) and (b). Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

hup, Abies sachalinensis[23]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Hunting on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store. 224 221 [231] [433]

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31). [132]

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[24]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children. [231] [411] [462] [561]

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown [224] [136]

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The
177 southwestern and coastal Ainu, who had been in long and frequent contact
411 with Japanese, were already in the initial stage of using firearms (matchlocks). The use, however, was still quite limited; on the upper Tokapchi, in particular, the native Ainu continued depending on their traditional hand- and spring-bows with accompanying poisoned arrows.

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance G A 224 with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads G [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar- 119 181 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women [286] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuri* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of the death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

A F *175 *648 251 177 439 A F *175 *648 [412] 464 439 A F *175 *648 439 A [426] A F *175 *648 177 491 226 [426] A [251] A F *175 [452] *648 177 226 439

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

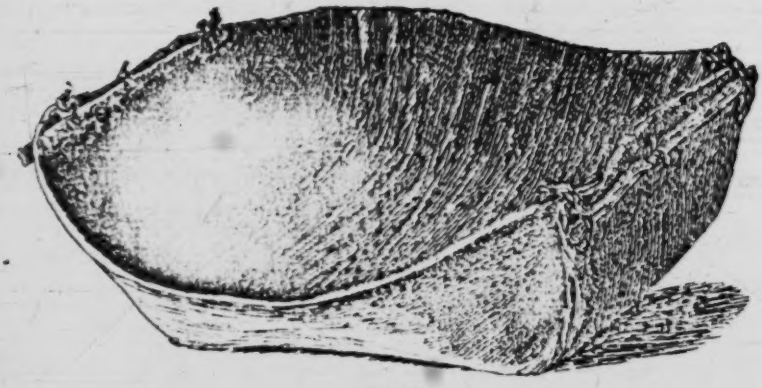
The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokugu* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

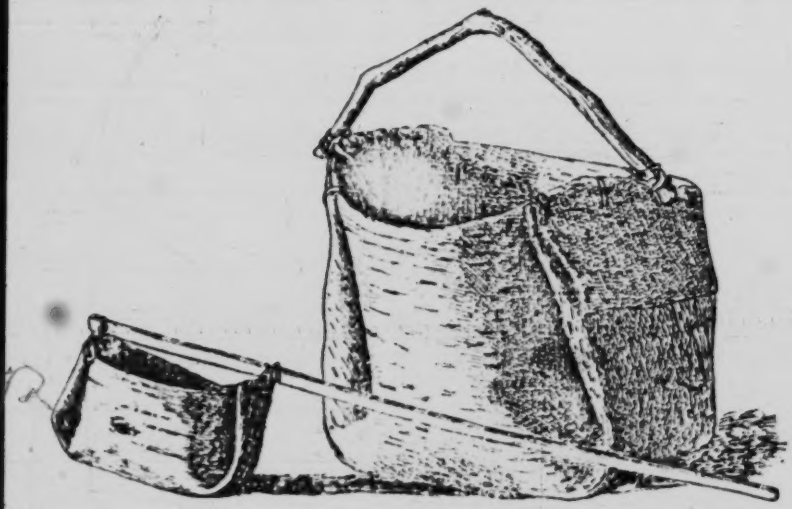
Wooden spoons

(Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or



150673
Fig. 72.
BARK DISH USED AS A FISH-PLATE.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife-blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



150688
Fig. 73.
BARK WATER BUCKET AND DIPPER.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

45
42
551

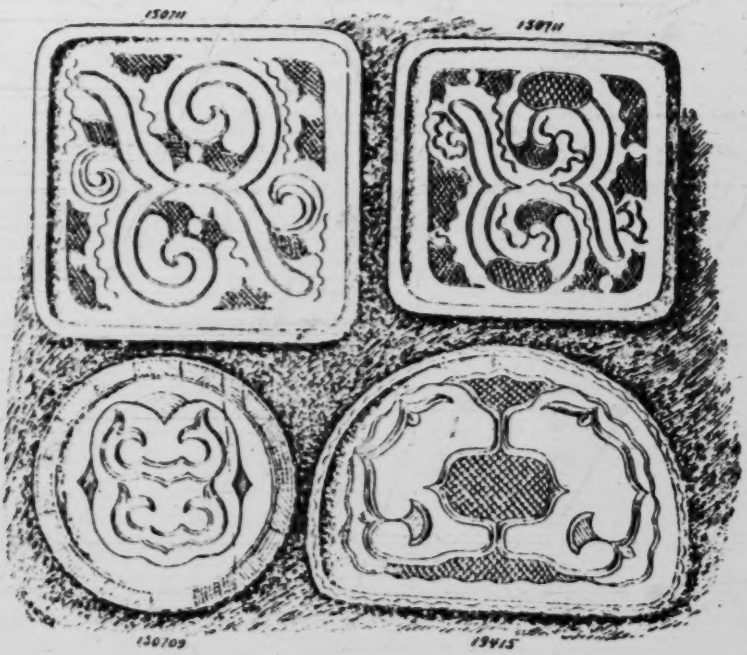


Fig. 74.
CARVED WOODEN PLATES.

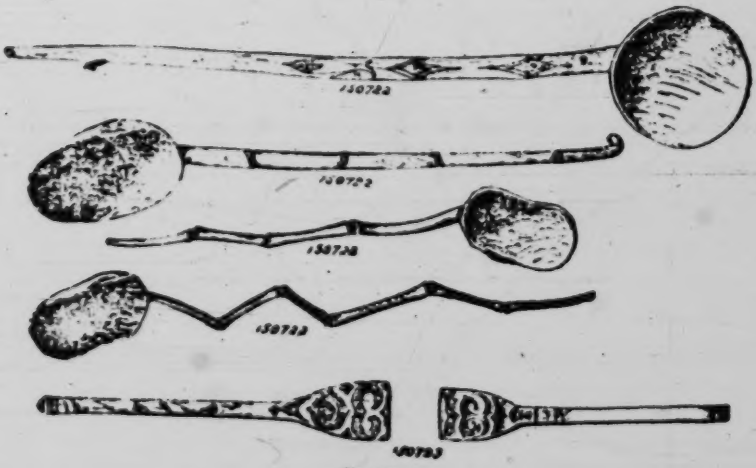


Fig. 75.
WOODEN SPOONS AND CARVED SPATULAS USED IN EATING.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 60, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 76.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

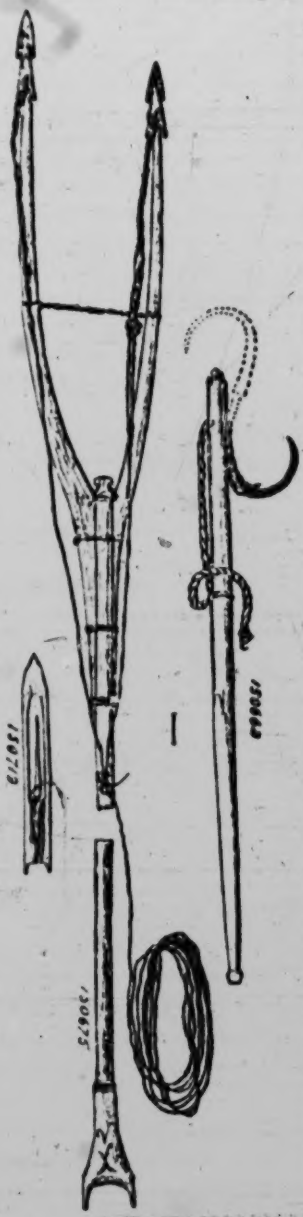


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¼ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2¼ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9¼ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¾ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3¼ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3¼ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig.85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

[534] *Mokuri.*—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726 [281]

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732 [412]

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736 [301]

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikeribikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740 126

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9¼ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-guri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741 251 212

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pakusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pakuskina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754 126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving

THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 825 554 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many 231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417 231 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

[412]

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

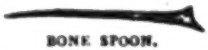
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

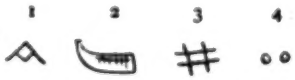
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's 422 marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation. 532

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak. 532 322

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design. 532

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character. 532 184 412

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A 532 412

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 412

suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

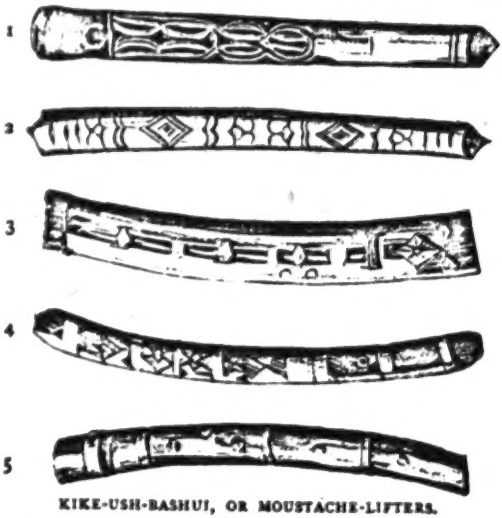
SIDE VIEW.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

532 413 157

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking



KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

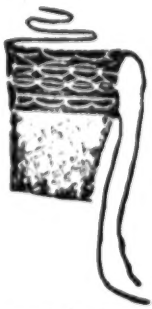
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [77] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front
322 (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primi-
[412] tive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

798 A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it ex-
532 hibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and [412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and [294] Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, [434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred [177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu [623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they [643] considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisci-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri woshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. [844] —N.G.M.

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[494] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[357] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[40]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[311] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
[134] no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

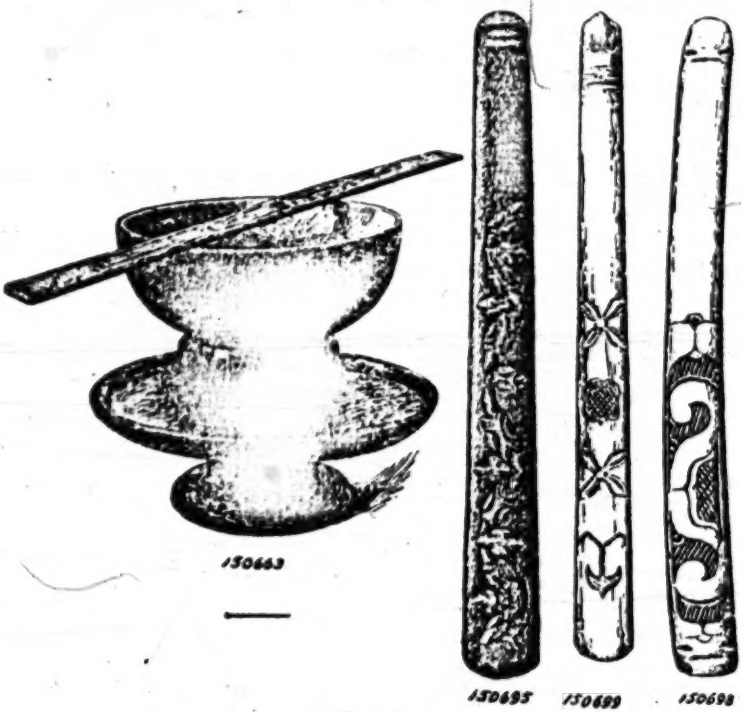
SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276
531]

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

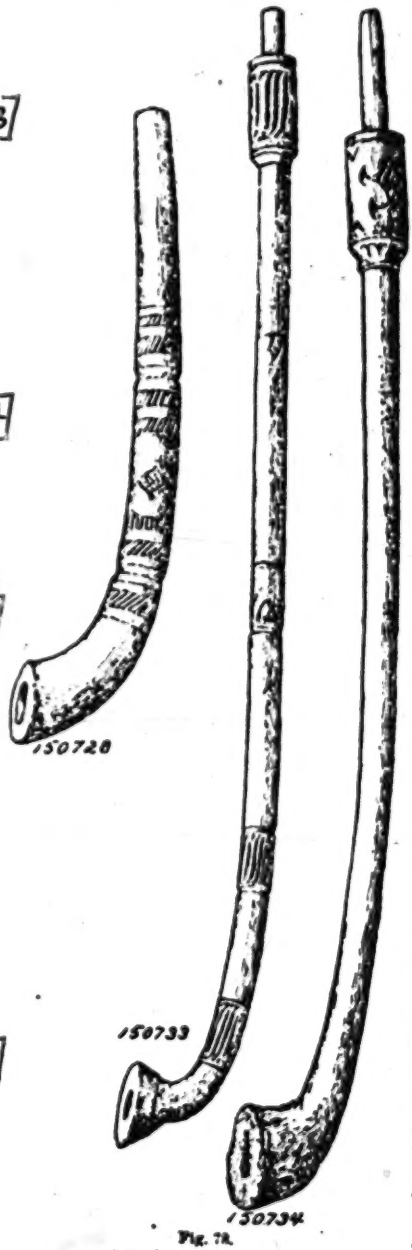


Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *mizu no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei*† of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainos, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

† The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684 [415]

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413 415 264 302 291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small
412 open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

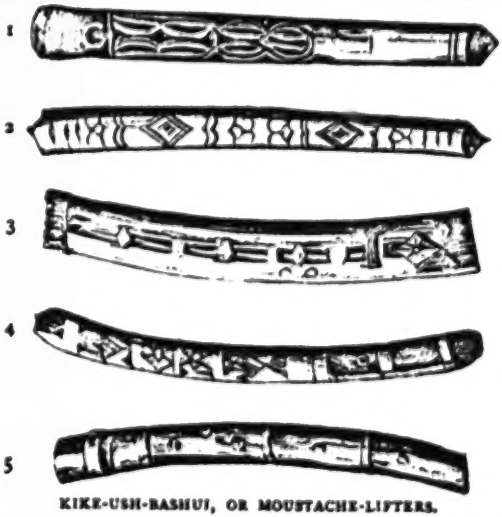
The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

532
●413
157

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but

SIDE VIEW.

Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking



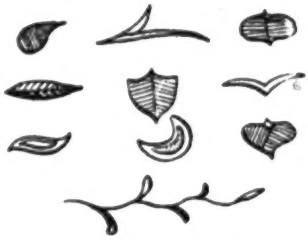
KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale;* Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind. 532 413 157

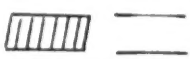
Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy. 532



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels. 531



ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] (413) [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
778
531
413

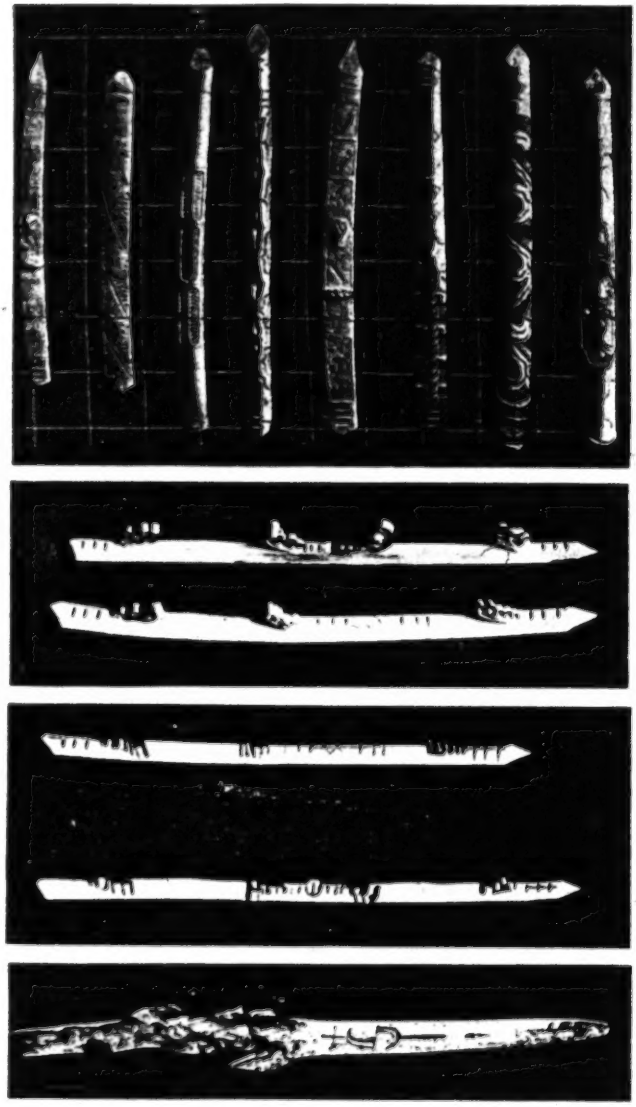


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Nike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

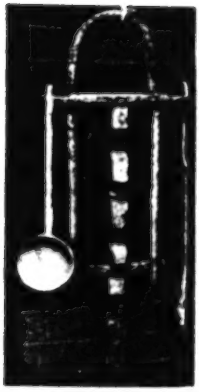
PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30,(F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963

AB6 Ainu AB6

47
352
415
301



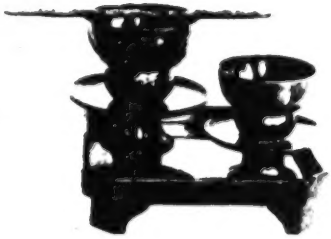
1.

2.

3.

415
[782]
[413]

4.



5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (K)]

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks, as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

/412 cont./

302
171
177
[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302
177
648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302
177
413

and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Manchu AG4

A 302 171 413

/412 cont./ with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi 302 171 Gi [184]

The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

M 302 648 656 171

1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

000

M 113 302 648 171 656

2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
• [413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

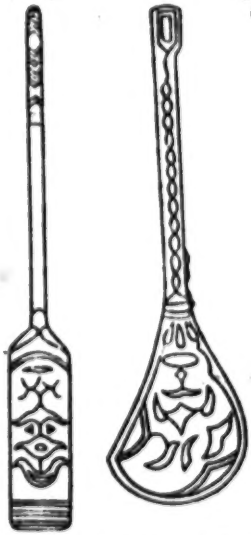
796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252
years ago, anxiety with regard 415]
to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

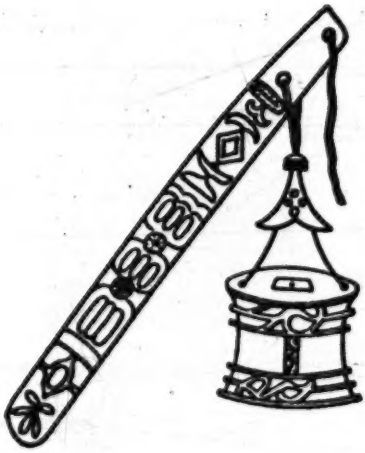
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

276
415

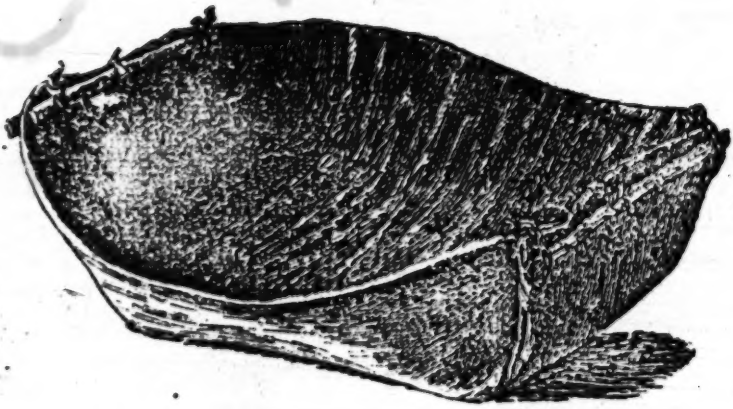


CHIEF PENRI'S FAVOURITE PIPE-HOLDER
AND TOBACCO-BOX

[P.142(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

415



MRS. PENRI'S BIRCH-BARK TRAY

[p. 148]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *amen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

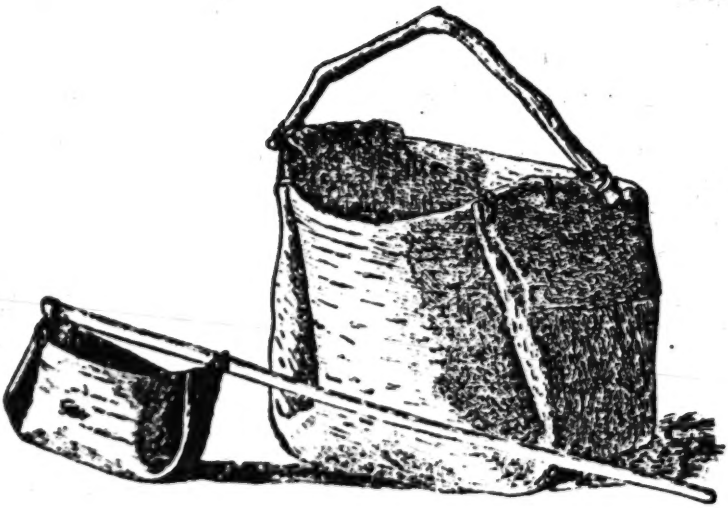
• [415]

A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *saké* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

415



OLD MRS. PENKI'S WATER-BUCKET AND LADLE

[P. 314]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 773 776

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.* 789

[415]

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle [361] undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag- 166 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num- [131] ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

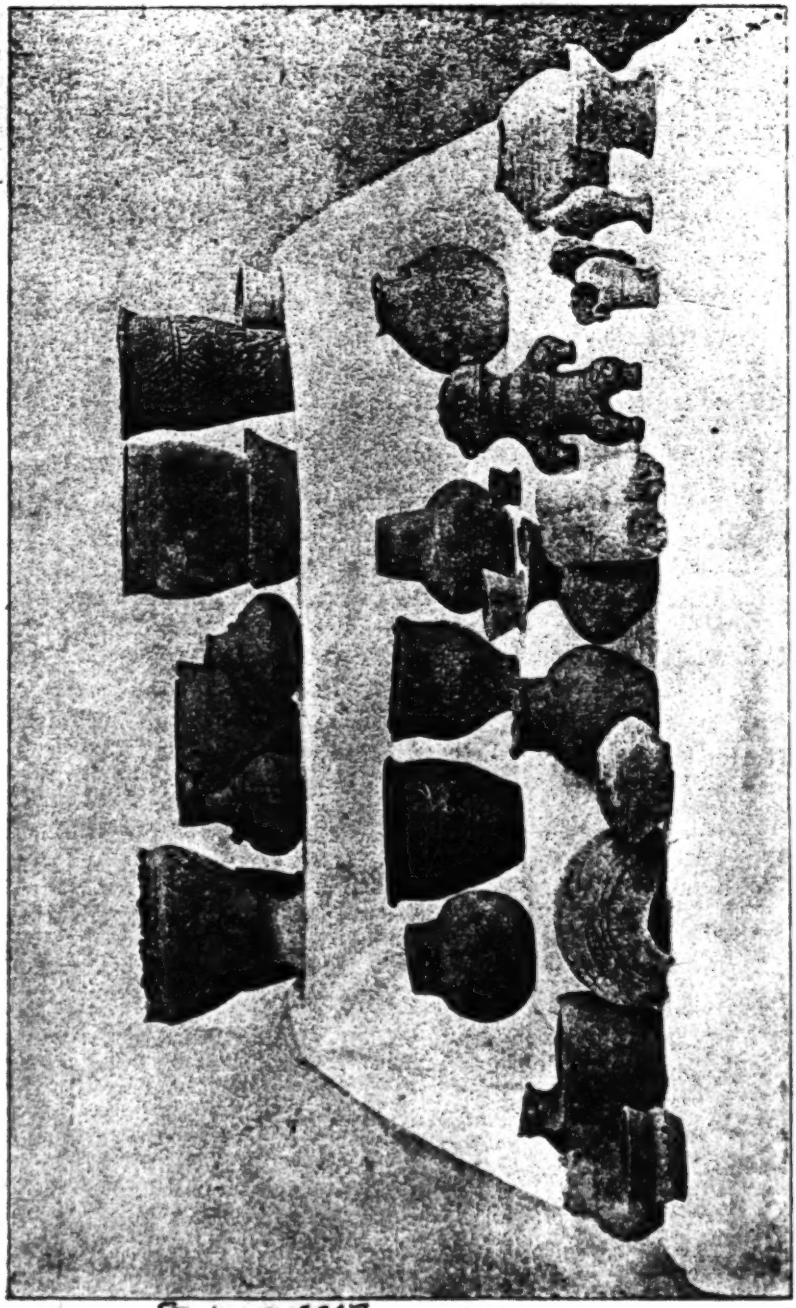
302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, 142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching 304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. 415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 69 are quite different from [197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel- [515] low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
323
172
531

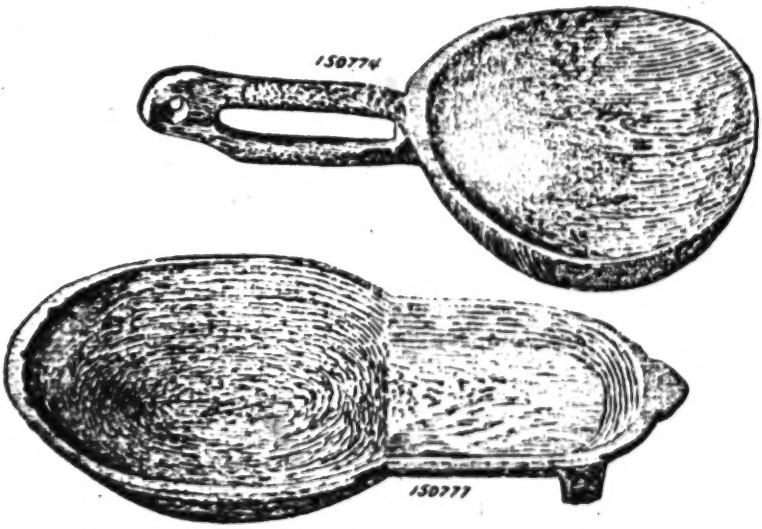


ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they 142
are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant [181]
and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.



[N5]

Fig. 68.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

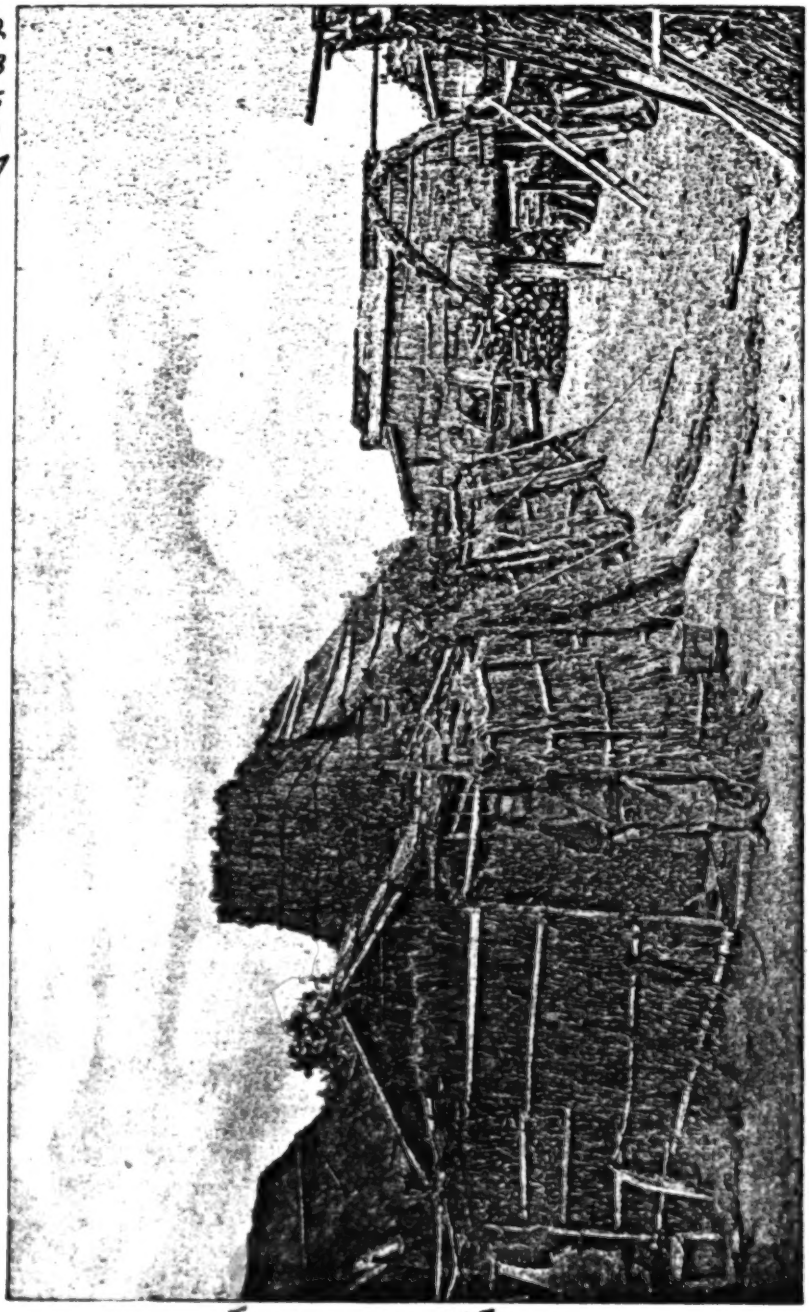
Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women [532]
grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the 304
mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417

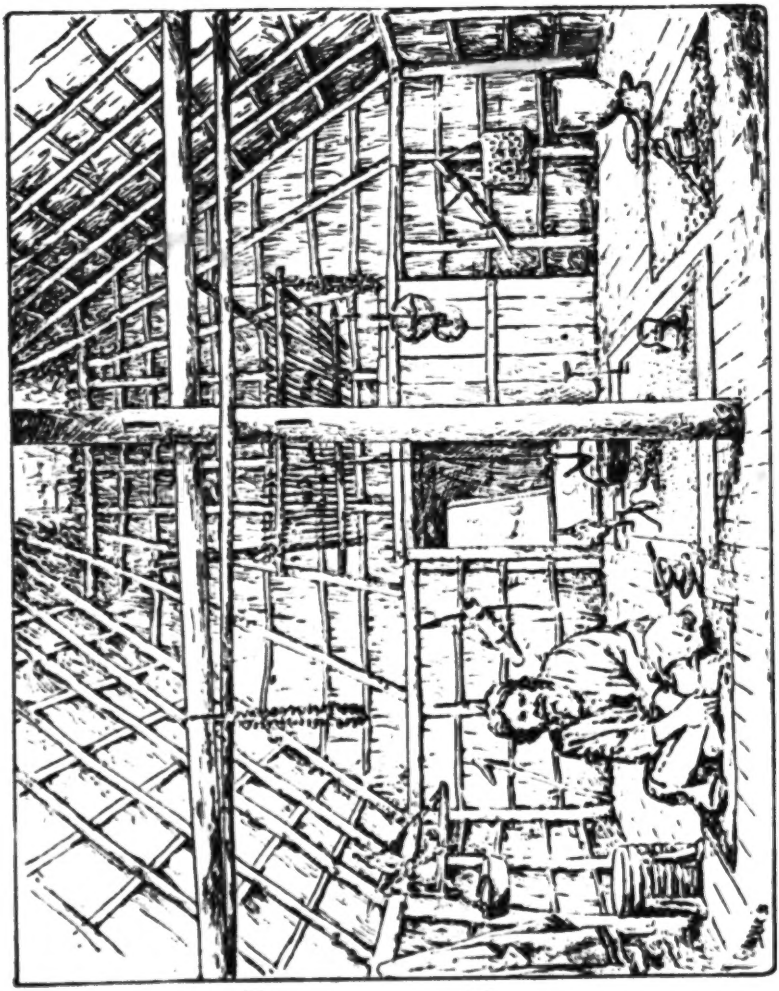


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITEKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or gold sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

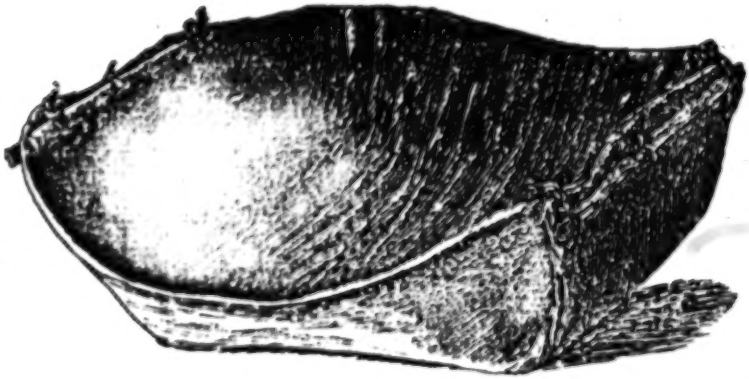
343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

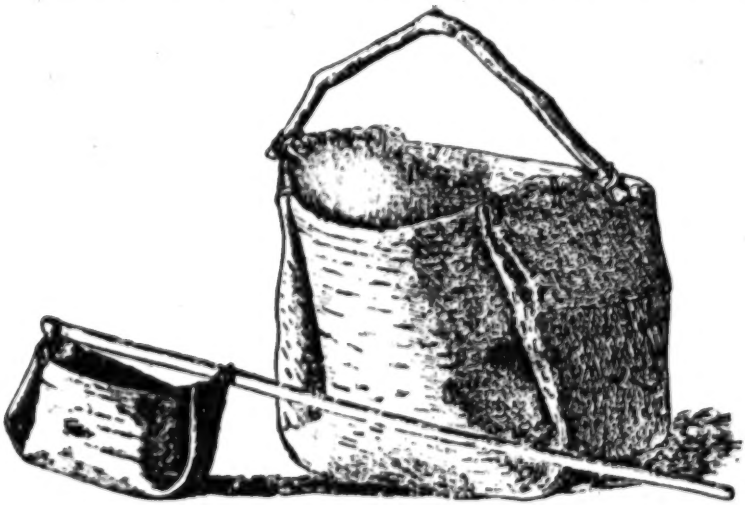
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Wooden spoons
(Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or



150673
Fig. 72.
BARK DISH USED AS A FISH-PLATE.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife-blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



150828
Fig. 73.
BARK WATER BUCKET AND DIPPER.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

H5
H2
S31

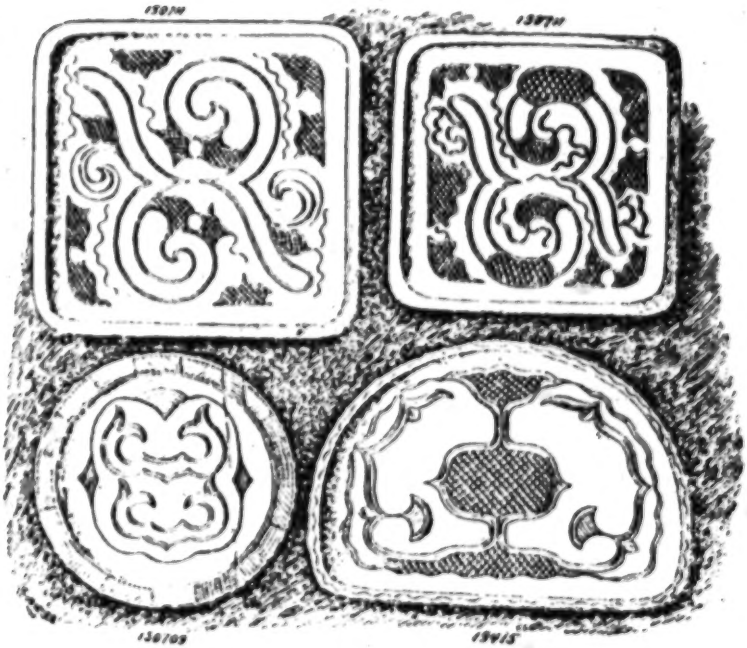


Fig. 74.
CARVED WOODEN PLATES.

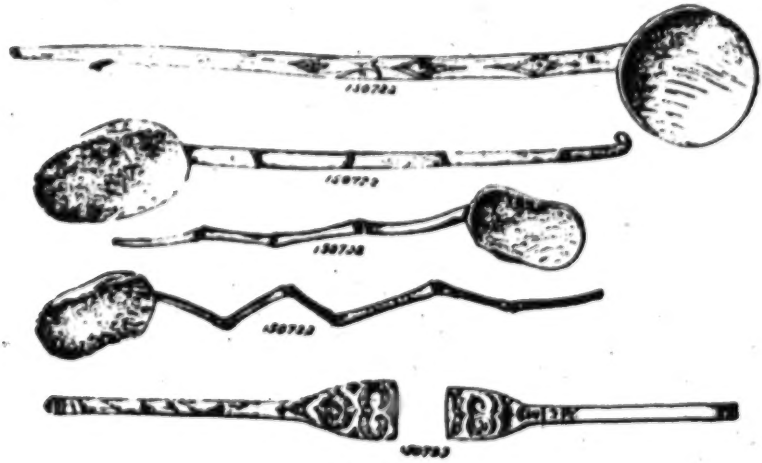


Fig. 75.
WOODEN SPOONS AND CARVED SPATULAS USED IN EATING.

3: Hitchcock N. 5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 60, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[244] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

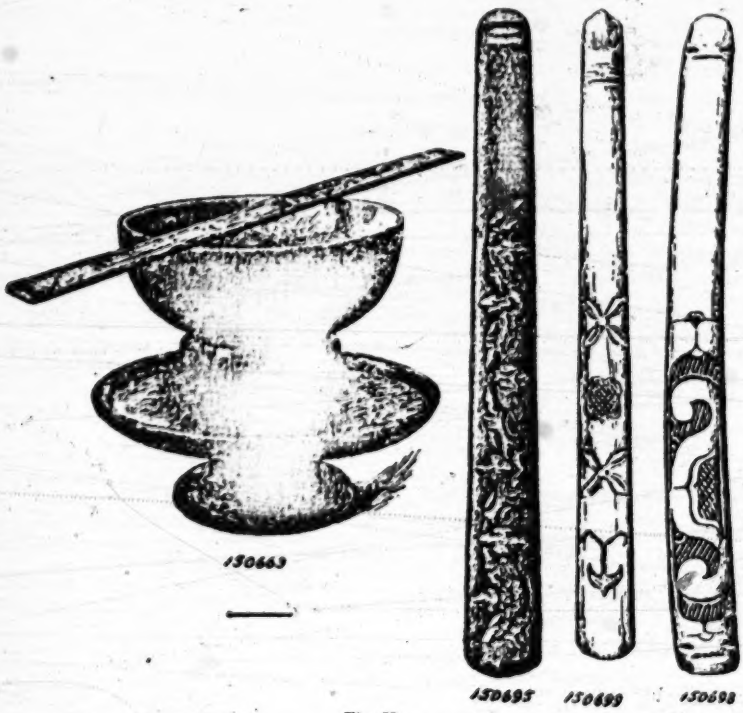
SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks ~~are mustache-lifters~~. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[443
[445
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 796 782

The sakó drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

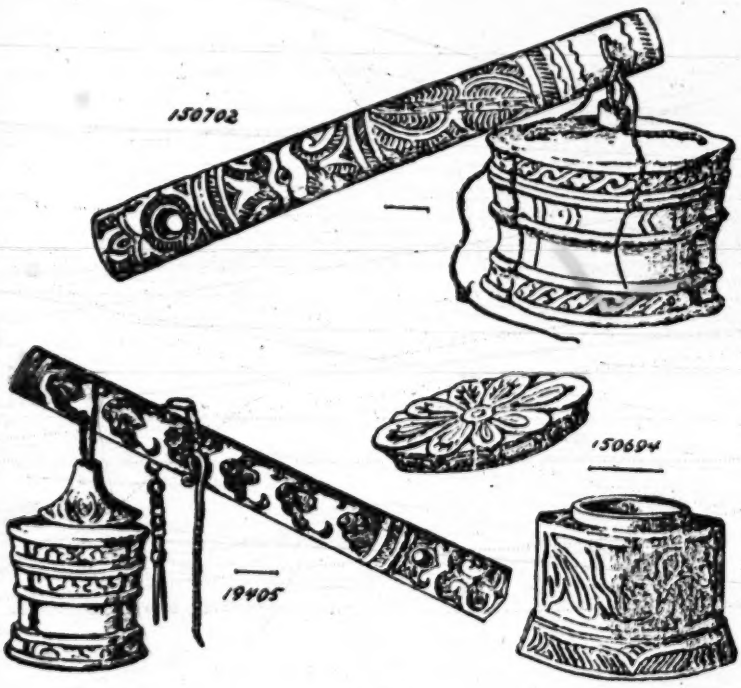


Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashira, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [145]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [441 415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¼ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2½ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9½ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¾ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3½ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3½ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig.85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

[534] *Bark dishes.*—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

4-11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786 [41]

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787 [286]

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150788

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plate.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416 [445]

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bakkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bakkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745 [342]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief. 128 123

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 173 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

322
415

AINU BARK WATER-JUGS

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nearing Civilisation.

SAPPRO, the present capital of Hokkaido, is a town of fairly large size, with wide streets intersecting each other at right angles. The Hokkaido-cho, a high red-brick building, the law courts, the *Kofikan*, the palace built for the Emperor, and used now as a kind of hotel, and the houses of officials, are the main buildings of the place. There are, besides, a sugar refinery, a hemp and silk factory, and a brewery, mainly supported by the Government. Neither of the first two were "flourishing industries," and one of the factories, if I remember aright, had long ceased working, and the other was soon to follow suit. The Government, I must say, have done their best to encourage and push on industries as well as agriculture in this district, but their efforts have produced but poor results. Machinery, which had been imported at great expense from England, America, Germany, and France, was left to rust and perish, and no private company seemed ready to continue the works. As a farming region the Sappro district has also proved more or less a failure from a financial point of view, though again the Government cannot but be highly praised for the money they have spent in trying to educate the people up to some kind of scientific, and therefore paying, method of agriculture. They have a large model farm of about 350 acres laid down in grain fields, as well as in meadows and pastures, stocked with cattle imported mainly from America. In the Toyoshira valley, south of the town, a

P.187 I

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

327
415

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone 341
beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent 184
varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru 342
River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched 184
with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider 342
how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

[p. 207]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one [184] room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals 342 of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive [476] the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

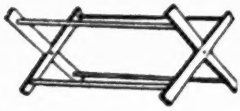
591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter [852] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds 399 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a 517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping 412 accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly 415 carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

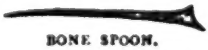
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.

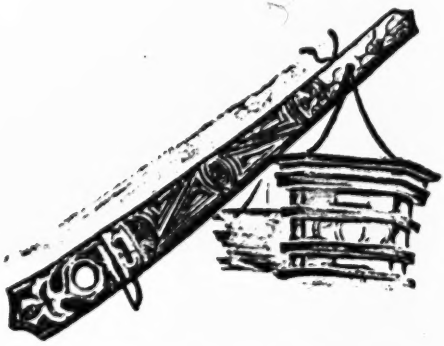
WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.

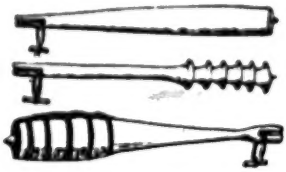


AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



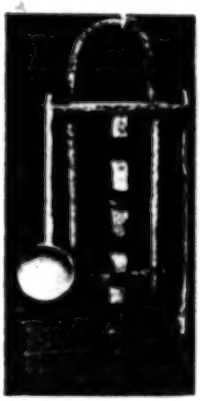
TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

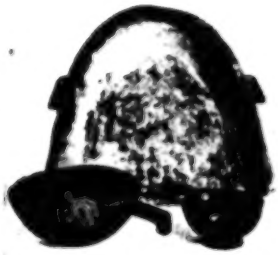
TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.



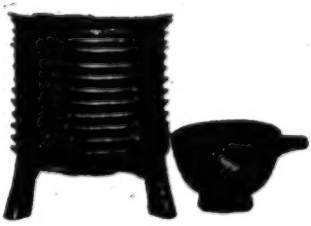
1.



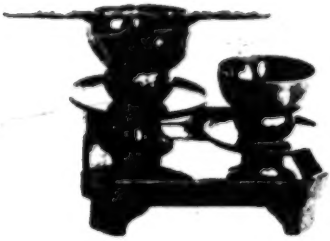
2.

3.

47
352
415
301



4.



5.

415
[782]
[413]

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shinloko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

523
415
353

PLATE XII. Household treasures.

[p. 30 (4)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 [353] [439] [177] Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made. 778 782 574

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein. 796 769 782 [184]

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration. [415]

[1] The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

796 825 782 [574] [824] [783] [533]

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child
[753] will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

A [113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K
323
415
[113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K [113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

Stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
291

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

[P. 34]

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10–15 at the minimum to 40–50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

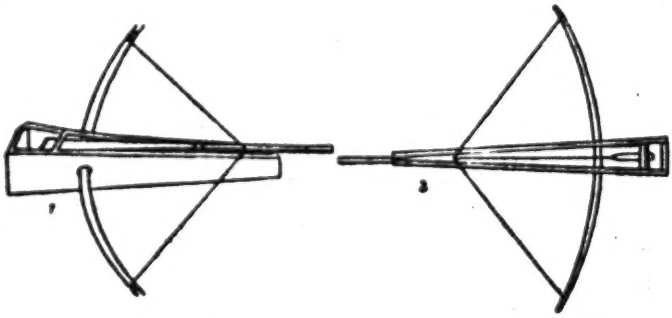
227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A favourite way of catching rats among this people was by a trap such as the following. It consisted of a sort of oblong box having a bow so placed as to close a slide firmly to the end as soon as the animal pulled at a bait placed inside near the bottom. The slide catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside and the hind quarters outside. There is no noise made by the animal. I have taken as many as seven, one after the other, in the course of an evening, and found another caught fast in the morning. But it is a bad plan to allow other rats to see one thus caught. They seem to take the hint and seek healthier quarters at once. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap ready set, and Fig. 2 reveals the string inside to which the bait is tied.



RAT TRAP, SET RAT TRAP, UNDERVIEW

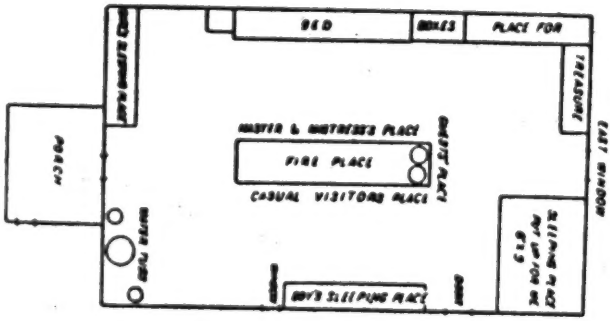
Once about midnight Penri gave a most fearful yell, jumped up very suddenly, and rushed across to my sleeping place. Arrived there, he pushed open my sliding door and asked me why I had slipped across to his place and given his hair a pull! I was greatly astonished at this and asked what he meant. But he stuck to it that I had got up a short time ago and had come and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A POTHOOK

son to sleep with me so as get a little heat. 342 The lad came for the night and then ran [417] away. It was not until the year 1922, more than forty years after, that I could get him to tell me why he left me to suffer alone in the cold. He said, "Your back was so hot that I was unable to stand it. I could hardly breathe. I therefore ran away and slept in another house. There seemed to be a hot glow coming out of your person!" That is all I could get out of him. As soon as I found he would not return, I asked Mrs. Penri to fill me two big bottles with hot water, and let me have them to keep one on each side of my body. This was done and I went to bed John Gilpin-like. But the necks of the bottles were smooth and all there was to stop them up with were wisps of straw. Alas, I woke up very early in the morning to find that the water had run out and I was frozen down to the boards! That was on December 8. The next day saw me on my way to Hakodate, where I got a foreign room and bed and good European food. In this way, then, did my early life among the Ainu begin.

362



PLAN OF CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576
them by feasting on them. After that the other 264
people had their turn.

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eat- 264
ing double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner.

[417]

A POTHOOK

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
H17

A WOMAN REARING THE FAMILY BEAR CUB

A BEAR CUB'S CAGE

[P. 106 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
685
417
291

A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
488
417

OLD JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN AINU STOREHOUSE

[p. 286]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

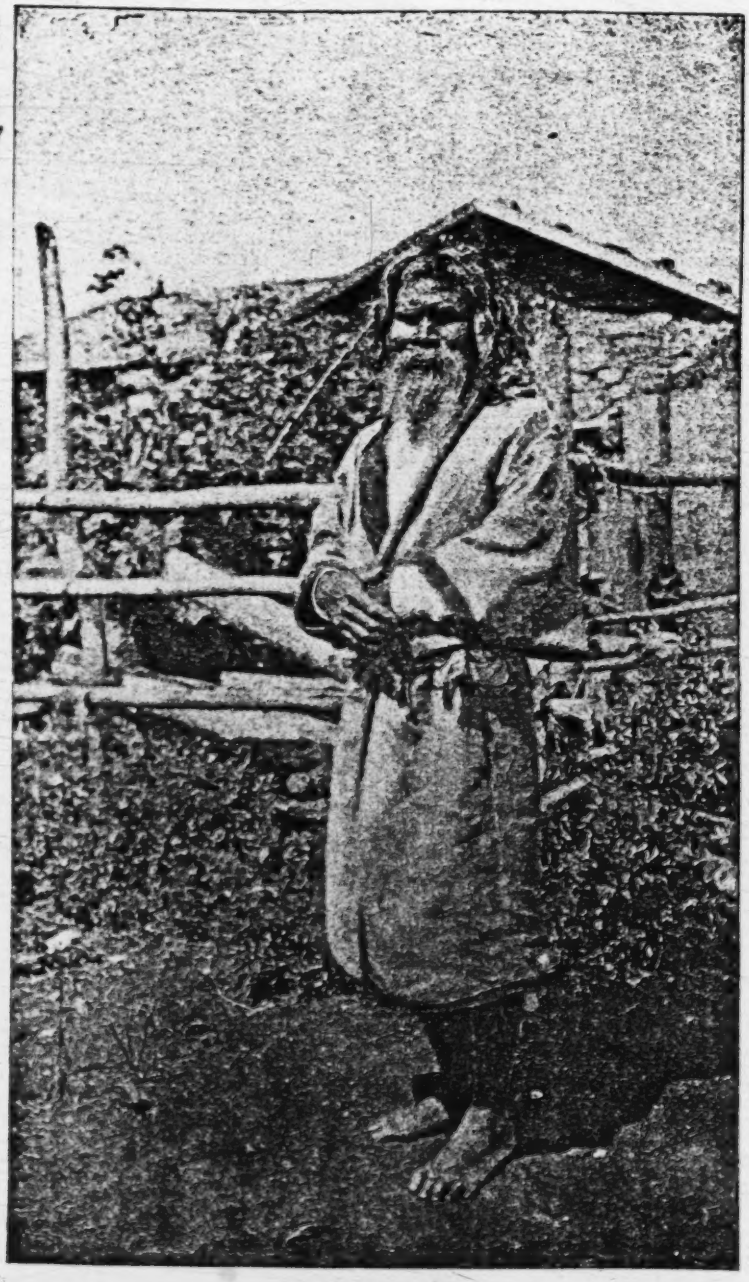
285
417

MAKING A MAT

[P. 318 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417



AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

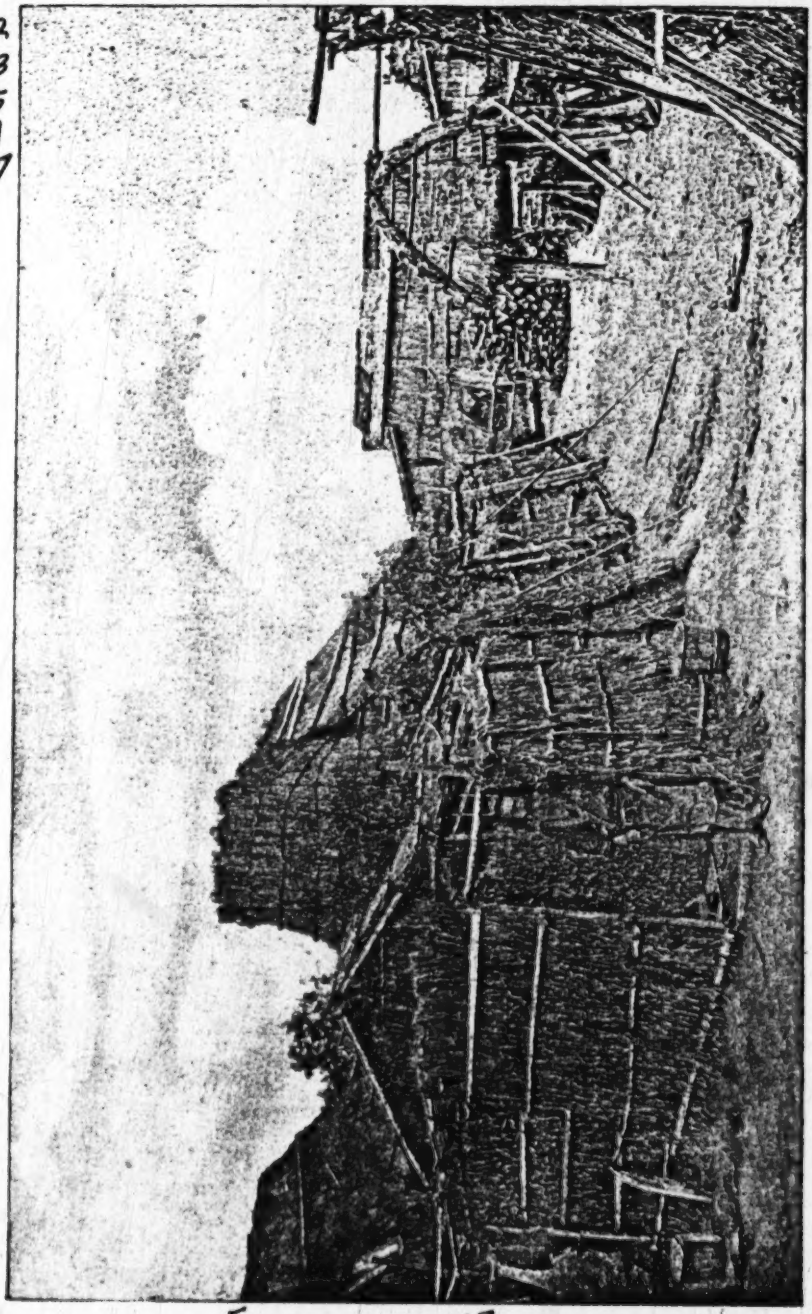
A2
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
343
415
291
417



AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koro-pok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172

417 251

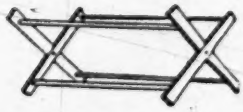
AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

285

342

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except [512] on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their 361
huts when migrating from one island to another. They also 342
burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that [968]
the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no [344]
public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little
way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a
separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be 343
accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures,
the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the
habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on
piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs,
mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these
storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar
ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, [419]
pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve
as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a
glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these
ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their
heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder
when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after [462]
these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and
control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a store-
house could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny [857]
door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after
hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the
sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were
then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the
ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her
soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her
habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 825 554 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many 231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417 231 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

[412]

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRA-TORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

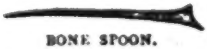
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



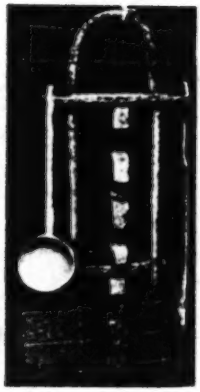
BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

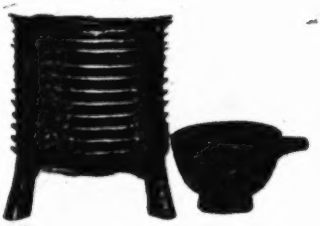
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



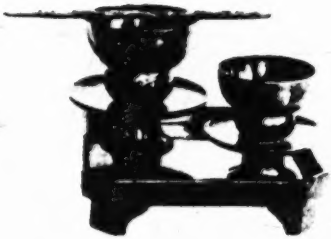
1.

2.

3.



4.



5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintsko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (k)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the
796 location of the hearth, which must be free from contamina-
354 tion by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-
[184] building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an
[174] important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from
[782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi Pennai	6 2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi Nyashikeshi Fulka Sarunnai	6 3 1 1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [31]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku-ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku-o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417] wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231] which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[38]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
[692] goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[962] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's
421 family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position.
[557] The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
[627] servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk.
[623] Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire. from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The
disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through
their selected representatives, lasting for days on end
sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question
as to which side had won would be decided by the
vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times
resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also
determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed.
This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful
seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

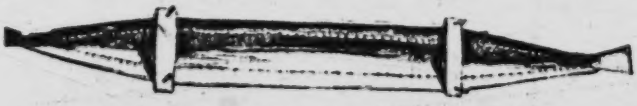
It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these
as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to
the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal
hunting domains, thus making certain territories their
own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the
villages where the poaching had taken place, the people
were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have
now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place
chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified
manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and
respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I
here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name,
which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man,
for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

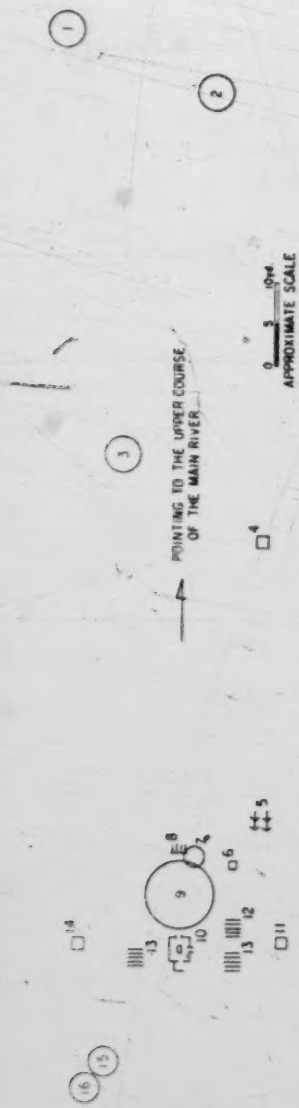


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kotan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

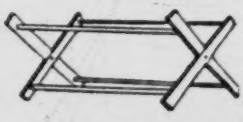
175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

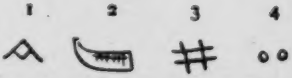
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's 422 marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422]

[1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

439 556 in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

[583] A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to 226 outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be [685] compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [195] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dic- [224] tated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
204 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that
● 423 extended over the area of several villages judging from
226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[906] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Tōtsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

AE
*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

AE
During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice con-
[936] taining two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

AE
3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the
*648 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who
*175 had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
226 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the
439 productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo
661 had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege,
[923] they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

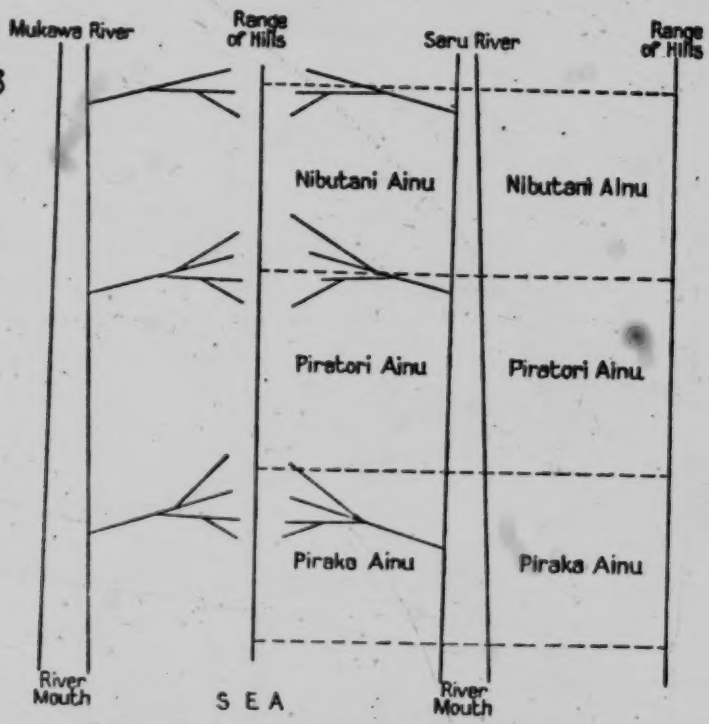
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621 ●423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of 614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population. 776 769 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid. 776 769 611

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage. 769 776 [782] [778]

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors. 614 611 769 [423]

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as 611

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acrolite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [342] erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423] in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132] thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462] by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.56]

V

TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS

A territory here is defined simply as an area defended and protected by 423
members of a group against intruding members of other groups. Though
various types of territories were held by the Ainu, all were concerned with
the exploitation of natural resources found thereon. Ainu territorialism was [182]
a part of the spatial structure of their community which had a direct rele-
vance to their adaptation to habitat. The maintenance of a territory could
be an important factor in relation to the distribution and spacing of groups
and to group activities (cf. BARTHROMIW and BIRDSELL, 1953).

Territories as held by the Ainu fall into two categories: one, the territory inhabited and utilized exclusively by a river group as a whole (p. 16), and the other, inner-territories stewarded as gathering sites by individual groups within the river group, i.e. local groups, cooperative groups and simple families.

The Territory Held by the River Group.

The territory occupied by each river group formed itself on the basis of 423
a *pet* or a river as prescribed by the Ainu themselves and its surrounding 619
area (p. 16). So far as the territories surveyed by the present writer are concerned, this covered an area bounded in partly by mountain ridges forming watersheds for the adjoining rivers, *pet*, and partly by tributaries of the river or adjoining rivers, as seen in the case of Otopuke, Tokapchi, Tushipet, Azuma and Saru[45]. As regards the Shikot the actual line of demarcation is unknown except for that interior part which was bounded in by the crest lines forming the watersheds for the adjoining rivers. As far as the present writer has examined, the actual lines of demarcation of most of these territories, as shown on Map 2, present some difficulty in identification, especially in the lower regions, although it seems doubtful whether such ambiguity had actually existed or the memory has been lost to available informants.

Attention must be directed to the fact that a river group and its territory were not necessarily based on a geographically defined river system as a unit. Sometimes a single river group and its territory evolved around a river system, as with the Azuma; sometimes more than one river group and their territories developed around a single river system, as with the Tokapchi, each evolving around the main stream or one of the larger tributaries.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619
423

Geographically Defined River System	Component River around which a River Group Evolved	Number of River Groups & Their Territories
Azuma River	Azuma	1
Mukawa River	Mukawa	1
Ishikari River	Ishikari Shikot Others unidentified	2 (or more ?)
Saru River	Saru ?Nukapira[46]	1 (or 2?)
Tokapchi River	Tokapchi Tushipet Ashoro Otopuke Satnai	5

311
619
423

Each territory utilized exclusively by the residing river group can be divided according to Ainu's exploitation activity into the following five ecological zones (Fig. 8):

1) the river and its tributaries,
2) the river banks,
3) the river terraces,
4) the stretch of hillsides along the river course,
5) the high mountain region around the source of the river.

In order to supply themselves with a set of biotic species needed for subsistence, the Ainu exploited these different areas in accordance with particular ecologies of species and particular techniques for their exploitation. In this manner the territory occupied by a river group formed a nearly or completely self-sufficient unit of Ainu habitat. Sometimes, a failing supply of a needed item within its own area or a finding of better sites without, induced some members of a river group to pass across its boundary. Two of such essential items were the bear and the aconite plant for preparing arrow poison. Except for these, all river groups were self-sufficing in necessary items (p. 85). In short, the Ainu had seldom to overstep their boundaries for gathering purposes. As regards the staple items in particular, such as deer, dog salmon, cherry salmon and edible plants, every river group was at ordinary times sufficiemtly supplied from resources found within its own territory.

619
423

When for gathering purposes any one was to step into a river group territory other than his own, no matter for what, where and how, the person was required to obtain from some one of the headmen of the river valley concerned a formal permission accompanied with a rigid ritual procedure. And there was possibility of such permit not granted by a headman who had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

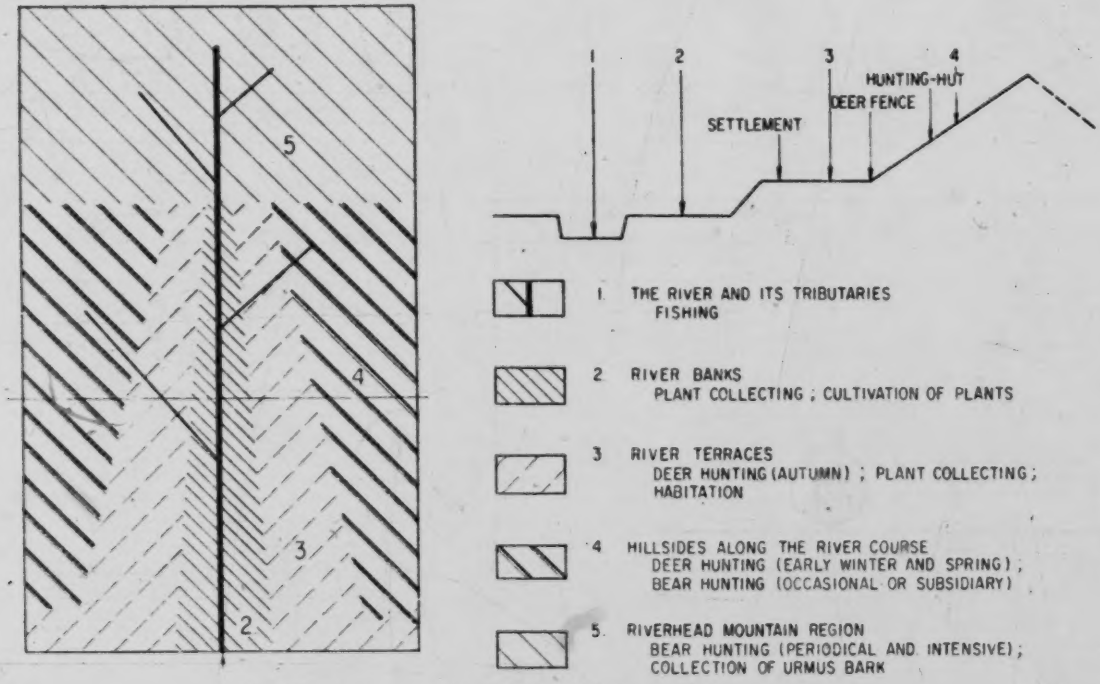


Fig. 8. Diagram representing a river valley as the territory of a river group and its ecological zones.

311
423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)		
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanumi*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423
311
103
621

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[60]
(in descending order of location)

621 423 311 [103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[61]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources.
423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon
619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission
[628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
423 of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[628] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
[782] for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
[431] would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits 776
of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received 619
exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu 423
expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river [782]
group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources 776
exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence 182
all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, 771
each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[70]. Ainu [772]
cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63). 136 [423]

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953). 127

[p. 138]

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Meto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1. [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an* (*Otopue*)
619 *iworu iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an* (*Otopuke*) *iworu* (*iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1. [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river 133
into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side 423
that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the 823
upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was 619
Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be 423
concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory rest- 823
ing upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old 173
Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a 619
brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, [823]
like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi*; those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1. [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[685]

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both tne habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156). 423 621

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream. 423 621 226

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family. [431]

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 621 226 *un ichan* (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To give just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (to own) *iworu*', '*kuli kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (to be at) *utar* (people) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui* window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in- 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [764] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in 467 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor- 769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondô Juzo's *Sô Ezochi Go Yôgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sôrô Omomuki Moshiage Sôrô Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[26] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yûbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[28]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shû Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yûrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[26] *Kondô Seisai Zenshû* (Complete works of Kondô Môrishige), 1: 36.

[28] Nagata Hôsei, *Hokkaidô Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidô Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirô, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidô Shakai Jigyô*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fûsoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

A E *175 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishinu* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426] A E [431] [276] E [171]

---

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

A F *175 *648 439 441

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

F A [426] *175 *648 439

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyōki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[426]

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gōdan* (The northern allegory).

[434]

A F *175 *648 251 177 439 A F *175 *648 [412] 464 439 A F *175 *648 439 A [426] A F *175 *648 177 441 226 [420] A [251] A F *175 [452] *648 177 226 439

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[20] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[21] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[22]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sôya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[23]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[20] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[21] *Ibid.*, 410.
[22] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[23] *Iorn Zokwwn* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the [428] son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō. *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

[P. 18(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

614 [608] porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 621 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's [428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property [613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 621 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu [622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from
424 mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[764] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women
[804] independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that
423 extended over the area of several villages judging from
226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[906] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A E *175 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426] A E [431] [296] E [171]

---

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

A
F
*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
*648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
433 and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
554 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
437 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDÔ

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
*648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638]
[669] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A
F
[439]
[431]
A
[622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidô Shisô* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidô), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tôyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshôken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shô* 3: 126, 164.

A F *648 *175 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and A F *648 *175 622 from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came 489 [431] to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* A [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu* [293] *Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu";* and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of A F a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into [796] a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

A [39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many [362] years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

A
*175 those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited
*648 Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the
622 castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed
484 and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

A
*175 When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand pre-
*648 pare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or
● 431 rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the
622 manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

A
*175 It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when
*648 becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be
574 considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When
576 the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language
A the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and
[195] there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

---

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [273] [276] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

A F *175 *648 439 431 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [805] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and A [273] be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shô to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shô) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tôyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 62 177 *175 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho.* To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho.* While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai.* It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [L24] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *648 *175 [273] [306] At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tnuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

A F *648 [221] since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

*175 After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

A F *648 431 433

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

F A *648 576 431 The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

A [576] [431] A [206] [4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

A F *648 576 431

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

A F *648 527 576 *175 A F [431]

A F *648 *175 576 671

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

A [681]

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever
576 since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been gen-
671 erous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
A F erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
671 abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
A F preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

● [931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
A after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the
[622] *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

[307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[657] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

*648 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
576 changes from that of the previous period. Previously
527
178

[7] *Eso Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

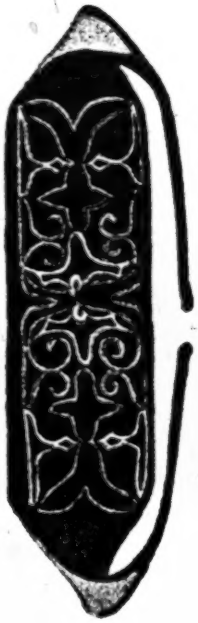
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576

TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

431
531

BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED



BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

[p. 82]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Admiral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

777 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

> When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession. 777 431

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past. 777

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it. [411 224]

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid- 527 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
● [431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had 117
stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744]
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
462 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the
552 fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and 539
handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing 831
each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous 584
fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath [431] as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objec- [582]
tions to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[43]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[48].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain- [796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 [628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. [782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made [431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby [431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local [782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that [685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer [782] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[49]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a 423
division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of 621
sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop 423
and Ninoushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the 621
spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens re- 226
spectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must [431] be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

A F *175 177 *648 439 [94A] commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [439] A F *175 *648 439 The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F [439] 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F *175 *648 439 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

A F *175 *648 433 554 437 These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A F
*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
*648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
433 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
554 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.
437

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDÔ

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
*648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638]
[669] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae
made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted
Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly
prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[24] How-
ever, very little else is known of the control system
aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction
became less stringent,[25] the 1669 incident unavoidably
changed the political relationships between Ainu and
Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says,
"There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from
Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some
who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to
give them orders but me." This seems an exaggera-
tion but it is a true picture of conditions in that area
A F suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669
revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and
[439] Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their
trade and began when that trade opened. The ex-
[431] change of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good
will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and
highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor.
A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the
presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"*
means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means
friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly
relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he
was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he
respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands
at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became
vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became
subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became
an independent power they had behind them the back-
ing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated
in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence.
When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No
matter what the order may be from the lord, we all,
A regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs
[622] who had previously been on equal terms with the
Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a
Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-
governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

[24] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidô Shisô* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidô), 26.

[25] "According to the *Tôyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshôken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shô* 3: 126, 164.

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

---

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shōhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

A F *648 [221] *175 A F *648 431 433

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

F A *648 516 431

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

A [576] [431] A [206]

[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a, p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3]. From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI, 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[4], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[4]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[1] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[4]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[4].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with, the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period 101
of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference 177
or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and 241
superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred through- 177
out Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dis- [166]
persions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for [433]
instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site all tted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu [128]
was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary 115
procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to [124]
get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged 124
to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information per- 128
taining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

hup, Abies sachalinensis[23]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted 224
accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usu- 221
ally done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams [231]
down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less [433]
supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed [132]
by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with [231]
dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs [411]
as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[24]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting [462]
by women and children. [561]

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown 224
[136]

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*kommi tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[357] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest from,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet. 22 182 433 178

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[40].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[423] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

Ainu ABC
Golds RX3
Orok
Ezudai Japan ABZ
Sakhalin Islands

A 174 184 433 131 /130 cont./ where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

Gi 175 The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after Gi [231] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J. Gi 175 raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, F.J. Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them. [101] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, [103] "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

Gi 131 175 F.J. 125 [126]

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The [114] line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4).

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy

and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G A 224 [411] A 411 439 325 178 A 224 181 433 648

The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

G1 224 433 G1 [439]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

A F *175 *648 439 441

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

F A [426] *175 *648 439

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[426]

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

[434]

K 823 A 439 823 186 A 439 435

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 17 325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 174 325

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then 101
became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 804

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver): 804 436

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of 121
colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value. [804] [436]

[P. 6(B)]

A E
*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sō[illegible]nd Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the [illegible]e from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

A E
[436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

A E
3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the
*648 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who
*175 had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
226 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the
439 productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow
661 for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege,
[423] they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

A F
*175 2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his
*648 plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering
669 this country will be taken care of.
728 3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

A F
[436] 6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

A F
*648 Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the
*175 chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east
[651] coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

---

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

A
*175 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing
*648 grounds were actively worked.[16]

439 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae
A
*175 were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring
*648 roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers
439 of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (accord-
433 ing to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi*
[316] (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

A
*175 The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly
*648 native goods which could be sold in the markets of
439 Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the
436 natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The con-
[661] tractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae). November, 1720.

A
[136] [20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

A
[224] [21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, seal-
[226] skin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*175
*648
439
436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
F
*175
*648
251
177
439

A
[501]

---

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arakama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

A
[227]

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

[P. 32 (B)]

F A *648 *175 439 441 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [579] 439 441 The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] A In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

*648 *175 ●436 439

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A F
*648
*175
●436
439

600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅚ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

A F
[457]

The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[57] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[58] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[57] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[58] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

A
F
*648 shō of Musaban rice.[59] Trade was not necessarily
*175 carried on in accordance with these standards. Ac-
436 cording to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth
439 more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."[60] Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

F
446 Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both
[273] the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was,
661 next to rice, the most important trade staple and we
437 read in the *Tōyuki:* "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels
441 with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake
*648 was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki:* "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.[61] There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki*. They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

[59] *Ezo Koku Shiki.*
[60] Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].
[61] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 6 (2): 31.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A
F
*648
*175
464

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A
[465]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A
[463]

A
F
*648
*175
465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A
F
*648
*175
●436
437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and,

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seiri Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

A
F
*648
*175
436
437

since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (*a*) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (*b*) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (*c*) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

A
*648
*175
436

It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*648
*175
A36

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A
[438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

A
[177
51]

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

---

[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chokyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chokyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

A F * 648 * 175 ● 436 [433]

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

A [184]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

A F * 648 * 175 457 436

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

---

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

A [436]

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A
F
*648
*105
457
436

of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A
[C51]

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon*:

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho*, and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[29] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[29] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

[P. 62 (A)]

A
F
*648 enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the
*175 apprehension that the profit from the native trade
constituted the financial resources of that island and
457 that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped
436 at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the
expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo
and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The
established exchange rate is discussed in Part One,
Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was
maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was
retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that
the rate was not observed in practice but on the other
hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived
for trade purposes.

A
F
*648
*175
461
177
A
[465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A
[203]
[439]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

	Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A.	3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B.	4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
	(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
		(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
		(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
		(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

A
[436]

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

A F *175 177 *648 439 [416A]

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [437] A F

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

*175 *648 439 452

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F [439]

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F *175 *648 439

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

A F *175 *648 433 554 437

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A F
*175 *648 433 554 437

weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 *648 [669]

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A F [439] [431]

A [622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

F A *648 *175 439 441 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [579] 439 ● 431 The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

F *648 *175 436 439

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice year, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F *648 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end ot this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316]

A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

A F *648 *175 the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step A [439] [431] was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A F *648 ●437 624 *175 The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be im- A [65] posed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

Ibid., 889 Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

Feudal Japan A82

A F *C48 ● 439 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *C48 *175 465 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho,* breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 464

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [465]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A [463]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A F *648 *175 436 437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakisuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8–9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

A
F
*648
*175
436
437

since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (*a*) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (*b*) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (*c*) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

A
F
*648
*175
436

It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

[P. 16 (A)]

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

438 463 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

[208]

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21) 361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisei Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P-16(B)]

A
F
*648
*175
436

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A
●[438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

A
[171
511]

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

---

[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chōhyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chōkyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4, [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.

Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male

Operation of the Devices.

Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming and cutting trees	Male

1, [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[291] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be 226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota* [685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair [681] or the nose. There were other penalties for minor offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

●[439] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
[692] goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-
556

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

[p.24 (B)]

E
A
*175 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade
*648 relations of benefit to both parties. Therefore, the
● 439 relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu started as a trade relationship which was, in effect, an extension of the Ōu relationships. Some students of economics maintain that there exists among barbarian peoples one stage in which there is no trade with other peoples. Yet, as far as we know, the Ezo have always traded with
A [501] neighboring peoples using for that purpose canoes propelled by mat sails and paddles. Trade across Tsugaru strait between Japan and Hokkaidō started quite early. The *SDE* vol. 3 written in 1356, says that the Ezo living near Matsumae "Went out to trade at
E [504] the ports of Tsugaru in the Ōu region." Tosa in Tsugaru (an auxiliary naval port located at the mouth of Tosa Bay in Tsugaru) was the center of trade between the mainland and Hokkaidō. It was the largest seaport in Ōu with ships from both Ezo and the capital of Japan going in and out the harbor. The importance of this port in the Ezo trade is testified to not only by the *Tosa Ōrai*[1] [Tosa Courier] but by the legend "On Zōshi Shima Watari" in the *Otogi Zōshi*[b] of the Ashikaga period which holds that the Ushiwaka Maru set

[1] Fukushi Sadazō, Tsugaru Tosa Meisho Ki (A record of notable places in Tosa, Tsugaru), *Tōhōku Bunka Kenkyū* 1: 51–52.

[b] *Otogi Zōshi* is a collection of popular folk and fairy stories which circulated in the period 1300–1600. *On Zōshi Shima Watari* is a legend of the escape of Minamoto Yoshitsune to Hokkaidō.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

[P.24(c)]

E
A
*175
*648
●439

sail from Tosa for Ezo.[2] There are many records after this date containing notices of Ezo vessels putting into Akita and Tsugaru to trade. In a letter dated February 20 of the year 1565 written by the Jesuit Missionary Father Luis Frois to a Father in India [3] there is mention of the Ezo coming to trade at Akita and the Spaniard Sebastiano Vizcaino [4] who explored the Northern seas in 1611 reported that during the months of July and August the Ezo came to Japan to trade. As the Japanese encroached on the Ainu, the center of trade between the two people crossed Tsugaru straits and came to rest in the Watarishima area. After the Ezo incidents of the period 1455–1457 had been settled, the number of merchant vessels putting into Ezo steadily increased. They were after fish, fur, and game and as trade increased so did the number of market centers. Esashi, Matsumae, and Hakodate were the most active trade centers with the trade itself penetrating deep into Ezo.[5] On the east coast a trade post was established

E
[49]

[2] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 336.

[3] Murakami Naojirō trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsûshin (Correspondence of Christians in Japan) in *Ikoku Soshō* 1: 192. Frois wrote this letter after learning of the visit of the ancestor of the Matsumae (Kakizaki) to the Andō clan at Hiyama in Akita.

[4] Murakami Naojirō trans., Bisukaino Kinginto tanken Hōkoku (The report of the expedition of Vizcaino to the Gold and Silver Islands) in *Ikoku Soshō*, 113.

[5] "At that time (when the Matsumae moved to Fukuyama) there were no officials on duty nor were there visits from foreign vessels.

E
A

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

*175 at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the
*648 same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at
439 Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

A
F
[668]
A
E
C28
439
*175
*648

Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

---

E
[439]
[485]

vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Eso Koku Shiki.*

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Eso Dan Hikki.*

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A
E
*175
*648
439
628

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

A
E
*175
*648
656
439

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

A
E
*175
*648
439

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

A E F
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
*175
*648
●439

These items constituted the revenue of the clan chief and while not inclusive of the tax receipts from gold mines gave a fair idea of sources. After 1672 the proceeds from hawk sales and the gold-mine taxes fell off so that the continually prospering Ezo trade became the main source of Matsumae income. After the clan became independent the stipends of their followers, the number of whom was increasing, were, as in other clans, in the form of rice allotments but unlike other clans the Matsumae gave rice stipends only to the lower retainers. The higher retainers were called *Bashomochi* [estate holders] for they received as stipend a part of the clan land or else they acquired a *Chigyōsho* [tenure] in one of the many *Basho* [estates] into which the Ezo territories were divided. Since these estates were located in unfriendly areas and yielded no income from products of the soil the right of the *Bashomochi* in his tenures was merely the privilege of trade monopoly in the area. This was then a distribution [*in rem*] to retainers of the right of monopoly held by the Matsumae which right and distribution was recognized by the Bakufu.

A E
*175
*648
439

This stipendary estate system, generally called *Basho* or *Akinaiba* [trading zone], was established during the period 1596–1614.[10] The boundaries grew gradually. Some were the size of our present gun or even kuni. Exploitation of the *Basho* was not limited to trade alone. There were gold mining, hawk roosts, abundant salmon, trout, and timber. However, these were directly controlled by the clan lord and without his explicit permission could not be exploited. So the living expense of those who had the right of *Bashomochi* was obtained directly from the trade which, in the beginning, was managed directly, in each *Basho*, by the clan or by the estate owner.

Every spring merchant ships from various countries came to Matsumae and the clan or the estate owner would take trade goods from these ships, put them on smaller boats, and proceed to their respective estates. These small boats called *Nawa-Tojibune* [roped ships] had a capacity of about 300 koku. They were canoes with thick boards fastened to their sides with birch fibre, there were no nails, and they were able to take shelter in the numerous small inlets of the coast. These canoes indicate a small scale trade. The trading post of each *Basho* was set up at the spot where it was convenient both for the Ainu to gather and for a small boat to beach. At these posts the Ainu traded the goods which they had accumulated during the year either by their own efforts or through trade with other tribes. Prior to the establishment of permanent trading posts business was carried on aboard the canoes or in temporary huts or even in Ainu huts. Either the owner of the *Chigyōsho* or his representative was on the trading boat and in the sense that the *Chigyōsho* owner was looking after the Ezo in his area the trip

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

A E *195 *648 439

was termed *Kaihō,* a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwu* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

A [426]

A E [431] [276]

E [171]

---

[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

2 CAUSE OF THE WAR OF 1669

E
*698
*1175
439

The chief characteristics of a commercial colony are its impermanence and the lack of political disputes between the governors and the governed. This is particularly true when the colony is not a market for the surplus goods of the homeland but is established in order to exploit the products of the colonial area. The Matsumae, in their early period, did not, as has been mentioned, rely on military power but achieved their purpose with the natives by peaceful means—by the development of trade and transportation which was financially vital to the clan. It was therefore not necessary for the weak Matsumae clan to attempt to control the powerful Ezo but merely to maintain a peaceful economic relationship. To achieve this aim it was more needful to impose regulations on the Japanese than on the Ainu and the Matsumae consistently avoided quarrels with the natives by establishing a boundary between the two peoples and by prohibiting Japanese from entering Ainu territory. A decree of Hideyoshi says, in part: "Crews and merchants coming to Matsumae from other countries shall treat the Ezo as their own people and refrain from doing them injustice," while in a decree from the Bakufu to the Matsumae the clan is thus enjoined: "Injustice to the Ezo shall be strictly forbidden." The attitude of the Matsumae themselves can be seen in the injunction observed by that clan since the days of Yoshihiro: "To govern without the use of force." With the exception of those natives who lived in Matsumae territory or who, living very close to it, intermingled with Japanese, no regulations were imposed on the Ainu, they being treated as equals although foreigners. They kept their own customs, used their own language, lived in their own society under chiefs elected by them, observed their own rules, and were independent of the Matsumae power. The Matsumae sent no officials into Ezoland and although the *Chigyōnushi* [*Chigyō* proprietor] or his representative crossed into aboriginal territory they remained in that territory only long enough to conduct trade and returned on the completion of their business. There was then no political relationship between the Japanese and the natives. This situation is well described in the words of Hafukase, a powerful chief of Ishikari to a delegate of the Matsumae during the Ezo war of 1669: "Lord Matsumae and I, the chief of the Ishikari, have nothing to do with each other. I will not interfere with the affairs of the Matsumae, so let the Lord Matsumae not interfere with affairs of ours." [12] The only action the Matsumae took when disputes arose among the powerful chiefs was to send a delegate to mediate. But the continued development of trade induced a political relationship and as their economic strength grew so did the influence of the Matsumae over the natives. In regions such as Ishikari, where food was abundant and trade with the Japanese not extensive, the power of Japanese mer-

E
[656]
E
[184]

[12] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10 and *Sapporo Kushi*, 182.

[P.27(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB 3

A
E
*648
*175
439
[184]
[291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A
E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

---

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

[P.27(B)]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB 3

A E
*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

A E
[436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

A E
3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the
*648 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who
*175 had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
226 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the
439 productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow
661 for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo
[423] had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

A E *648 *175 226 439

Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

A E *648 *175 439 [136]

Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

F [316]

A F *175 *648 628

Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

[22] *Ibid.*, 173.
[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.
[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.
[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.
[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.
[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyō Zatki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

[P. 28 (B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

A F *175 *648 439 441

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

F A [426] *175 *648 439

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

[426] [434]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
FA
*175
*698
439

of trade, and the formerly dominant *Chigyōnushi* became a class reliant on the collection of these tolls and taxes for their income. Those *Chigyōnushi* who were not in debt also found the *Basho* system advantageous for they now received steady remuneration from capable and wealthy merchants and were themselves relieved of depending on the risk of trade. It is not clear when this change took place except that it was during the time of Matsumae Norihiro as seen in the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* [Record of Ezo under the Matsumae]: "Recently fishing in Ezo has been very poor and even though smaller numbers of vessels are sent they show no profit. Therefore, arrangements have been made to have one ship represent several interests. There are some who have permitted merchants to take over their *Basho* and they collect taxes from these merchant vessels." By the time of Suehiro not only the *Chigyōsho* of the clan members but also those directly under the head of the clan had been taken over by contractors who now operated the entire Ezo trade.[3]

F
[171]

There is a theory that this process corresponded to what happened in Japan where the downfall of feudalism was accelerated by the invasion of commercial capital and that therefore it is a necessary concomitant of the collapse of feudalism.[4] However, as long as feudalism is defined as "a social system based on the interrelationships of land ownership during a stage of early agricultural techniques,"[5] it is not possible for the condition of the Matsumae clan, whose lands had not even entered the agricultural stage, to be compared with the stable conditions which existed in Japan. Furthermore, the feudal power of the Matsumae was, economically speaking, limited to such a small area that it was impossible for their samurai to enjoy the benefits of an exploiting class. The criticism that arose later, that the Matsumae followers did not act as warriors should, was not because they became merchants as happened in other clans, but because they had never really been samurai to start with. So the growth of the contract system did not entail the fall of the samurai of the Matsumae. Economically speaking, the samurai became a separate and a totally parasitic class. During the latter part of the Tokugawa period when all the economic activity of Japan fell into the hands of the merchant class the Matsumae clan underwent the same process but it was not the growth of the *Basho* system that eliminated the Matsumae samurai as a class. It should be understood that the Ezo trade was not carried on by merchants

---

[3] Sugano Kazutaro, Shonin no gyogyōka kau (The transformation of merchants into fishing industrialists), *Hikone Kōshō Chōsa Kenkyu* (Hikone commercial higher school studies), No. 8.

[4] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi Basho Ukeoi Seido Kō (Some consideration on the Matsumae Ezo *Basho* contract system), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in economic history), No. 28.

[5] "Kaizosha" in *Shakaika Daijiten* (Dictionary of social science), 1068.

A
*115
*648
●439

only after the *Basho* system developed, for indeed merchants had been operating in Ezo from an early date. Note that in the war of 1669 the number of samurai attacked by the natives was very small and that, while the *Chigyōnushi* were the entrepreneurs of the Ezo trade, the actual operations were carried on by merchants, either through consignment or as employees, and these merchants gradually became the entrepreneurs. These contractors obligated to pay a certain fee called *Unjōkin* had the right to certain trade monopolies within the *Chigyōsho* and their name of *Basho* contractor probably arose from their obligation to pay as *Unjōkin* a fixed amount of the profits from the *Basho*. The majority of these *Basho* contractors were traders or fishermen from Japan who were permitted to engage in trade after signing a guarantee which stipulated the terms and amount of *Unjōkin*. These contracts ordinarily ran for three, five, or seven years, a period known as the first term, and on their expiration either the old contract was renewed or assignments were made to new contractors. The operational change from samurai to *Basho* merchant was most significant in the development of the industrial system in Hokkaidō. At first the methods and aims of the contractors were similar to those of the *Chigyōnushi*. Trade was carried on at one's risk and posts called *Unjōke* were established at contract areas under the direction of managers (who undertook the entire responsibility of the post), interpreters (who not only interpreted but looked after Ezo affairs), clerks and watchmen (who manned the watch stations set up at the fishing grounds). Rice, sake, yeast, salt, tobacco, pans, knives, needles, used clothes, dry goods, thread, lacquer ware, barrels, earrings, and pipes, all of which were in demand by the Ezo, were sent to these posts to be traded for marine products, handmade goods, and other materials which the Ezo had formerly traded to their neighbors. The Ezo goods were sold in the markets of Japan. The system was established gradually[6] and owing to its development the Ezo market expanded and the amount of goods in Ezo increased in quantity and variety. Just prior to the existence of this system the income of the Matsumae derived from the Ezo trade was placed at 2–3,000[7] ryō. But the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, written in 1739 gives a total income of 3,200 ryō based on the total taxes on merchant vessels and the summer and autumn taxes from Ezo.[8]

---

[6] The details of the *Basho* contract system are dealt with in the following works. On those points where I hold a different opinion I will publish my own research later and will refrain now from any discussion.

Shirayama Tomomasa (see note 4 above).

Minami Tetsuzo, Matsumae Han jidai ni okeru ukeoi seido (The *Basho* contract system during the Matsumae period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (5).

[7] See para. 3 of this chapter.

[8] *a*) in gold 1200 ryō from the Shiribetsu lumber tax. *b*) in gold * 1200 ryō from the tax on merchant ships. *c*) in gold * 300 ryō. *d*) in gold 1400 ryō from the tax on foreigners. *e*) in gold 1700 ryō from the tax on herring stations. *f*) in gold

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*175
*648
439

The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjōkin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.[9] This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.[10] The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo[11] itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.[12] With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.[13] However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.[14] On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.[15] The contractor Hidaya Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

F
[226]

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

[9] *Unjō* payments.

[9] *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

[10] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257–258.

[11] Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Issen*, No. 49.

[12] Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyo no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

[13] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

A
F
[177]
[226]

[14] *Ibid.*, 125.

[15] "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." *Murayama Denbei Rireki* (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

[P. 31(B)]

vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

---

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*175
*648
439
436

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
[501]

A
F
*175
*648
251
177
439

---

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

A
[227]

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

[P. 32 (B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A F *175 177 *648 439 [464] commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [437] A F *175 *648 439 450 The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F [439] 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F *175 *648 439 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

A F *175 *648 433 554 437 These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 433 554 437

weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 *648 [669]

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A F [439] [431]

A [622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,
West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.
East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Töyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

A F [183] [293] [296] When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A *175 *648 439 431 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* A became an autumn event held after the trade was over. [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of A time. There were some who would drink all day and [293] be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconve- A nient for the Japanese." [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

AE *C48 *175 439 178 527

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

AE [576]

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

AE *C48 *175 439 527

AE *C48 *175 439 [177]

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki.*

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

A F *648 *175 439 [692] [624]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [574] [696]

A [203]

A F *648 *175 [166]

---

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [624] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

F
A
*C48
*175
441

portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

F
A
*C48
*175
624
439
441

The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.[54] But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

F
A
*C48
*175
439
441

[54] It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under *"Uwanorikin."* In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

F A *648 *175 439 441 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [579] 439 431 The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] A F *648 *175 436 439 In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

1:TakakuraH-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
AF
*648
*175
436
439

600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅚ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

AF
[457]

The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[57] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[58] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[57] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[58] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
E
*648
*175
436
439

shō of Musaban rice.[59] Trade was not necessarily carried on in accordance with these standards. According to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."[60] Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

F
446
[273]
661
437
441
*648

Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was, next to rice, the most important trade staple and we read in the *Tōyuki:* "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki:* "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.[61] There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki.* They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

[59] *Ezo Koku Shiki.*
[60] Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].
[61] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 6 (2): 31.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
437
439
457
*648
*175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A
[431]
[273]
[276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A
F
[661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A
F
*648
[577]
*175
437
439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A
[802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A
F
*648
*175
466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F *648 *175 466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shinochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 661 ● 439 *175 A [191]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) *in Chigaku Zasshi*, No. 276: 901–902.

A
F
*648
*175
●439
661

There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

> The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

and also:

A
F
[577]

> The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

A
F
*648
*175
577
661

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

> Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

F
[683]

[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51–52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46–48.

A F *648 *175 577 661

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

A F *648 439 *175

Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

F *648 *175 624 661

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A F *648 *175 439

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."[75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648 except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved
*175 to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These
656 people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate
439 gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[79]

A
F
*648 The net result of all this was the following two
*175 policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system
[178] and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native
439 self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system.

A
F
However, the establishment of guardhouses and the
697 tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life ac-
*648 ually was carried out. These guard posts were origi-
*175 nally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

[79] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

AF *648 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

AF *648 621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

AF *648 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

AF *648 170 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran* . . .

[P. 46(A)]

A F *648 177 *175 439 [437]

was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316]

A [464]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

A
F
*698
*175
A39

to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to, and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

A
[641]

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Historical Russia RA2
Feudal Japan AB2
A
C48
175
A
A
[339]
[177]

the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.[13] With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

F
*C48
*175

Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185–1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.[14]

[13] *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku. . .*, 87.

[14] As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenarai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

AF
*648
*175

advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.[20] Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (*a*) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,[21] and (*b*) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.[22] It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

AF
[439]

The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.[23] Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

A
[519]

[20] Ōtomo Kisaku, Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.

[21] *Matsumae Shi*.

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, 481.

[P. 51 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan No 2

A
F
*648
*175
185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
[651]
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

A F * 648 * 175 185

treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

A F [439]

However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

A [291]

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

1:Takakura· H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2
A F *C48 *175 185

lence"[6] and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods,"[7] or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful"[8] but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

A F *C48 177 *175 185 A F [439]

Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

---

[6] Namikawa Temmin, *Hekikyōroku*.
[7] Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu*.
[8] *Ezo Sōshi*.

[P. 55(B)]

A
F
*C98
*175

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A
[439]
[431]

A
F
*C98
437
624
*175

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

---

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A
[65]

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

A F *C48 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *C48 *175 465 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [273] [439]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
	(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
	(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

A [436]

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

1 :Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimi AB6
Fusa) Japan AB2

F A *C48 107 *195 511 *Ezo Zakki* [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

A F *698 *175 ●439 A [184] The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided F [675] to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to F [202] permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the F [656] office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

A
F
*648 change conditions would remain much the same and
*175 they were told to report any dishonest conduct on the
part of merchants to inspectors, thus placing a check
●439 on the actions of the contractors.[33]

A
F

4. THE MANAGEMENT OF KARAFUTO

*648 In 1807 as a result of its satisfactory progress in East
*175 Ezo the Bakufu assumed control over all Matsumae
territory. Partly responsible for this was the fact that,
although the Russians had landed in Karafuto in 1789,
the Matsumae had taken no positive action there and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 65(A)--ANALYST]

F nection with this the following instructions have been received:

1) Existing laws shall be rigidly observed. (2) The vessel to be used for the voyage shall proceed to Ezo flying a Japanese flag. The utmost effort shall be exerted to prevent damage to the ship from unfavorable weather. Measures to be taken in the event of distress due to hull damage shall be the same as taken in the past and the interpreters will so inform the Ezo. (3) The Ezo shall be encouraged to increase the output of goods to be sent to Nagasaki, if any. Strict controls will be established against illegal trade and the movements of merchandise closely checked so that, regardless of whether or not the goods are native products, they shall not be illegally disposed of. This instruction being but recently issued it shall be announced immediately. (4) The oft repeated instruction that the Ezo must not be approached with evil intentions shall be observed. (5) Interpreters and guards shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo residing in their *Basho*. However, the *Unjōya* shall be primarily responsible for caring for the ill and needy Ezo. (6) No illicit trade shall be had in silk as per instructions and no goods shall be purchased directly [from the Ezo]. (7) Personal greed is to be restrained and the Ezo are not to be plundered but trading at the *Basho* shall follow the accustomed forms.

The undersigned fully acknowledge these instructions. In case of a violation which may become apparent later not only the interpreters and guards of a *Basho* but also the contractor will be punished. A report shall be made to the office upon a safe return from Etorofu."

Date

Etorofu *Basho*
Takadaya Kahei (seal)
Name and seal of Manager, Interpreter and Guard.

Addressed to the officials at Okinokuni.

[33] Instructions to the Ezo. (1) The three prohibitions shall be observed. (2) The Shogunate shall be respected and parents cared for. Families are encouraged to live in harmony and observe the law. (3) Quarrels are prohibited. Let friendship reign. Plotting will not be tolerated. (4) When a boy reaches a certain age he is to be allowed to take a wife. However, polygamy is prohibited. (5) Despite the fact that the contract system has been adopted, no change whatsoever shall be made in matters of fishing or trading. It is therefore requested that all Ezo work hard under the contractors toward the goal of eternal prosperity. (6) There have been no changes in our policy toward the Ezo. However, should something be thought unreasonable or should doubtful matters arise, the incident is to be reported to the guardhouse. (7) The reason that government officials are being sent to the island is to insure that the livelihood of the Ezo is protected. This considerate conduct should be fully appreciated and all efforts are to be made in the future to keep the Ezo from difficulties. (8) Illness should be reported to the post to which doctors have been dispatched and medicine sent. This information is to be conveyed to the Ezo and it should also be known that any sighting of a foreign vessel is to be reported to the *Kaishō* and action taken accordingly. *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 592-593.

A F *648 *175 indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

A F *648 *175 ●939

A [177]

---

[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki,* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari.* The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Hensō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

A [323] [177]

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
439
177

and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.[38] The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.[39] Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orokko for animal skins. The Orokko would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sōya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.[40] Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.[41] The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,[b] similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

A
[480]
A
F
*648
*175
439
F
[556]

found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

[38] *SHS* 1: 79.

[39] "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[40] Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto banin e aitazune sōrō kakitsuke sashiage sōrō ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kōki* 7 in *SHS* 5: 806 ff.

[41] "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764

[b] J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.

[P. 65(B)]

A F *648 *175 439 were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *648 *175 452 439 This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it A [349] would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as A [567] human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to A [651] Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the A Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price [567] ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A
F
*648 must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the
*175 trade be continued under strict supervision. He pro-
439 posed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy
which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts
452 between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a
notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.[46] Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otona* in Sōya and
F
[656] Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

F
The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials
*648 was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward
*175 the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be
439 knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.[47] The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.[48] His motive, according to

[46] Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjin yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

[47] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[48] The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93–94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
*175
439

the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.[49] This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

F
A
C36
177
439

I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

A
F
*648
*175

1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to

ni Santanjin no gi aitazune sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

F
[A36]

	1802	*1809*
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

[49] *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

[P. 67(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [888]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 this is gradually extended until a more or less broad band surrounds the mouth and perhaps extends in a tapering curve on both cheeks toward the ears. The arms also are tattooed in various patterns. [439] The tattoo marks are made by cross-hatching the skin with knives, which they get from the Japanese. Into the cuts thus made the soot of burning birch (*kaba*) bark is rubbed, which is collected on the bottom of a dish held over the fire. The color of the marks thus made is distinctly bluish, and for this reason it does not show so conspicuously in photographs as it appears to the eye. The width and extent of the tattoo marks, as well as the depth of the color, is different in various parts of Yezo. In the north it is a narrow band on both lips, not very conspicuous, as shown in the picture of two young women of Tokoro, Plate XCII. At Ohotsu, on the southeast coast, the bands are wider, but not much extended on either side of the mouth, and the color is almost black. This pattern is seen also about Urap (Pls. XC and XCIII.) In other localities the band is very broad and well extended towards the ears, as shown in Plate XCIV, but in this case the color is in wavy lines and not deep.

On the road from Tamakomai to Sapporo I met two women with vertical tattoo marks on the forehead between the eyes. This observation was only casual and therefore not entirely satisfactory, for I supposed it would be possible to further verify it by visiting some of the villages in that region. This I was unable to do. But the practice of tattooing the forehead has been noted by other observers. Mr. Batchelor has casually mentioned that the Aino women "in some cases tattoo their foreheads." This, as well as an allusion to the fact by Dr. Scheube, confirms my own observation. Prof. H. E. Stockbridge, with whom I have since spoken on the subject, informs me that he has frequently noticed this form of tattooing, and that it seems to be most common along the west coast.

The tattoo marks on the arm are best shown in Plate XCV, which represents an old woman of Tokoro. The patterns vary greatly in [351] different cases, but they all have the same general character of alternating horizontal lines and crossed lines.

The origin and significance of tattooing among the Ainos is obscure. It seems to be merely an inherited custom without any recognized object.

STAGE OF CULTURE.

Probably few who read these lines have ever seen the lower stages of human savagery and barbarism, still less have they an adequate conception of the physical and moral condition, or of the manner of life, which characterizes the lower types of human existence. The American Indian is a picturesque character as we think of him roaming over plains and through forests, hunting the buffalo and other wild animals, sleeping peacefully in his wigwam, and enjoying the fruits of a luxuriant soil. But come nearer, and we find that the hunt is for

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptised as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

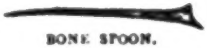
feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.



BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, 301
even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, [439] and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him ; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain ! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized : men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know [304] not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and [100] imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours ; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. [508] For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other ! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front ; and the rough wooden

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. [439]

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again administered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. [464]

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 177 The Japanese Government established administrative headquarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained
[439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer
[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782]
with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537]
copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152]
and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, [533]
but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775]
dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291]
shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be [292]
assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without [775]
which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

764

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 291
and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439]
by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *hamai* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *hamai nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 33). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33])

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[95]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[96].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[97]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i. e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [140] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

(68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

(69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

G
FJ.
A
101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A
G
[197]

A
G
[113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A
G
[113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A
G
101
439

so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont. /

buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175 113 291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. G 101

The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. G [103]

G 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
Gi
Gi
101
174
A
[439]

A
Gi
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

F.J.
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

Gi 291 294 177 415

/406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Gi 177 291

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A 291 177 [114] [171] [439]

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

A 291 177

/453 cont./ Next to fish The
225 262 large marine mammals provide the Ainu with their principal foodstuffs, and, to be sure, besides the sea dog /harbor seal/, the sea bear /ursine seal/ (Otaria ursina L.) and sea lions /eared seal/ (O. stelleri Schleg.) (2), whose meat and fat are prized by

[113]

2. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais.-Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 83). Nevel'skoi, Podv. russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia/, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 290. (According to Rudanofskij.)

the Ainu no less than that of the sea dog, also play a principal role. Moreover, whales cast up by the sea, which are scorned by the Gilyak, always give the Ainu a desired contribution to their diet (3).

3. See p. 656 ff. above.

If, with regard to the last-named pinnipeds and, as it seems, also the cetaceans, the extreme south of Sakhalin is especially favored, the richest seal-hunting on the part of the Ainu takes place, on the other hand, in the northern part of their territory, in the Gulf of
[439] Patience. Not infrequently, therefore, Tymy Gilyak also come
226 to Taraika in order to get seal oil from the Ainu (4). Less essential,
262

4. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 115.

but still very important for the Ainu are the foodstuffs in lower animals and seatang bestowed upon them by the sea. As a result
[133] of the southern latitudes reached by the meridionally extended

G SS 276 197 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] [321] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [191] [129]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his

A [113]

"Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb. VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99)

G 223 [439] /565 cont./

article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi käktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

G 239 411 [764] G 223 231 439

Gi 231 439 114 136

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439

A 231 439 /565 cont./
reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113]

1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the G [342] [396] [493] [335] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of G [175] foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. ooo During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

Gi 325 174 Gi [177]

/569 cont./

be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to suggest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

A G 325 17

On the other hand the following additional facts indicate that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin. Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was

A [439]

2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure, despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the

A 114 325 17

2: Schrenck--895 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu ABC

/571 cont./

000
K
177
192
174
325

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K
439
325
179
55
823
K
823
A
823
186
439

K 823 A 439 823 186 A 439 435

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 17 325

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

A [131] [114] [113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G A K 194 325

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy

and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G A 224 [411]

A 411 439 325 178

A 224 181 433 648

Gi 224 433

The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

Gi [439]

/620 cont./

175
648
439

Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually
[622] every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Aimu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
G to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
Gi by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
A and reliable Japanese traveler.
[114]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

A
F
*175
*648
439
441

The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.[1] The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.[2] With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

F
A
[426]
*175
*648
439

---

[1] "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[426]

[2] "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gūdan* (The northern allegory).

[434]

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A *648 177 *175 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A [515]

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 ●491

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

F A *C48 *175 ●441

portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

F A *C48 *175 624 439 441

The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.[54] But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

F A *C48 *175 439 441

[54] It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "*Uwanorikin*." In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

F A *648 *175 439 441 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 [579] 439 431 The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301] In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

A *648 *175 436 439

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwō*.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*C48
*175
●441
177
A
[171]

From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

[P. 47 (B)]

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[20] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[21] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[22]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[23]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[20] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[21] *Ibid.*, 410.
[22] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[23] *Igen Zokusu* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A F *175 177 *648 439 [464]

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [437]

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

A F *175 *648 437 452

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F [439]

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F *175 *648 439

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

A F *175 *648 433 554 437

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A F *698 *175 439

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *698 *175 452 439

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidô, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [349]

A [567]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sôya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurô in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [651]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyôgi no omomuki moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kôki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [567]

A
F
*648 must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the
*175 trade be continued under strict supervision. He pro-
439 posed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy
which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts
452 between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a
notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.[46] Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otona* in Sōya and
F
[656] Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

F
The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials
*648 was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward
*175 the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be
439 knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.[47] The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.[48] His motive, according to

[46] Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjin yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

[47] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[48] The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93-94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A F
*648
*175
436
439

600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.

For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.

For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.

For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.

For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.

For one Karafuto pipe—⅝ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

A F
[457]

The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[37] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[38] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[37] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.

[38] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F
*648
*175
436
[233]

So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

A
[184]

A F
*648
*175
450
436

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

---

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryûnosuke, *Hokkaidô Shikô* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

A
[436]

[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryô equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryô. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sôshi* in *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshô Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyô tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fûzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shôhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

A F *648 *105 ●457 436

of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A [C51]

All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon*:

Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho*, and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[20] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[20] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [203] [439]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōchi kakabu no Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
	(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
	(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

A [436]

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [373] [434]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." (Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

A [436]

Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
	(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
	(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
	(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

A F *648 *175 177 185 Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argué or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

A [595] A [681] A F [577] A

A F *648 *175 576 Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

A [554] F A

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

*648 ●461 577

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *698 461 579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A F 658 212 177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A F *698 702 *175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A F 346 797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which
829 followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to
[178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 In the winter time, particularly during the latter
562 part of November and the early part of December, the
462 women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so,
[461 for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especial-
171] ly after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kamu Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereka Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only pra-
490 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
355 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490 are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
idg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121; mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 11 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
204 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from
226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[496] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
●462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

[P. 16 (A)]

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [22]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

●462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

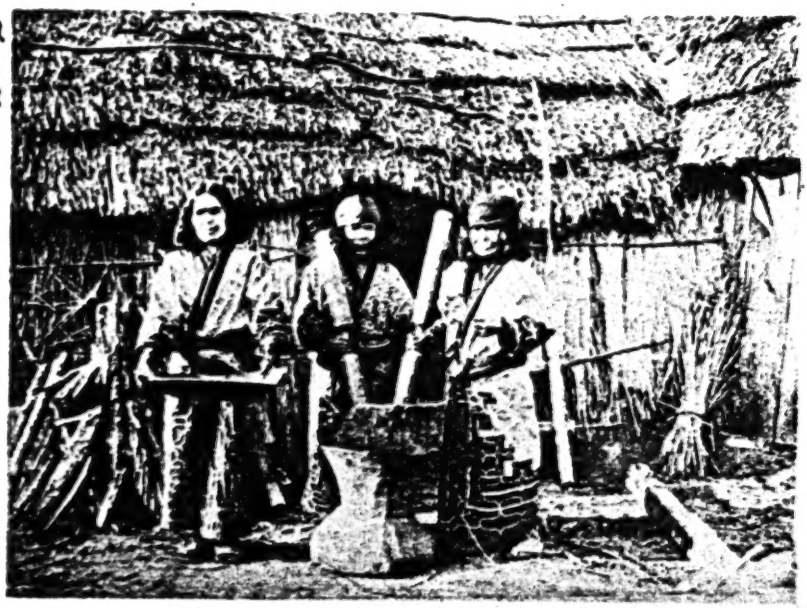
562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
291



WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

[P.34]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which
829 followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to
[178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 In the winter time, particularly during the latter
562 part of November and the early part of December, the
462 women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so,
[461 for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especial-
171] ly after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle 800
and draw their "dole."

Amid all her work the mother's love for her off- 855
spring is very great among this people, so that, ac- 462
cording to their lights and material ability they look after them well. I have now before me a story of a goat-sucker which owes its origin to the carelessness of a woman in nursing her child, and will be in point to quote in this place. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird. Pliny and Aristotle call it by the names Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which mean "goat-sucker." These names were given it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu knew nothing about goats and gave quite a different version of the origin of the name by which the bird now to be discussed is known to them.

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once 539
a human child, and that, out of sheer mischief, a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is meant to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. The being who stole the child and did all the mischief was the evil genius of swamps. Now, although the child once managed to escape from her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a bird, and possessed its nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babies when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women and that the sound of its note is looked upon as of evil omen.

"Once upon a time, in far away bygone days, a certain woman took her dear little baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one anothers' tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553
Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551
better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593
once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551
She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, "It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, [462]
while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481
192

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

● 462 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the
147 women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and
000 muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

[p. 236]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable among them, but not among the men. Children are carried on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs. A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789
424 (3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
● 462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[915] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer
[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[374] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[324] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[470] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.
227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.
221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[50]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221

1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature. 224 342

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn. [221] [476] [462] [221]

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds 224 221 [262]

hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [46]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1. [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[857] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest from,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3-4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42. 621 476

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there (Fig. 8). And even the party that had gone after bears, if 224 476 [462] [561]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

224 226 476 592

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch. 224 476

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work 226 476 [462]

226 476 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 476 462 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[2] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 184 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[1]; the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). [226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational 463 438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4. [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.

Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male

Operation of the Devices.

Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming[1] and cutting trees	Male

1. [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male
Processing of Gathered Materials	
Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

462

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221
462
311

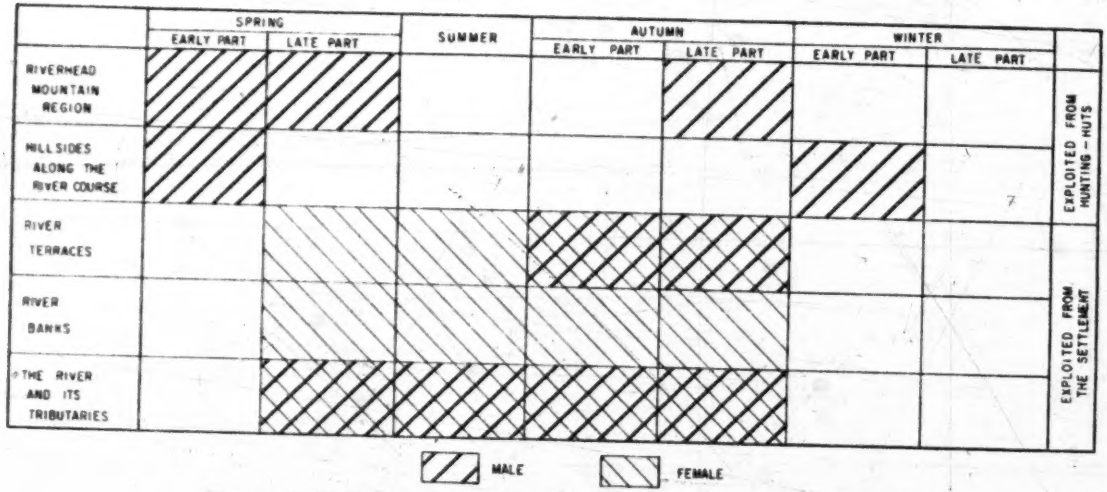


Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from
226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
restricted to trading the necessities of life with each
463 other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[23] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[278] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21) The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi*
361 [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[24] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[23] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[24] *Kondō Seisei Zenshū* 1: 29.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 464

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [465]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A [463]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A F *648 *175 436 437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and.

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Sensei Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
774 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi,* denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

226 476 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 476 462 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 184 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43]; the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). 226 According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, 463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational 438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4, [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

463
438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.

Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male

Operation of the Devices.

Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming and cutting trees	Male

1, [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[563] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[627] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of, wealth replaced the old communal life.
[464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuzō* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

A
*175 commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The
177 Ezo were completely under contractor control, working
as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony
*648 to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built
439 guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders
from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing.
This change became obvious in the period falling from
[94A] the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was
opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so
did this change come into operation at various times.
Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote
areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on
local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai
Zuihitsu* notes:

A
F
[437] The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

A
F
*175 Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae
*648 were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae
were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo*
439 *Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation:
452 "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are
paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the
Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to
bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on
various articles." This method became more and more
popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away
as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were
also due to the type of product handled.

A
F
1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These
could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it
[439] was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods
of hunting them and carry on without capital advances
or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by
barter.

A
F
2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available
on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a
credit system was established.

*175 3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale
*648 production was possible and the entrepreneur himself
439 took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their
continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new
territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as
A the trade in this group decreased the trade in the pro-
F ducts of groups (2) and (3) became more important.
These three types of products brought about a
*175 change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo
*648 who dealt in group (1) retained their position as inde-
433 pendent producers and were on equal terms while those
Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to
554 be independent producers but were actually subject to
437 the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The
group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the mer-
chants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A F *648 177 was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

*175 439 [437] Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end ot this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

A [313] [223] [316] A [46A]

A F *648 *175 [177] 439 This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
197

7. It is desired to introduce Japanese-style houses and to this end the Ezo are encouraged to work hard. Clothing should also be earned and saved. And since there will be no custom of atonement in the future, it is not necessary to hide such treasured goods as cups in the mountains. These things should be kept in the house. It is suggested that in the future the Ezo move into Japanese villages in groups. We need people to till this broad land. The use of a sickle is a tedious and fruitless business whereas if the grass were simply burned in autumn not only would a lot of labor be saved but the ashes will serve as fertilizer to yield a better crop. Now at present, the Ezo live separately and isolated from each other and this makes it difficult to organize them and help them. Furthermore, the custom of hiding treasures in the countryside makes it impossible to burn off the grass. It is not necessary to move the Ezo at once but do it gradually. When it is done the labor situation will be greatly improved.

A
[46A]

8. There are bound to be some lazy and idle ones among the Ezo who will not work as well as cripples who must be given special work. These people will be given empty rice sacks by the posts and they will be taught to make straw sandals. Since the post will buy all their work, it should be of some help to them, enabling them to buy sake or whatever they wish with the money earned. These rice sacks will be given to anyone on request. The *Otona* should make this clear to all so that even fishermen during the periods of stormy weather or the winter months when they have extra time can make use of this time by weaving straw ropes and nets.

The above instructions are hereby given for the fifth time through the interpreters to the *Otona* and *Kozukai*.

August 1799 Ōhashi Zenshirō

F
*648
*175
114

This instruction is just one example taken from the Tokachi *Basho*. Its content simply ignores the sentiments of the natives and its reasoning in many instances is self-complacent. It is doubtful whether the intent of the officials was understood by the Ezo. However, we can see what policy was adopted and also that the officials were earnest and serious in their attitude.

III. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

A
F
*648
*175

The Bakufu took extreme care in executing its policy. For example, when the decision was made to assume power, orders were issued to the Matsumae stating that those managers, guards, and interpreters who wished to do so could retain their positions, that the Matsumae had to settle all accounts with the Ezo, even if such settlement involved prolonged negotiation, in order that the Bakufu inherit no disputes and that a statement be issued forbidding mistreatment of the Ezo.[1] The Bakufu particularly cautioned its own officials as to their attitudes and when the Commissioners were appointed they were under instruction to make native relations their prime consideration.[2] Furthermore, in

[1] Higashi Ezochi goyōchi ainari sōrō ni tsuki kore made atsutome sōrō tsushi bannin e moshiwatasu sho (Instructions to former interpreters and guards on the occasion of East Ezo becoming a Bakufu estate), Habuto Seiyō, *Kyume Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 542–543.

[2] Ezochi goyogakari no ōse watasarare sōrō kakitsuke (Written orders concerning the placement of Ezo under the Bakufu), *ibid.*, 323.

[P.58(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 469 A [465]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [463]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG*: "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A F *648 *175 436 437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakiuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seiri Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when I woke up to the real state of my new condition, I could not help laughing at our civilised conceptions of what constitutes a free man in a free country, viz. that he can have a voice in choosing which of two men shall be sent as a member to Parliament.

Absorbed, now in my own thoughts on many subjects, and now in gazing at the monotonous scenes, which, as if reflected from a magic-lantern, suddenly appeared and as suddenly faded away, I had not seen how far my pony had hurried on, when, rapidly descending a steep hill, I discerned through the grey fog a solitary shed in the small valley below. The neighing of my steed, responded to by the neighing of his compatriots in the valley, told me that I had reached the horse station of Riruran, and a few minutes later my baggage and pack-saddle were removed from my steaming quadruped, and a fresh animal was burdened with my possessions. These horse stations generally consist of one shed, in which the owner and his family live; near it is a rough enclosure formed of branches and trunks of trees laid down horizontally, and strengthened at intervals by poles stuck in the ground. The ponies are kept in this enclosure during the day, but are let loose at sunset, when they go for their food wherever they can get it—generally on the near hills. Early in the morning one or two Ainu employed in the stations start off to recapture the ponies, and after a struggle bring back the herd to the paddock. My readers, who may not be well acquainted with the habits of semi-wild horses, will wonder that the ponies, once free in an unenclosed country, do not bolt away altogether inland, thus making it impossible to recapture them; and, moreover, these readers will think what a difficult task it must be for the Ainu horsemen to recover all the ponies, each one of which, they probably imagine, has bolted in an independent and different direction. This is not the case. When a herd of ponies is let loose they invariably all go together in one direction, generally following those of the older animals which have bells hanging to their necks. When they come to a proper feeding-ground they all graze within a few yards of one another; and the chances are that the herd will not go a step further than is necessary, as they are terribly afraid of bears, their most dreaded enemy, by which they well know the more

INTRODUCTION

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head-
177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 [412] 291 [434] [243] [177] [623] [643]

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 177 [464] [251]

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [139] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [144] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the 621
word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial 614
group" (ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* 609
constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekashi ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The [623]
chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant [464] ●
to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the [592]
master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his 621
itokpa family mark and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important 614
kamui), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, 609
heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase* 608
onkami to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

2: Schrenck--152 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather
648
361
[113]

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J.
636
175
648
464
A
648
464
175

Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

F.J.
175
636
648
466
A
175
648
466

laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--154 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /75 cont./
175 During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than
648 almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around
464 Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the
221 crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in
A itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was
175 said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on
162
464
648

FJ
175
636
439
443
648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy
F.J. their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was
648 abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War,
636 the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements
175 on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
226 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
262 this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and
[361] in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus,
which play the principal role, since, entering even the small
coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the
preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less
a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large
schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern
Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the
disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for
the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil
prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish
to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the
soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own
needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

A F *648 *175 466

laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465]

> For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

A 465 *648 *175

Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

A [509]

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

A F *648 *175 466 661

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi

A F *648 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *648 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *648 *175 ● 465 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 274

in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

A F *648 *175 469 A [465]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

A [463]

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG*: "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

A F *648 *175 465

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

A F *648 *175 436 437

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and.

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8–9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 457 436

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One. Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

A F *648 *175 461 177 A [465]

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

A [273] [439]

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

	Dried Salmon	*Dried Mushrooms*
A.	3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup of sake.
B.	4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.	50 for one cup refined sake.
	(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)	15 for one cup unrefined sake.
		(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
		(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
		(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

A [436]

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*698
*175
758
[931]
A
F
*698
*175
659
759
465

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 657 759 465

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

A [184]

F A *648 *175 [871] 177 185

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

A F [759] [657] [675]

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

[P. 71(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said, *'Pish! pish!'*

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time *swish* came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due."**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

[754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotized. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
177

A
[465]
[648]

3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than
Gi the Gilyak.
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings
Gi about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
175 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
226 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
262 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period
264 of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish;
ooo and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi
[113]

4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175 Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276] There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661] In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439 After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802] A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *698 *175 ● 466 This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F *648 *175 466

laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465]

For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

A 465 *648 *175

Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

A [579]

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

A F *648 *175 466 661

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

A F *648 *175 ●466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 661 939 *175

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho,* the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

A [191]

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi,* No. 276: 901–902.

A F *648 *175 577 661

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who bought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [584] [599]

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184]

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island.

A F [587]

Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466]

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A02

A F *C48 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *C48 *175 465 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

IV

159 592 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

2: Schrenck--152 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 636 648 361 [113]

/74 cont./ ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for its publication (2). I mention it now only because one can gather

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J. 636 175 648 464 A 648 464 175

Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--153 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

/74 cont./

originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

F.J 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1),

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that 423 extended over the area of several villages judging from 226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and 224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not 423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have [476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title 241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The 462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached [888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

[P. 16 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[539] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 There is just one more word I would like to write
476 about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was
776 told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

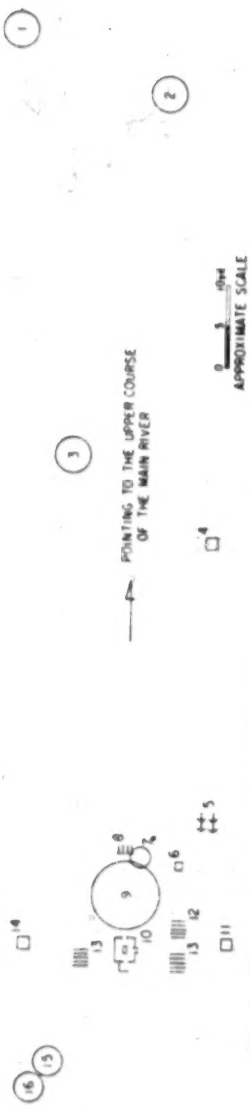


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the abori- [776]
ginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was [476] generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women [462] and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a [592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same [824] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used [476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties. 227 226 [462]

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it. [184] [476]

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*, 226 227 505 [184]

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476] •
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader water- 512
courses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [311]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrange- 224
ment were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and 342
Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary [221]
repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an [476]
individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing [462]
such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that [221]
Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and 224
autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter 221
food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds [262]

[p 43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or 224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. [555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1. [Errata: the word "food-gatherang" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3-4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42. 621 476

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there (Fig. 8). And even the party that had gone after bears, if 224 476 [462] [561]

224
226
476
592

Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[40]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer Fence	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing: Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing: Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing: Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shukoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 4 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katubaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[40].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[2] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[3] the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
458 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4, [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

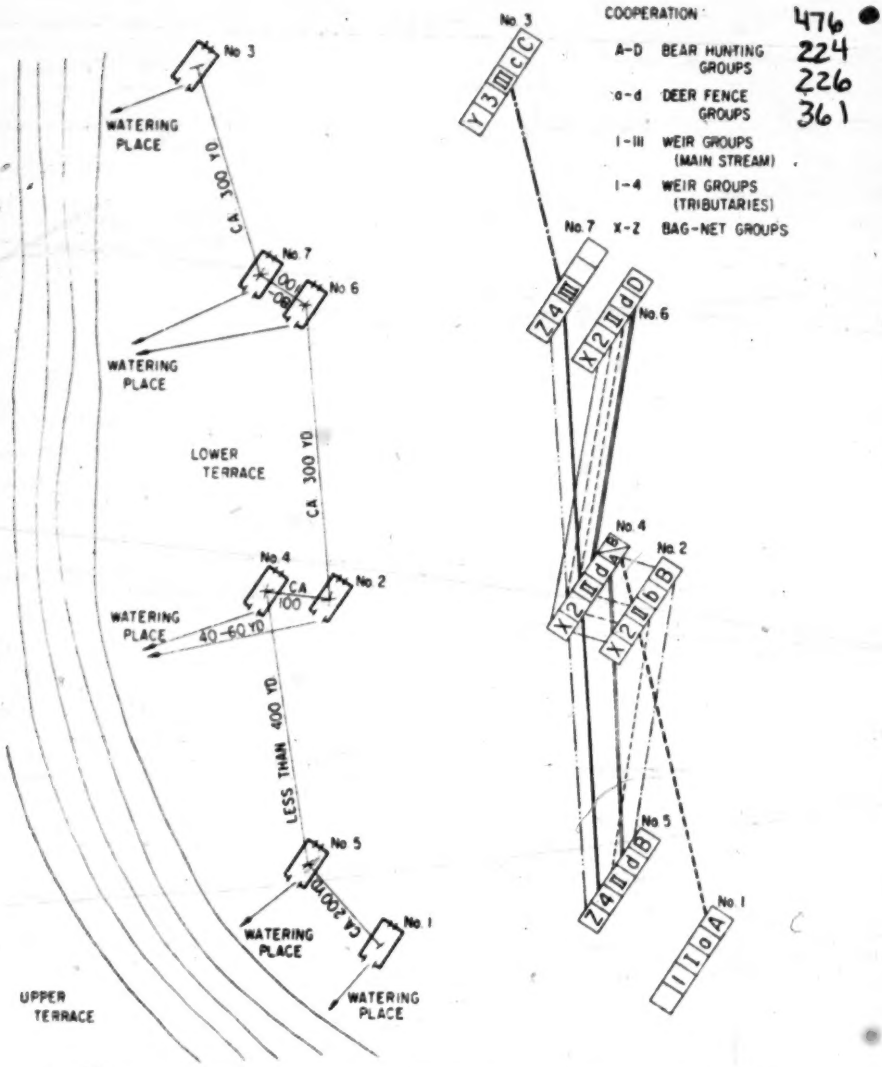


Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves. 159 592 224 476 [226]

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut. [226]

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu; [226]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
[224] shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

(44) 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

A E *175 *648 439 628

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

A E *175 *648 656 439

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

A E *175 *648 439

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels ..... 1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks ..... 1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers ..... in excess of 600 ryō

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
[755] true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 48 you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

000 The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

136 I know of one district by the sea where the people
262 are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The
[825 Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings
778] before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

137 Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are
262 raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
142 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[165] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

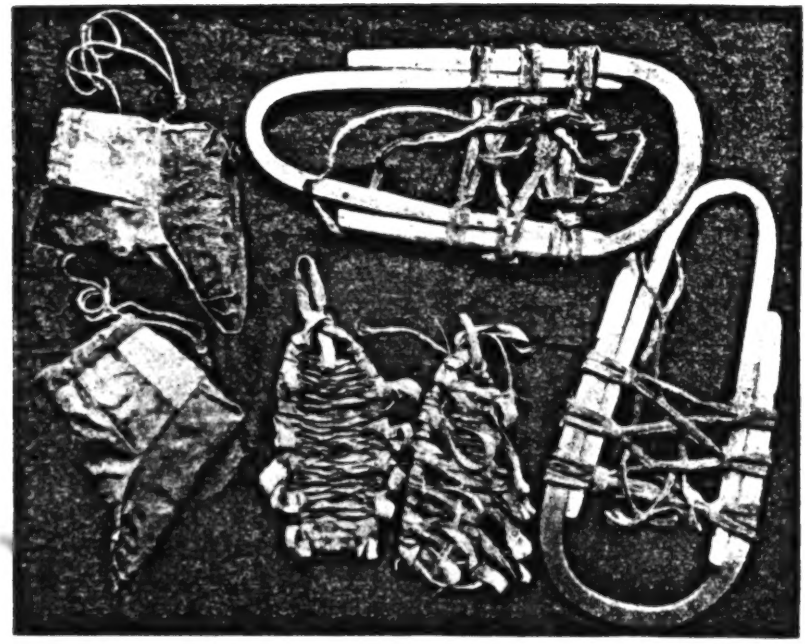
ONE OF THE VILLAGE FATHERS

4810

[p. 324(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
481



AINO SANDALS, SNOW-SHOES, AND FISH-SKIN SHOES.

[Facing p. 450 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a run- [531]
ning design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

difference in colour where it has been affected by the weather and where not, thus giving a distinct clue of some passer-by, man or brute; and when once you have found what the characteristics of the tracks are, the most difficult part of the task is accomplished.

On weather-beaten rocks the trail is more difficult to strike, and more difficult still on rocks over which the sea washes. "For," say the simple people, "how can you see tracks on hard stone? The foot certainly does not leave a print on rocks as on sand; and even supposing that the feet were dirty, the sea would wash away the marks, and you could not see anything."

In my case I limited my search to bare-footed marks, as the Ainu generally go bare-footed. Everybody knows that dogs track by scent, and this is a sure proof that every footmark must have a certain special odour, however infinitesimal. When we remember that the act of walking makes the feet warm and perspire, it is easy to understand that this perspiration, which is a greasy substance, leaves a mark on the stone—though to be sure it is sometimes almost imperceptible, especially when quite fresh. But most of us, when children at school, have noticed that touching a slate with moist fingers leaves a greasy mark, which could not be rubbed off again. The same thing happens when we tread on stones with bare feet. If the sea washes over the stones after the greasy impression has been thus made on them, it does nothing but accentuate these marks, and show them more plainly, as the salt water acts in one way on the untouched parts of the stone, but in a different way where the grease has been absorbed. These marks are generally very faint, and it requires some training before they can be discerned; but when the knack is once acquired, they become evident enough. To an observant eye, and with a little practice, it is not difficult to perceive whether one or more persons have tramped on a given place, and in what direction they have travelled. The marks on stones which are washed over by the sea are usually of a lightish colour.

I could almost invariably distinguish the footmarks of an Ainu from those of a Japanese, as the Ainu take longer strides, and their toes are longer than those of the Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Movements and Attitudes.

THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] ● running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches 261
their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water.

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics 483
were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made.

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not 481
astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the 857
hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. 142
Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided.

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. 201
The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders. 516 142 481

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved. 142

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk. 481

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed 481 492 516 264

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 after they have become wives. The moustache is generally finished before a girl gets married, as she herself is anxious to be thus decorated; but there are no rules as to virginity or marriage, for the arms and hands are as often tattooed after marriage as before. Indeed, in the Ainu country, "tattooing" one's wife seems to be one of the pleasures of the honeymoon. The design of these tattoos is meant to be, but is seldom, symmetrical. The Ainu apparently execute these designs on a preconceived plan, but the results rarely come up to expectation, as no drawing of the design is prepared beforehand. The bluish-black colour of the tattoo is very permanent and strong, and many an Ainu woman is disfigured for life, who, according to our ideas, would otherwise be good-looking.

[98]

SNOW-SHOES.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives. [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales. [765]

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman. [823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). G [824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

A 481 824 113

3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of G [237] sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

855
●482
291

SAMARIA AND HER GRANDCHILD

[P.228]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291

AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

[p. 242(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *kan-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

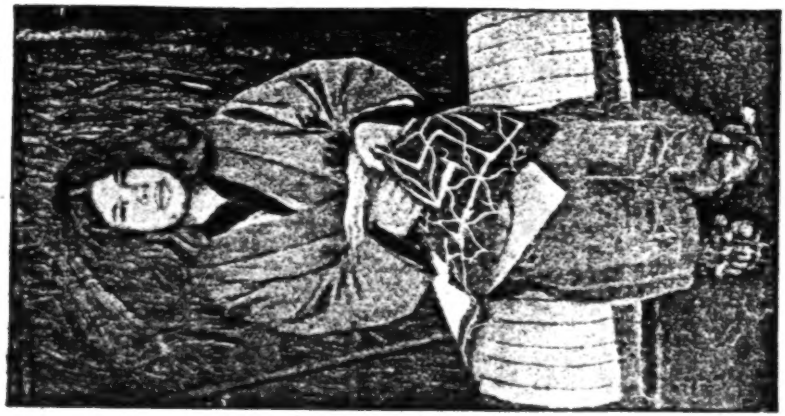
> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

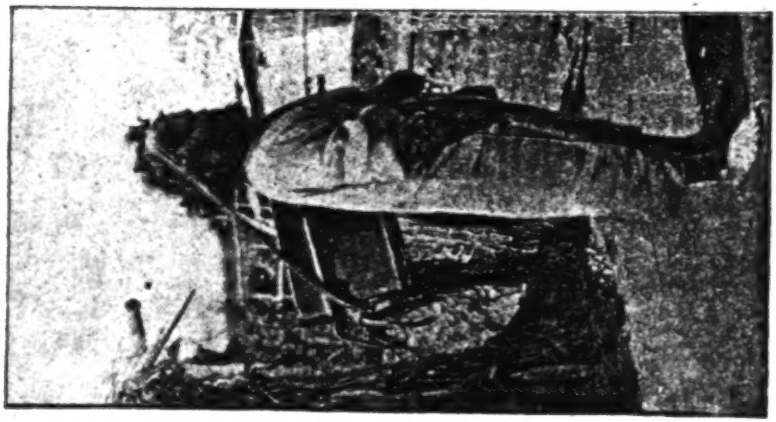
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

133
482

UTAROP ROCKS.

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo.

AFTER quitting Saru Mombets I was altogether out of the 133
beaten tracks. The twenty-two miles to Shimokebo were monotonous in the extreme. High cliffs towered above me on the one side, and the sea stretched into infinity on the other. River after river had to be waded, the At-pets,[1] the Nii-pak-pets,[2] and the Shibe-gari-pets.[3] The Nii-pak-pets is wide and fairly deep. Near the At-pets river the Japanese Government has established a horse farm, in order to improve the breed of Yezo ponies. A few miserable Ainu huts are [361]
scattered along the coast, and millions of scavenger crows, with their monotonous cries, seem to claim sovereignty over these shores. Near the Takae village, on the Nii-kap-pets, is an enormous perpendicular cliff, which, jutting out into the

[1] At-pets—Elm-tree river (*at*, elm-tree ; *pets*, river).

[2] Nii-pak-pets—also called Nakap-pets. *Nii*, a wood ; *pak*, under ; *na*, more ; *kap*, bark of tree.

[3] Shibe-gari-pets—Salmon-trout river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

480 weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and
488 they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too
heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply
147 *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable
854 among them, but not among the men. Children are carried
482 on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs.
482 A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

261 When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight,
142 but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ;* but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[480] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [531] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *et-ani-ni* (cf. Tozabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water. 261

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made. 483

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided. 481 857 142

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them 201

A F *648 *175 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. A F *648 *175 622 In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

● 489 [431] In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. A [273] This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu"*; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of A F a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into [796] a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many A [302] years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 622 489

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

A F *175 *648 431 622

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

A F *175 *648 574 576

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

A [195]

---

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun.*
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa.*
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

[P. 35(B)]

A visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae
F clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to im-
*648 press the natives with its authority and to treat with
*175 them in various ways. This custom was continued by
the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the
A Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo
F Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo
*648 be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into
*175 submission and their customs thereby changed was
later cancelled by orders from high authority. This
177 move was protested by the Commissioner in a memo-
randum of March, 1800:

> The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.[1]

A
F
*648 It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion
*175 was put into practice.[2] At that time the Bakufu ruled
that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear
before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae.
These representatives were accompanied by officials
from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits
were made periodically. According to the *Niikappu
Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems
to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the
administration of that *Basho*,[3] their turn came every
A five years. When the year of the visit came around, the
● [484] names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*,
Kozukai, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and
porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted,
together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of
Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part
of February. The group would set off during the
latter part of March when the roads were open. The
expenses involved in making the journey were borne
by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-
five mon per person per day plus whatever added ex-
penses were incurred if extra people or horses had to
A be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the
[221] visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with
the fishing season which came about every other year,

---

[1] Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

[2] "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." Nikkapu Basho hikiwatashi shō (Documents concerning the transfer of Nikkapu *Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into
F five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the
[636] natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

[3] Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 1: 9.

A F *648 177 *175 On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also A [484] made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

---

A [765] [114] meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkouchi* or *Mikkouchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224] [56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301] [57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [562] [58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
177
*175

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki,* the as-

A
[184]

A
●[484]
[562]
[177]

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki,* Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.,* 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kozukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona,* copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona,* and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291

AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

[p. 242(A)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been [36] built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all [136] probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account [484] travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[9]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

K 195 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101]

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

A
K /127 cont./
175 with them, and since they moved back and forth between the
563 mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the
484 Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living
K farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A82

A F *648 *175 439 177

and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.[38] The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.[39] Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orokko for animal skins. The Orokko would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sōya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.[40] Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.[41] The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,[b] similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

A [487]

A F *648 *175 439

F [656]

found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

[38] *SHS* 1: 79.

[39] "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[40] Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto hanin e aitazune sôrô kakitsuke sashiage sôrô ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kōki* 7 in *SHS* 5: 806 ff.

[41] "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764

[b] J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō. *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, bag-
gage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpect-
ed and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.

TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

343
488
417

OLD JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN AINU STOREHOUSE

[p. 286]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

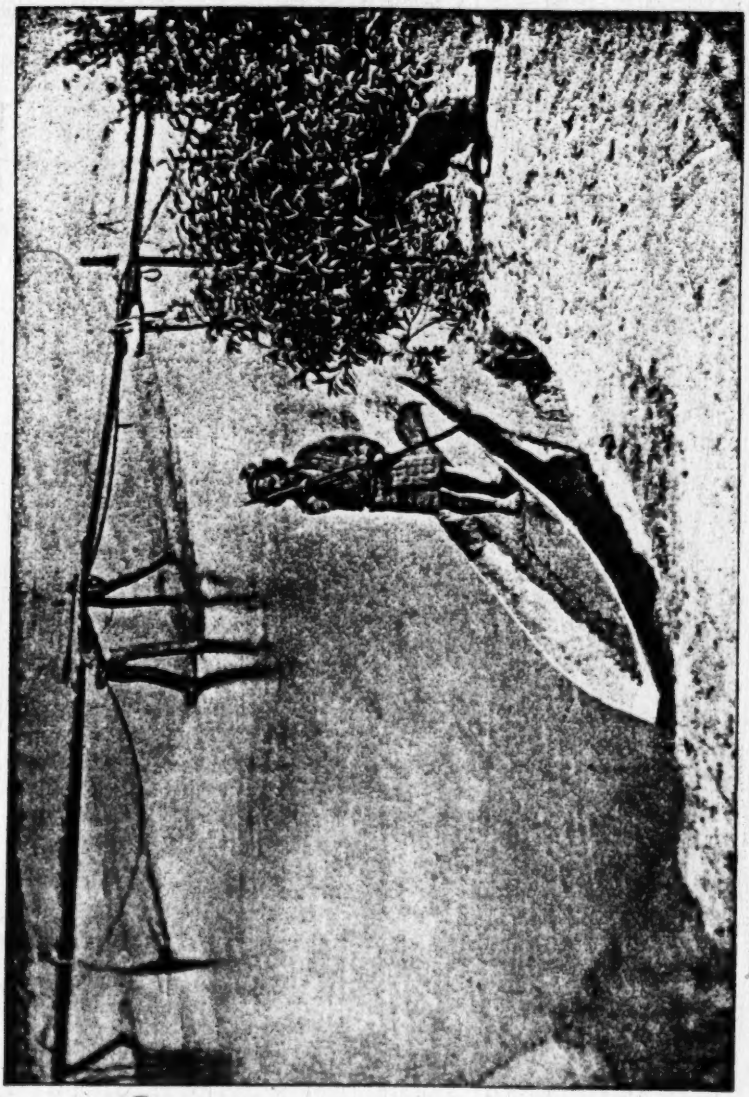
The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, baggage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpected and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291
491



AINO RIVER BOAT, URAP.

[Facing p. 472(c)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

000 The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated; and, riding from morn till night, I reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

133
342

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, [361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about 291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[291] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
[492] hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōkō*, No. 42.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, baggage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpected and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

[p.407]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* [262] The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni.*. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
492
494

ONE OF MY STOPPING-PLACES

[p. 408(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

●492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

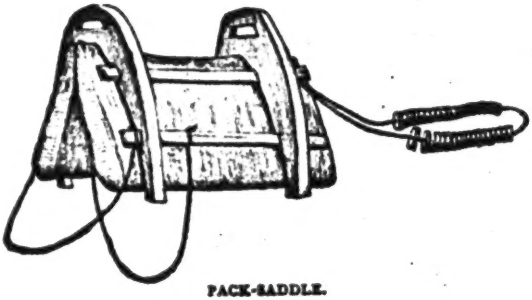
The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492 mat cushions or pads, which are somehow supposed to fit the pony's back; and by means of three ropes, one of which is passed under the pony's body and fastened on each side of the saddle, while the others hang loose across its chest and



PACK-SADDLE.

under its tail respectively, the pack-saddle is made to remain in position either going uphill, downhill, or on level ground. Stirrups, of course, there are none; and mounting involves some difficulties at first. One has to face one's pony and place the left foot on the breast-piece, lift oneself up and swing right round, describing three-quarters of a circle before attaining one's seat in the saddle. If distances are miscalculated in this gymnastic feat, it is a common occurrence to find oneself seated on the pony's neck, or else landed heavily on either of the two hard wooden arches of the saddle, instead of gracefully falling between them. Keeping your equilibrium when you are on is also a trying exercise to anybody not born and bred a circus rider, and balancing your baggage perfectly on each side of the saddle is somewhat more difficult than it sounds.

133 Nine miles from Horobets one comes across the Noboribets[1] hot-springs. There was, formerly, a *geiser* here, but it is seldom active now. These hot-springs are situated two-and-a-half miles from the sea-coast, and a miserable building, which is a mere shanty, is built in the vicinity of them, where people who wish to be cured of different complaints put up and take the waters.

000 I rode on to the Noboribets village, consisting of a few houses

[1] *Nobori*, mountain, volcano; *bets*, river, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492

AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily [826] hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

distant hills are infested. When their hunger is satisfied they 233
shoulder up together and form a circle, in the centre of which the young colts are placed, these being thus well protected from bears, who would find a sturdy resistance in the hind hoofs of the outstanding guard should they come to close quarters. The Ainu are good trackers, and have little difficulty in finding in which direction the herd has moved. When this preliminary is ascertained, the horseman, mounted on a swift pony, which he has taken good care to keep behind, starts from the station about an hour before sunrise, so as to allow himself ample time to reach the herd before the sun is up. He finds the ponies in this circular position of defence. With a long stick he breaks their ranks, and by shouting, and wildly galloping to and fro, drives them on in front till the station and the pen are reached. When they have all entered the latter, a heavy wooden bar is rested on two biforked poles, one on each side of the entrance, thus barring their way out; and there they are kept all day, waiting for such native travellers or traders as may require their services along the coast.

Most of the stations are owned by Japanese and by Ainu half-castes. Some have large numbers of ponies; some only a few, according to the wants of the neighbourhood.

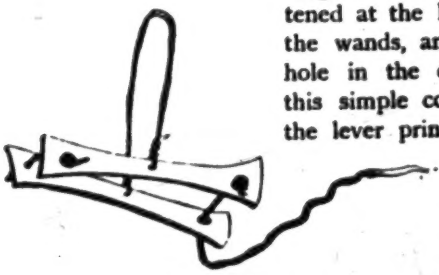
The average market value of a beast is between five and ten *yen*, or about fifteen to thirty shillings in English currency.

At stations where the ponies are but little worked, good 492
animals can sometimes be obtained for a small sum of money; but at stations near large settlements—where trade with other villages is carried on entirely by pack-ponies—they are mostly sorry beasts, with their backs one mass of sores, produced by the friction of the rough pack-saddles. Moreover, the cruel habit of letting colts follow mares for long distances—sometimes forty or fifty miles—is as painful a sight to witness as it is injurious to the breed. The Yezo ponies are characterised by their long hair and mane. They are short, sturdy, punchy brutes, not more than ten or twelve hands high, with a rather large and massive head, and thick, crooked legs. They are by no means fine-looking animals, nor are they well groomed—in fact, they are not groomed at all—but they serve capitally for the rough tracks and precipitous wastes of Hokkaido. They

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492 have none of the good qualities we require in our horses, but they possess others which fit them for the country they are in. Their enormous power of endurance, and the wonderful way in which they can go over the steepest tracks—almost unclimbable on foot; their sure step when going along precipices; and the marvellous manner in which they pick their way over rocky coasts, which the waves would seem to make impassable, and where none of our good horses could go without breaking their legs, are all endowments which I feel bound to quote in honour of the Yezo ponies. They are not shod, and they can hardly be called trained. Indeed, if a traveller be a good rider, it is advisable to obtain a perfectly unbroken animal, as from my own personal experience I can say that, though the riding was a little more exciting, I could invariably make better time with a totally unbroken beast, than with one of the worn-out, sore-backed "quiet ponies," which needed any amount of thrashing to make him go.

A curious method is adopted for directing the animal. It is as simple as it is ingenious. The necessary "bit" by which we control our horses is dispensed with, and it is replaced by two wooden wands about twelve inches long and two inches wide, tied together at one end, allowing a distance of three inches between them. In the middle of these wands a rope is passed which goes over the pony's head behind its ears; while the wands themselves, thus supported by it, rest one on each side of the pony's nose. Another rope, five or six feet in length, and acting as a rein, is fastened at the lower end of one of the wands, and passes through a hole in the other, thus allowing this simple contrivance, based on the lever principle, to be worked exactly in the same way as a nut-cracker, the pony's nose being the nut. The disadvantage of the system is, that having only one rein, this has to be passed over the pony's head each time one wishes to turn to the right or to the



AINU BITS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider. 492

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another. 000 [361] 463

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons. 133 [136]

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till 000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

231
136
492

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

142
189
000

[p. 145]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492 easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484] he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492 who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857 a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526 foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders.

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved.

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk.

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
490 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
350 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490 are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
171 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
174 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
● 492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
493 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171]
A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3
Northeast Siberia RY1

A
492
493
698

/487 cont./

oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

K
492
493
[113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

K
[171]

K
493
171
NS
493
171
171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS
492
114
177
[113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

E /490 cont./
23 Eskimo reached the fullest development of their individuality.
171 The poorer and more difficult their life is in the east and /491/
174 the north of their habitation area, amidst unfavorable natural
conditions, the more man must share the labor that falls to the
E dog as a draft animal. It also sometimes happens that when the
[492] use of sleds becomes too difficult or impossible there (1), the dog

1. In Greenland, to be sure, the dog goes as far north as man, but is not used for driving by the Eskimo farther south than Holsteinborg, because the sea is not sufficiently frozen in winter for one to be able to travel over it in sleds (R. Brown, op. cit., p. 463).

is used as a beast of burden, as Klutschak, for instance, found on his trip with Schwatka to King William's Land (2) -- a use which is

2. H. W. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 23 and the illustrations on pp. 22 and 109.

certainly not in accord with the nature of the animal and does not occur in the Old World either among the Gilyak or, as far as I know, among any other people.

G After this digression, as we again return to the Amur region,
Gi the contrast that we find between the two Paleo-Asiatic tribes,
A the Ainu and Gilyak, and the other peoples of the lower Amur
492 region, all belonging to the Tungusic tribe, with regard to the
174 use of the dog for harnessing should be pointed out first of all;
171 whereas among the former it extends back to the most distant
Gi times, belonged to them originally, so to speak, the latter
177 adopted it only in later, relatively recent times, and, to be sure, through the direct or indirect agency of the Gilyak.

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place [194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak [177] told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely • 493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on 174

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
493 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
291 from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
174 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
171 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
174 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
493 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
[648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171] A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

A 492 493 698 /487 cont./

oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

K 492 493 [113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

K [171]

K 493 171 NS 493 177 171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS 492 114 177 [113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took 487
place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as 489
accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly
any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid,
nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the
interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, [494]
sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though
sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made
saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small
dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, bag-
gage, and horses too. These were generally drawn
across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used 115
to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught
me many things when we were journeying together. I
gathered much from him as we were making our way
among the villages. He was always very entertaining
and much of what he said and did was quite unexpect-
ed and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, 492
and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight
and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also
a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly
sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was
immediately and without warning shot like an arrow
several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found
nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his
shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen.
The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck!
There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
492
494

ONE OF MY STOPPING-PLACES

[p. 408(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
● [495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4] Those areas

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were ●501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

[p.24 (B)]

E
A
*175 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade
*648 relations of benefit to both parties. Therefore, the
439 relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu started as a trade relationship which was, in effect, an extension of the Ōu relationships. Some students of economics maintain that there exists among barbarian peoples one stage in which there is no trade with other peoples. Yet, as far as we know, the Ezo have always traded with neighboring peoples using for that purpose canoes propelled by mat sails and paddles. Trade across Tsugaru strait between Japan and Hokkaidō started quite early. The *SDE* vol. 3 written in 1356, says that the Ezo living near Matsumae "Went out to trade at the ports of Tsugaru in the Ōu region." Tosa in Tsugaru (an auxiliary naval port located at the mouth of Tosa Bay in Tsugaru) was the center of trade between the mainland and Hokkaidō. It was the largest seaport in Ōu with ships from both Ezo and the capital of Japan going in and out the harbor. The importance of this port in the Ezo trade is testified to not only by the *Tosa Ōrai*[1] [Tosa Courier] but by the legend "On Zōshi Shima Watari" in the *Otogi Zōshi*[b] of the Ashikaga period which holds that the Ushiwaka Maru set

A
[501]

E
[504]

[1] Fukushi Sadazō, Tsugaru Tosa Meisho Ki (A record of notable places in Tosa, Tsugaru), *Tōhōku Bunka Kenkyū* 1: 51–52.

[b] *Otogi Zōshi* is a collection of popular folk and fairy stories which circulated in the period 1300–1600. *On Zōshi Shima Watari* is a legend of the escape of Minamoto Yoshitsune to Hokkaidō.

A
*175
*648
439
436
A
*175
*648
226
177

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

A
[501]

A
F
*175
*648
251
177
439

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 : 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 : 216.

A
[227]

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki*.

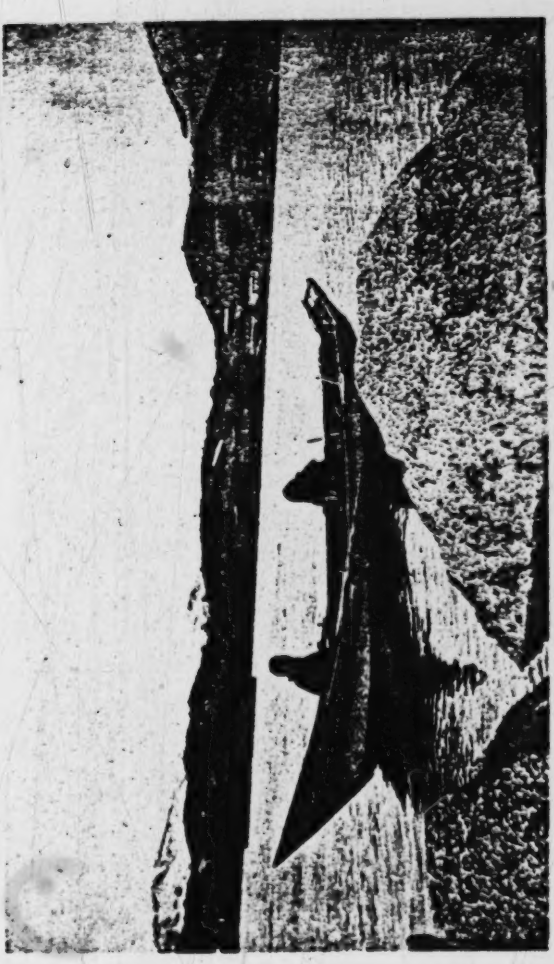
[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 : 406.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
133
●501



A FISHERMAN IN HIS SEA-GOING FISHING-BOAT

[P.298(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

501
133

A RIVER-BOAT

[P. 386]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tesikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches..	11
Width of middle	do....	28
Length, about	feet...	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

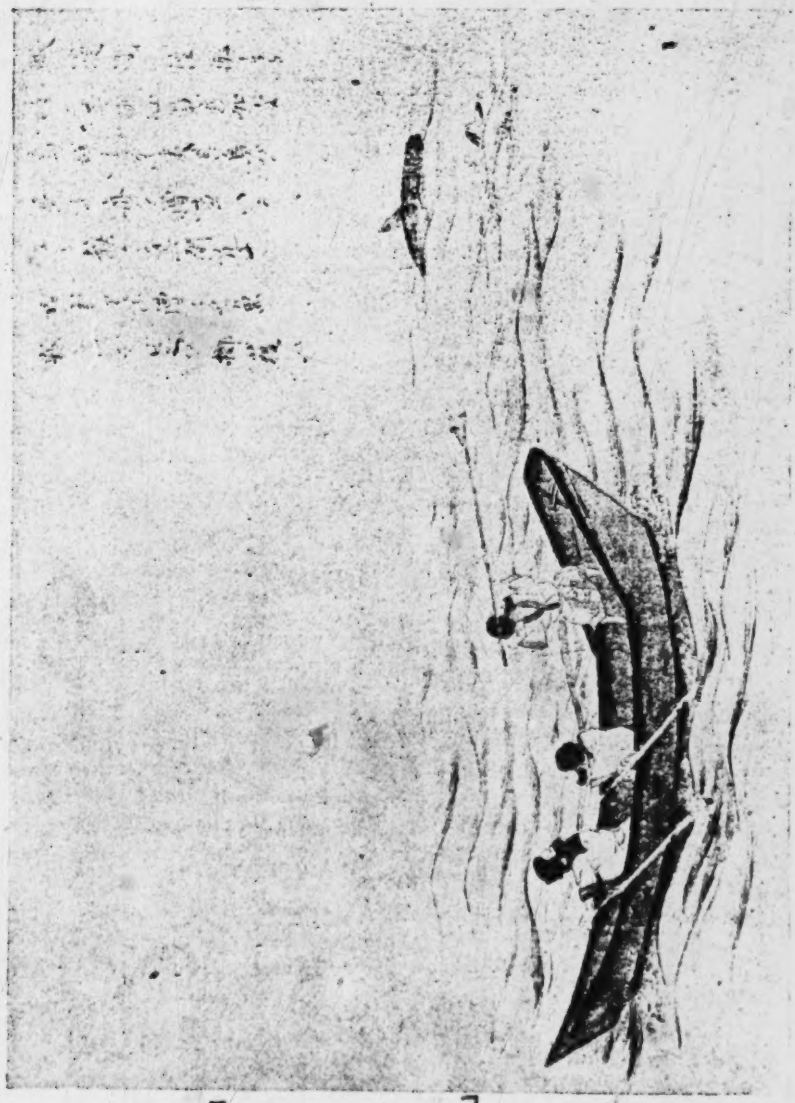
RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are
776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house
[778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against
297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

225
501

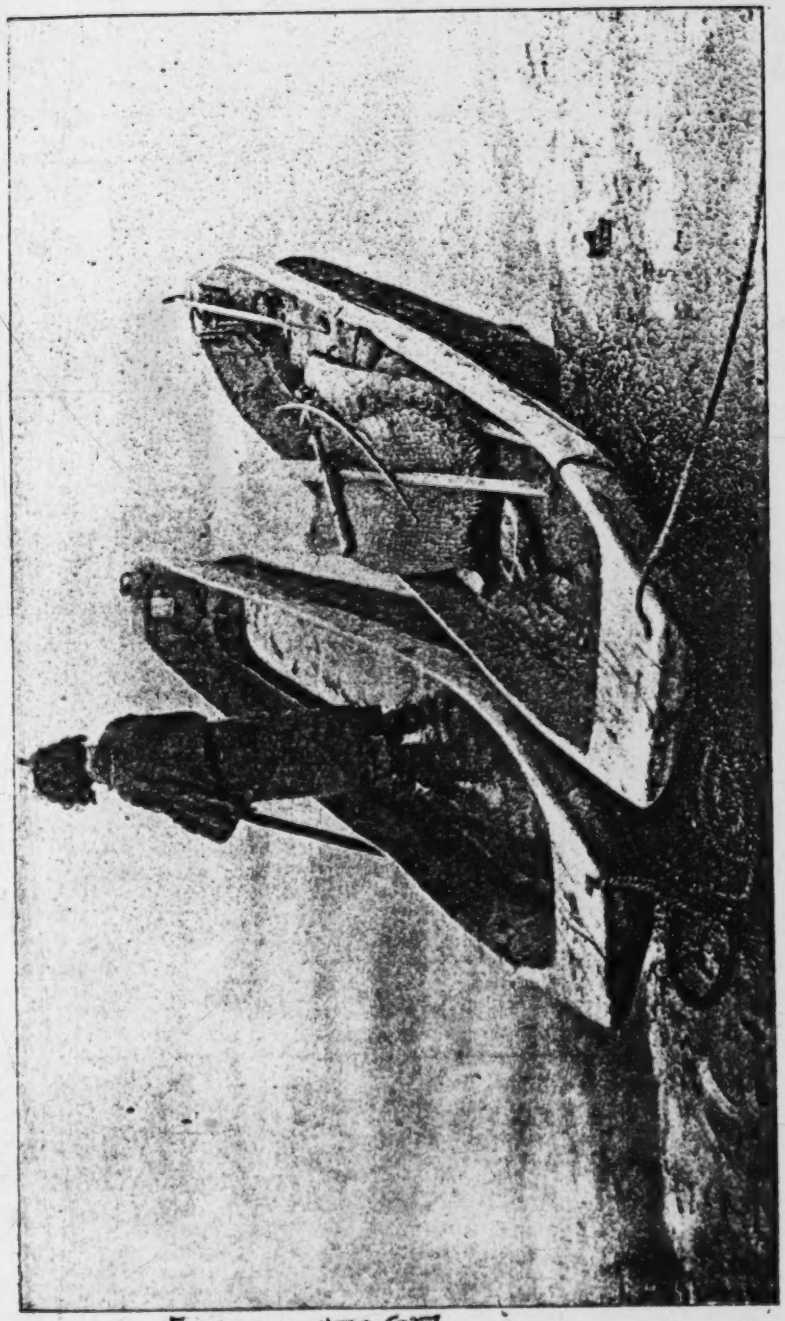


SPEARING SEAL.

[Facing p. 472 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291

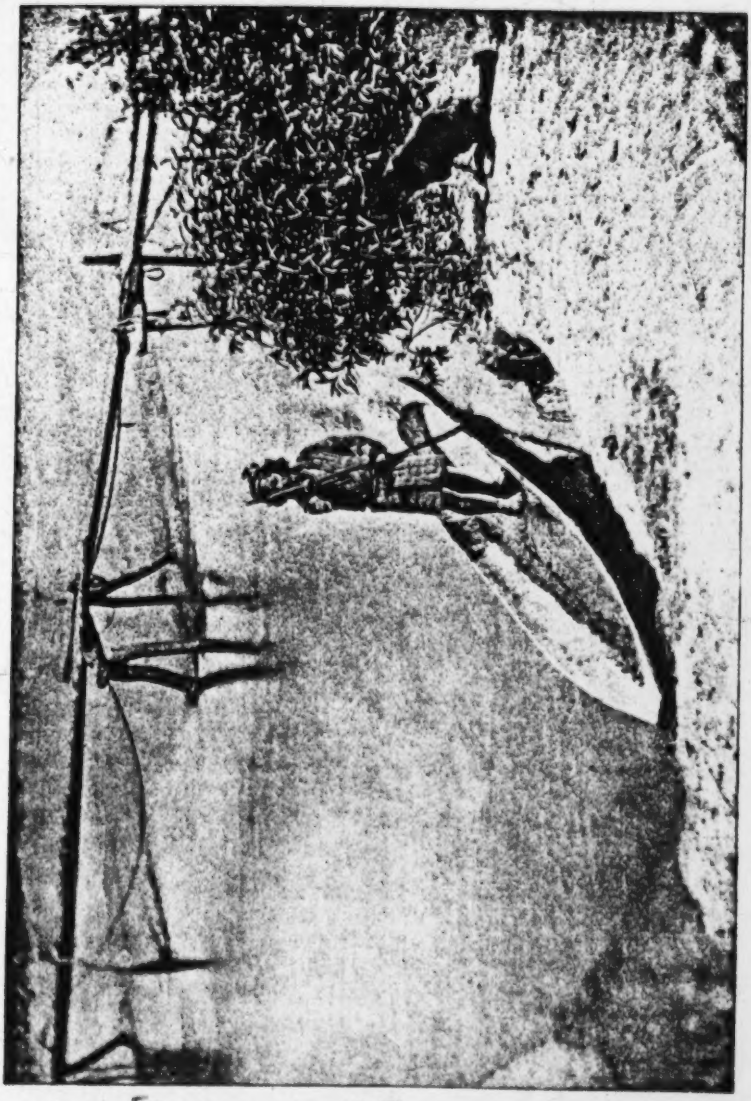


AINO RIVER BOATS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 472 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291
491



AINO RIVER BOAT, URAP.

[Facing p. 472(c)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them.

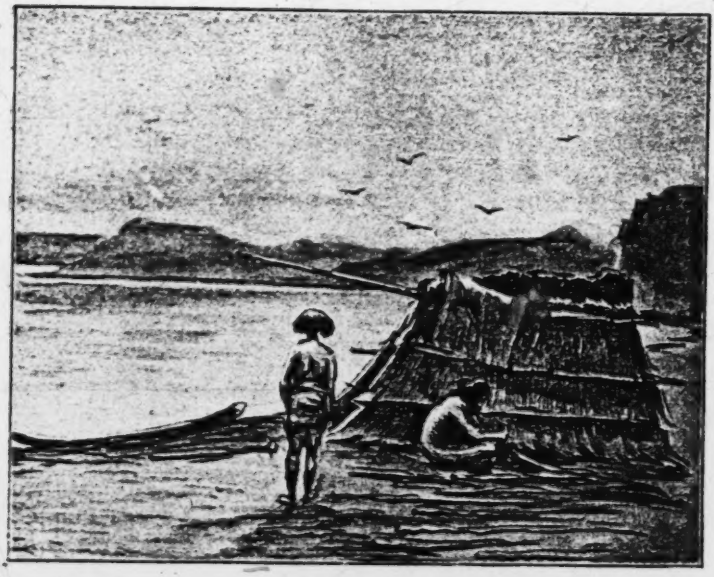
Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their

[p.1]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [990] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123 609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

501 together with the fibre of a kind of vine. The concave bottom is all of one piece—a partial "dug-out"—to which are added the side pieces, of three planks each, sewn together at an angle of about 170°, and made to fit the sides of the "dug-out." Two more pieces, one aft and one forward, meet the side planks at right angles. The length of these canoes varies from 10 to 15 feet, the width from 3 to 3½ feet. Two pieces of wood are then lashed horizontally, which answer the double purpose of strengthening the sides of the canoe and, being provided with pins outside the canoe, of allowing it to be used as an outrigger when rowing. Canoes are either rowed or sailed. The oars are made of two pieces firmly lashed

FRONT VIEW OF LASHED CANOE.

AINU OARS.

together. A hole is bored in the part which is to be passed through the pin in the outrigger. One person is generally sufficient to row an Ainu canoe, and he does so standing. There is no steering gear or rudder, and when rowing the oars are used for that purpose. Ainu canoes are not decked, and therefore cannot stand heavy seas. They are alike on both sides, and in most cases the two ends of the canoe are also shaped alike. There are, however, certain canoes which, in [177] my opinion, have been suggested to the Ainu by Japanese boats, and which are flat at the stern. These are generally larger, and used for sailing. A square mat sail is rigged on a

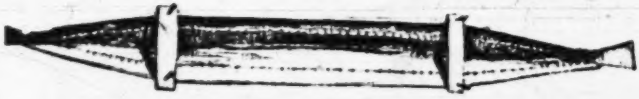
SAILING CANOE.

short mast forward, and the steering is done with one of the oars at the stern. The sailing qualities of these canoes, however, are not very great, and the slightest squall causes

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming back again. We were not far from the river banks when shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a 501 distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people 226 in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines, and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of which the net was attached, and attentively watched the water.

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me; "the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea." The small net was plunged into the water between the two canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white [241] cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river, that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs. We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take 133 a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs, called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

for about four miles, and forming a kind of lagoon at its outlet, which seems now to be working towards the northward again. All the other rivers on the west coast tend northward owing to the drift-sand which the current brings north. It is strange that the Teshio should partly be an exception to this rule, though we have ample evidence, even in this watercourse, of the movement of the sand, for the bar at its mouth almost entirely blocks its entrance, and rapidly works in a northerly direction. Thus there is no doubt that the sand travels towards the north all along the west coast.

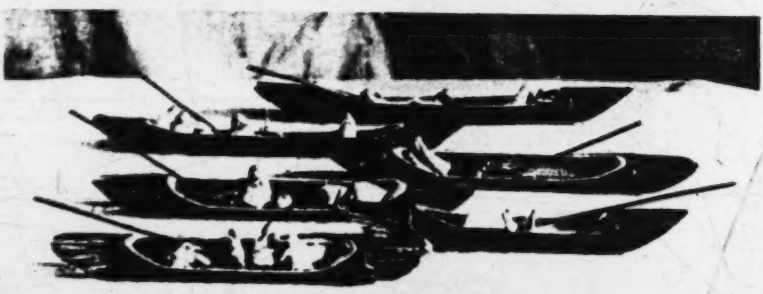
Sea-trout is abundant in the Teshio River, but salmon, with which this stream formerly abounded, are now less plentiful owing to the sand-bar which blocks the entrance.

A gale was blowing fiercely when I crossed the lagoon in a small Ainu "dug-out," and my pony was made to swim across. Two or three times we nearly capsized, and we shipped a lot of water. It was just like sitting in a bath with water up to my waist; but the Ainu, who had as much as he could do to paddle me across and tow the pony as well, comforted me by saying, "Now that his 'dug-out' was full, we could not ship any more water, and that his skiff, being made of wood, could not sink!"

After a long struggle we got safely to the other side, and the Ainu boatman guided me for a mile or so to the fishing village at the mouth of the river. It has but ten huts, all more or less miserable. The pony was so done up that he was hardly fit to carry my traps, much less could he have borne my weight. I could not get a fresh animal, so I had to push forward walking, and dragging the beast on as well as I could. This had the advantage of keeping me warm, which I needed badly, for what with the cold and my dilapidated costume I was more nearly frozen to death than was pleasant. The track was heavy in the soft sand, and the dangerous and numerous quicksand streams were enough to make a saint swear—if swearing would have done any good. How unspeakably desolate it all was! Not a soul to be met; not a hut to be seen! Here and there more wreckage and driftwood on the shore, telling of storms and death, and the absence of all human aid. At last I came in sight of an Ainu hut; but as I drew near I found that it was abandoned. My meals,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[324] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

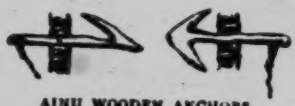
Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun-kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

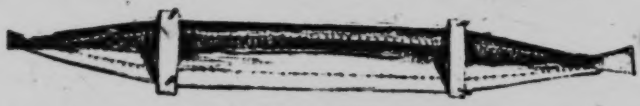
The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.



AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

begun (*Cinta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half-a-dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that pot-valiant condition you get them to paddle your canoe down the stream, while you sit in the bottom holding on to the sides. You start with the velocity of a turtle, increase it to that of a horse, then to that of a swallow, and when you are well in the rapids it is like travelling on an arrow. You go rubbing against rocks, and are shot in the air when going over a small waterfall, only to fall with a splash in the water some yards further, with an increase of velocity as you go on. It really requires but little skill to navigate rapids, for it is the current itself that does all the work. All that is needed is to keep the "dug-out" straight in the water. Of course if you should happen to collide with a rock when you are going at nearly double the rate of an express train you would have little chance of saving your life; but if you are neither smashed nor drowned, and you do not come to grief in any way, you can accomplish the journey, which takes you the whole day by land, in little over one hour when there is plenty of water in the stream.

On the road from Sorachi to Poronai, and halfway between the villages of Naye and Takigawa, a new coal mine has been discovered and opened, which is said to be very rich in mineral of good quality; in fact, superior to the coal of Poronai. It is ten miles from Otaussi Nai village, where the high road has to be abandoned if the mine is to be visited.

There are many Ainu both at Takikawa-Mura (Waterfall-River village), at Otaussi, and at Poronai-buts. Poronai has in its neighbourhood some rich coal mines. As others have reported more accurately and correctly than I can on the quality and extent of these coal seams, I shall abstain from repeating or copying what has been already said. I may, however, mention that the seams cut the valley of the Ikusum River eight miles from Poronai-buts, and a continuation of them is found near the springs of the Sorachi. The coal beds of Poronai are about three and a half feet deep, and many different beds have been found deeper than these, but of inferior quality. Poronai also goes by the name of Ishikishiri, and a large penitentiary has been erected here for the accommodation of the numerous convicts exported from the Main Island to improve the scheme for the colonisation of Yezo. I was called on by the chief *yakunin* (officer), and he expressed

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties.

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

.11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[470] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

A F *648 *175 466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 661 939 *175 A [191]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho,* the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi,* No. 276: 901–902.

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[74]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[74] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 436

metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A [438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

A [100] [511]

B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

---

[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsûyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chohyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chokyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

A *698 *175 [161] [511] After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish, and the population which had been some 300 in 1799 increased to over 530 by 1801.[22] This situation did not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the destruction of those natural resources upon which the Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about an improvement in industry. Farming was also encouraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been entirely prohibited since it required work during the fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing and, since these products were abundant, there was no need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward assimilation.[23] In order to encourage farming, crops were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo were urged to take an interest.[24] They were also constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on cereals was far superior to living on meat. According to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani at their own request. While it seems that the crops grown by the *Kaihō* did not turn out satisfactorily,[25] it was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would have a famine.[26] Mulling this over the Bakufu abandoned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802. Actually it seems that the real reason the government changed its mind was that it did not favor anything which required more of a labor force than did hunting

A [241] A [181] A [262] F [241] A *698 *175 241 F [241]

[22] Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

[23] "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

[24] "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 5: 558.

[25] "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

[26] "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

1 :Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

> The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

> "We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6 Feudal Japan AB2

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otono* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the
[597] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

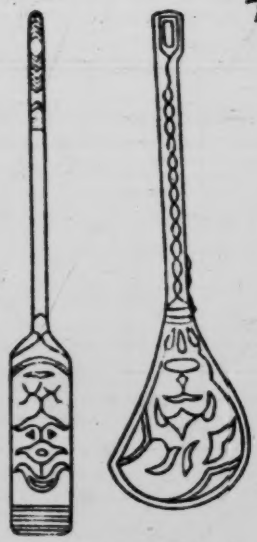
157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard
[511 and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming
171] from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful 221
and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were 511
very happy and contented. Even when I myself first 224
arrived among them about 50 [252 415]
years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts 251
were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in 252
the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

'school' must have contained not less than 30,000 individuals. During the winter the exact localities these creatures frequent is not known, but it is probable that many of them are in the ocean off the coast of Japan . . . . . Yezo fishermen, during the winter months, capture a few hundred of these animals off the south coast." But nowadays one very seldom sees a seal in these parts; they appear to have been nearly exterminated.

As for land animals, Hokkaidō abounded in them, and meat was plentiful. Bear flesh, venison, racoon, foxes and hares were abundant, and the people were well fed. The skins of all these animals were bartered to the Japanese and Manchurians for lacquerware vessels, earthenware, iron pots, clothing material, cottons, old swords, Manchurian garments, earrings, beads and so forth. Sometimes one comes across Manchurian pipes, rings, and cash used as ornaments. All these, as well as rice and *saké*, were procured by bartering fish, deer's horns, and skins for them. Besides meat procured by hunting, there were plenty of duck, wild geese, swans, tree grouse, woodcock and many other kinds of birds, all of which were used as food. So that the people were not badly off.

At the time I am now writing of, there were very few bridges over the rivers and not a foot of railway was yet laid. We travelled for the most part on pack horses, and were ferried across the rivers—horses, packs and all. One day my horse, packs and I all went under water, the horse having jumped out of the boat with me on his back. Fortunately there was a Japanese inn on the other side, to which I went to dry myself and goods and get a meal. It was a very nice luncheon. When I had finished I said to the boy who waited on me, "That was a very nice woodcock you gave me, but how did you get it this time of year?" "Oh," said he, "that was not a woodcock but a chicken." "What," I replied, "do you mean to tell me that

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
● 511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

●512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

285

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

342

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [250] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings 354 with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [136]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622]
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader water- 512
courses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
● 512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the speagers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i.e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i.e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221

1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226
221
512

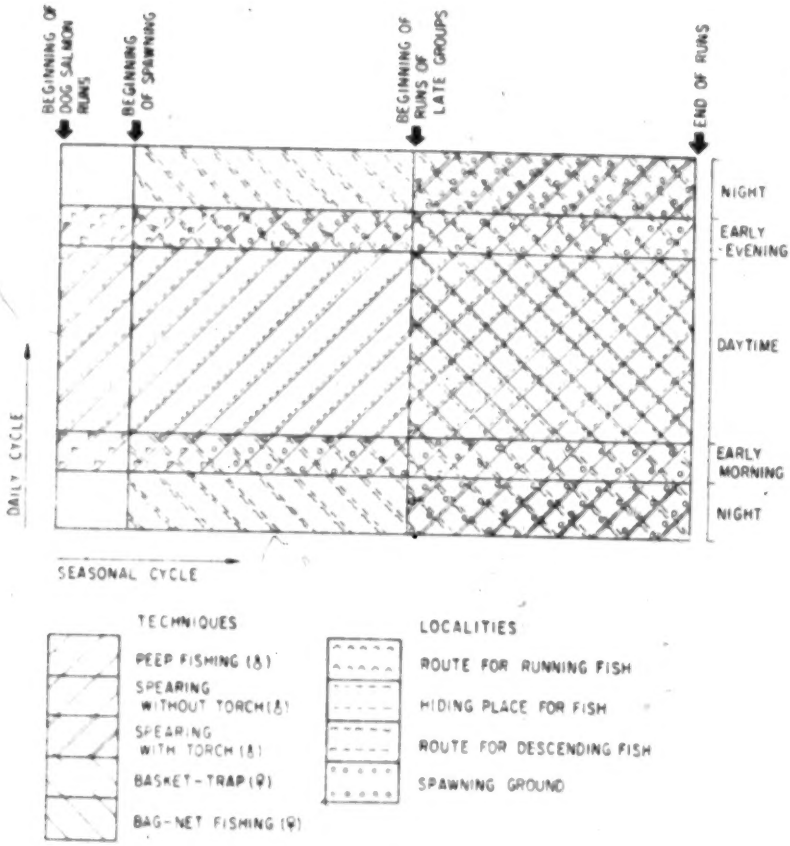


Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for ~~some time~~ afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

[p.133]

IV

159 41 Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-
592 operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.
264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more
[177] civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu
●513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

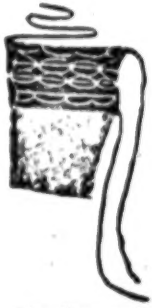
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [577] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *tuhot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-hem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*hembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity.
Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might
be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622] the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[24], was one [262] of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476] carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226 effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending 512 shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513] nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1; [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui* [262] *haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A *648 177 *175

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A [241] A [243] A [191]

A *648 177 185 291

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A ●[515]

A *648 *175

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 491

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

[P. 38(B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361] halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
445 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from
[197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[513] low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a
126 trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

595 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very
123 talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T.5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit." 515 186

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koropok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu. 172 417 251

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

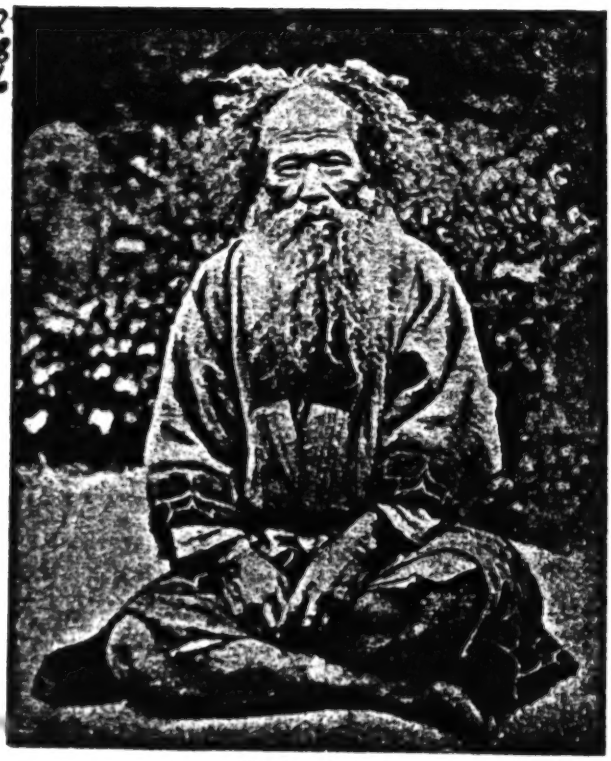
Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

2: Batchelor M-5/(1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
888
516



AN AINU CHIEF

[P. 22]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

[p. 68]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
• 516
413
285
292
854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

302
291
516

PARAPITA

[p.96]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

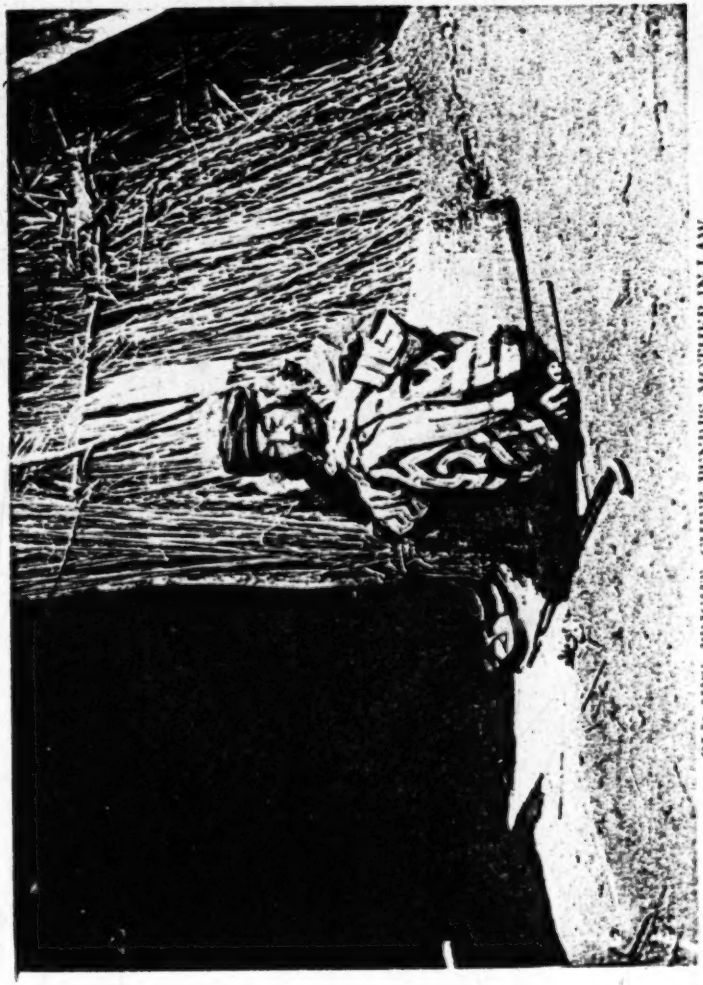
776
782
●516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
142
291



OLD MRS. BRIGHT, CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

[P. 116(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

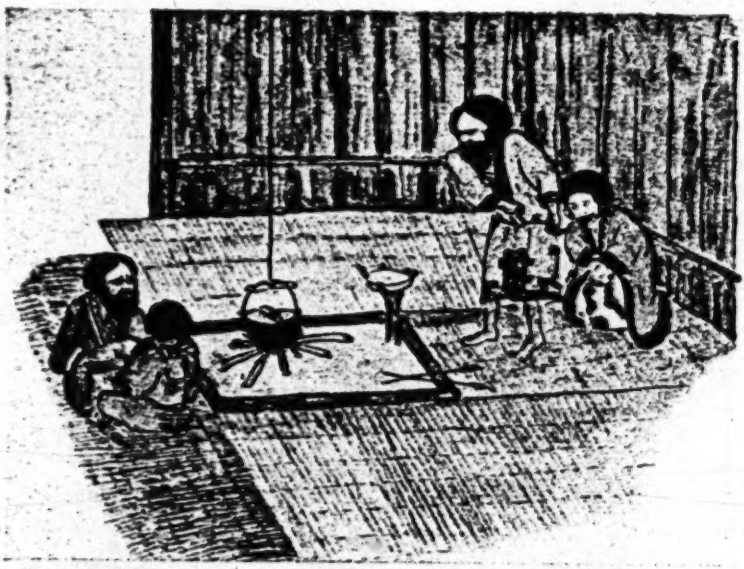
142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
●516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
291
142

AINU TYPES OF YOUNG WOMEN

[P. 248(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
516
342

AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

[P. 356]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIV

POSSESSION BY FOXES

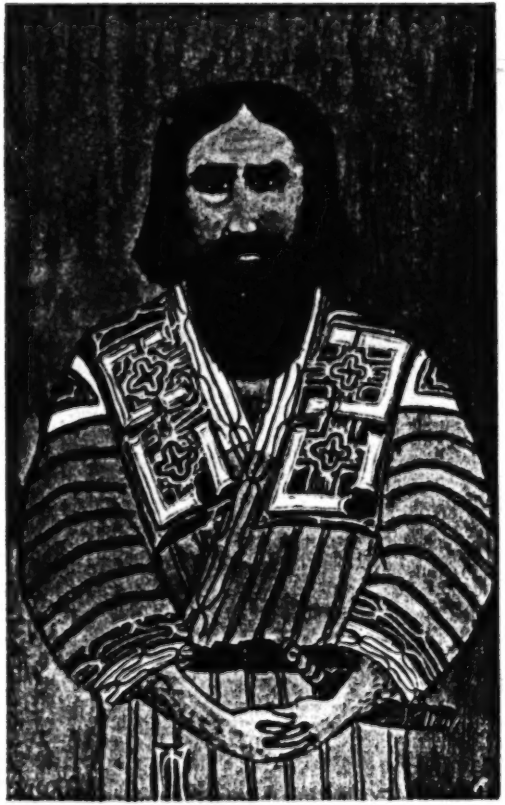
The village of Usu, which is situated upon the southern coast of Hokkaidō in Volcano Bay, is a very beautiful place. As its name implies, it has "many bays," and such are always pleasing to the eye. Half a century ago we knew all the inhabitants, and from that time to the present we have always had many good friends among them. The Ainu were all fishing folk and had a full amount of superstition. I can never forget a little incident which happened there once and which seemed to give much amusement to the people present, particularly to the younger ones among them. 117

I was giving an address to a large assembly in one of the houses. As there was no chair to be had and it was very painful for me to sit cross-legged upon the floor, and as, moreover, I could not stand up to speak on account of the smoke from burning wood upon the hearth, the good house-wife fished out a Japanese foot-warmer frame (*kotatsu*) for me to sit on and so speak to the people. About the middle of my speech, when I had warmed up a little, the top of my improvised seat gave way with a snap and thus let me down. I landed with my feet sticking up in the air at one end, and my head level with them at the other. None of my addresses to the Ainu have ever produced such a profound impression as that one did. The hut was filled with roars of laughter, in which I could not but join. We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves. The incident is not yet forgotten, for I heard of it again but a few days ago; indeed, it was one who was then pre- [516]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu



KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 436 (A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
831
516
584

KUTRI AND YAI-MAH COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

14-2
291
302
516

TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

H2
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516

GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

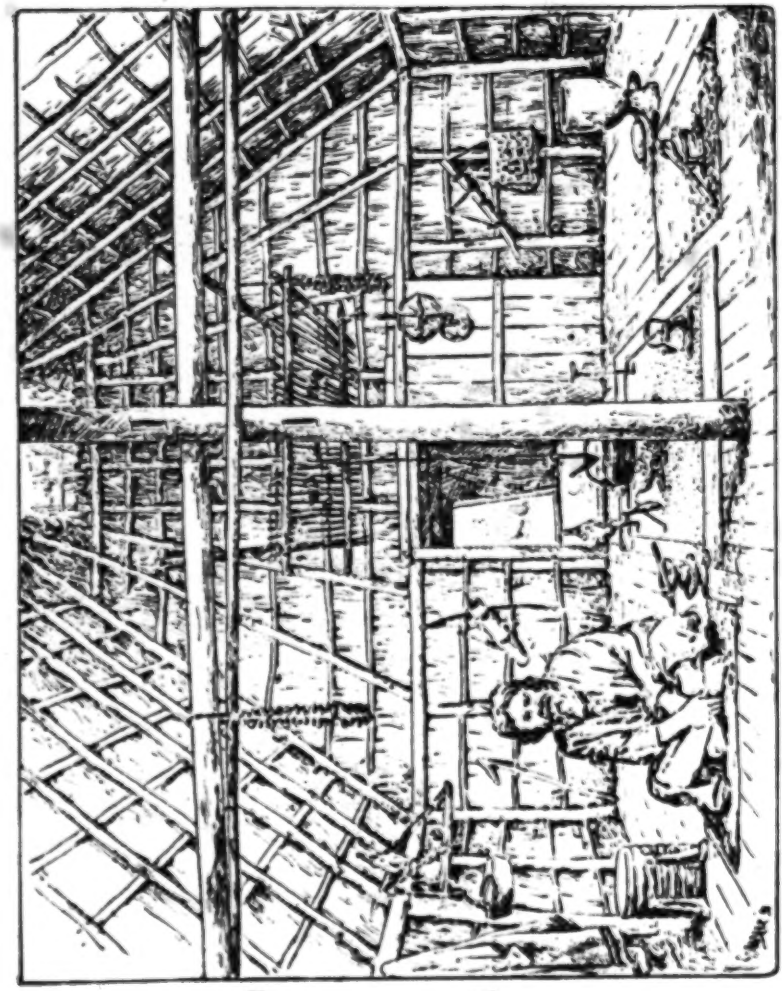
442
291
531
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
415
354
516



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 [789] [752] One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

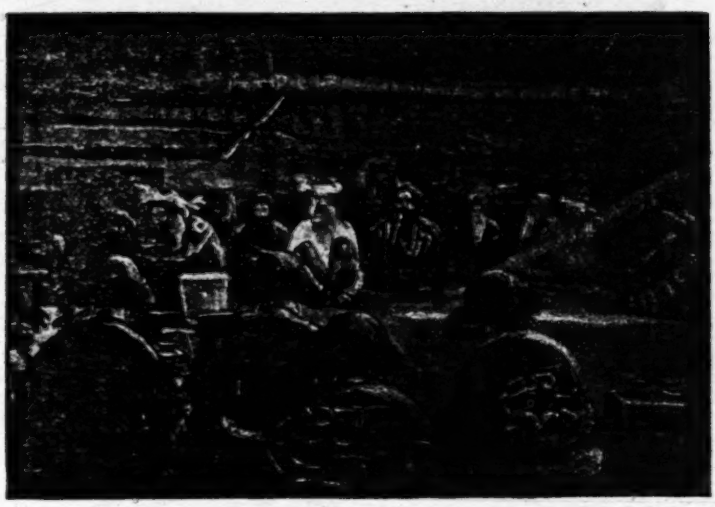
to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527
516



AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

527
123
576 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [242] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

154 most was the unconscious ease with which they stood, sat, and slept, no matter in what circumstances.

It may be well to repeat here that the Ainu are not burdened, as we are, with articles of furniture and a code of manners which so greatly modify our attitudes and make us conscious of all we do. Moreover, we wear crippling boots and nonsensical garments, which, besides not being ornamental, more or less alter and deform different parts of our body, considerably restrict certain attitudes, and greatly stiffen some of our limbs; as, for example, the exaggerated smallness of waist in women.

144 It is remarkable what a close resemblance the hairy people bear to the prehistoric man as constructed by *savants* out of skulls and skeletons—a resemblance found, I believe, in no other race of savages.

516 142 Take an Ainu standing at ease; he carries his head straight, but without stretching his neck, so that if a horizontal line were passed through the *meatus auditorius* it would cut the face directly under the eyes. If another line were drawn perpendicular to the horizontal, we should find that the front of the face is not on the same plane with the forehead, but projects considerably beyond in its lower part. In thoroughbred Ainu the head is well posed on the cervical vertebræ, and seldom shows an inclination from back to front, from right to left, or *vice versâ;* but in half-castes an inclination forward, and also slightly from the left to the right, is a marked characteristic.

The body when standing still is a trifle inclined forward, but when walking the inclination is greatly increased.

The body is well balanced, and this inclination is partly due to the head being abnormally large for the body; also to the habit of keeping the knees slightly bent either when standing still or when in motion.

[482] The women, through carrying heavy weights on the head, are straighter than men when standing as well as when walking without a burden. Their spinal column describes a gentle curve inwards, while with men it has a slight tendency outwards. When an Ainu is standing at rest his arms hang by his side, the palms of the hands are turned inwards with a small inclination towards the front. But a pose which is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

even more characteristic than this is when both hands are placed in front, the fingers of the right hand overlapping those of the left. When sitting this is their invariable attitude, but in walking the arms hang by the side, and no swing is given to them to help the motion. In running, the arms are bent, and sometimes the hands are kept half opened about the level of the shoulders.

The Ainu legs, notwithstanding their greater muscular power than that of the arms, are neither stout nor well-developed—but they are wiry. The hips are narrow, and the legs are slightly curved.

The gait is energetic but not fast, each step being flat, with the foot firmly planted on the ground. When in motion the feet are perfectly straight, and move parallel to each other, and at each step the heel and toes touch the ground at the same time—an undeniable proof that the body is well balanced when they walk.

The Ainu walk mostly unshod, and the average length of the step in men is twenty-six inches (from heel of left to tip of right foot), and in women about twenty inches. The average number of steps to the minute is ninety-two in men and ninety-eight in women. Where the Ainu is seen at his best is when he is riding bareback. He sits so firmly that animal and rider seem to be only one body. The knees are slightly bent, and the legs and feet hang so that the toes are a great deal lower than the heels, and are also turned in. No voluntary muscular contraction is affected on the muscles of the legs; for if the knees are bent this is because of the shape of the horse's body, and if the rider "sticks" on his steed it is merely by the counterbalance of the dead weight of his two legs. The body of the rider is quite erect when riding gently, but on increasing speed the body is thrown backwards, the legs remaining in the same position. The single rein is held in the right hand resting on the horse's mane, and the left arm habitually hangs or rests on the rider's leg. When feeding in his hut, the Ainu sits cross-legged, but in places where he can lean against something, or out in the open, he squats, bearing his weight on both feet, but with the legs bent to such an extent that his head is on a level with his knees. Often his arms are rested on the knees themselves, and food is passed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.
264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more
[170] civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi* (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu
513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture; and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms; thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which would be the sure result if the average European tried that mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members of the family pack together to warm each other with their natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep, lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this. The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine. I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their tattoos.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
796
782
[516]
[291]
[302]
[142]
[532]

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *susa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]

[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

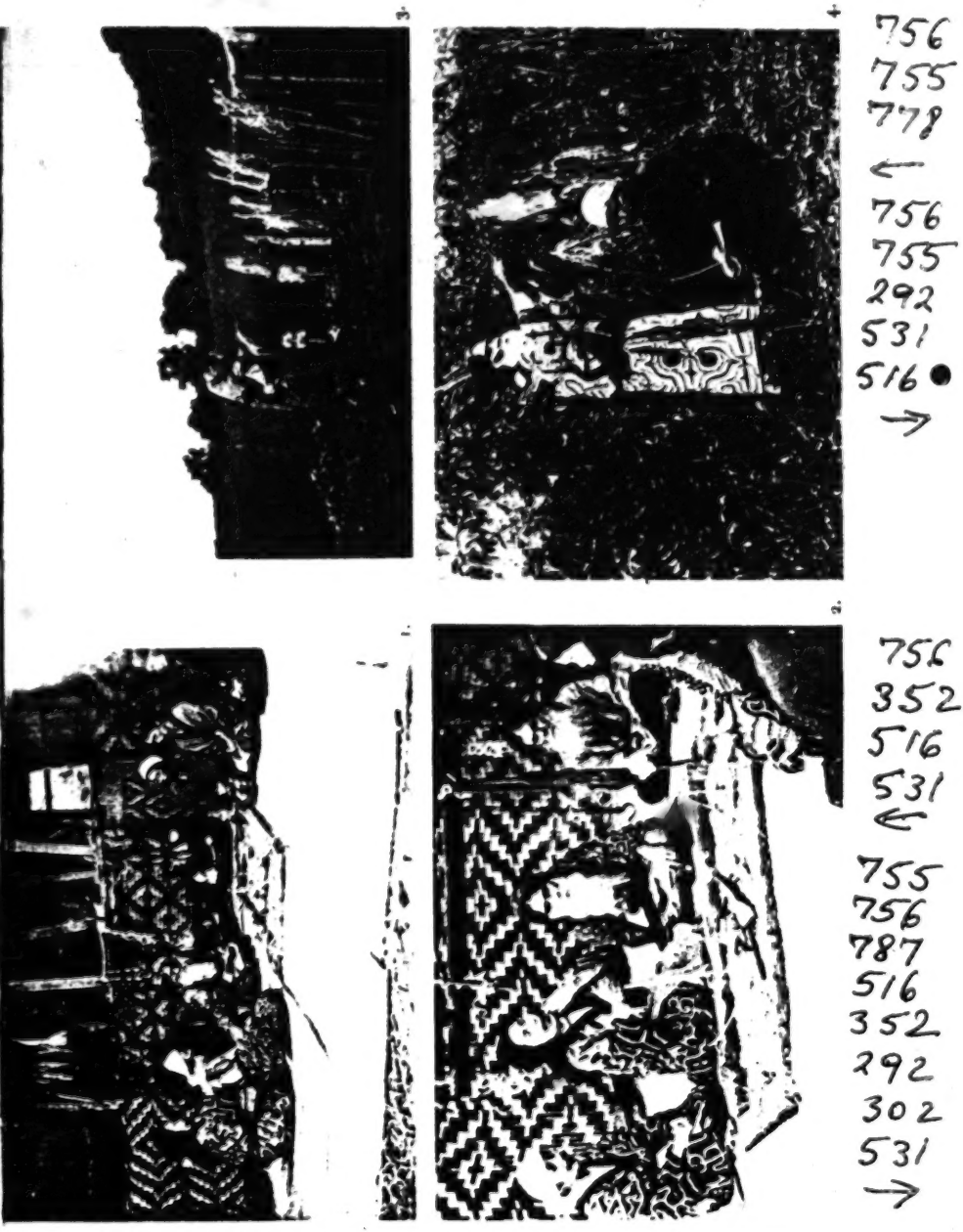


Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
ABS Ainu ABS

342
353
354
● 516
302
291

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

Ti:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

3.

4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (d)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

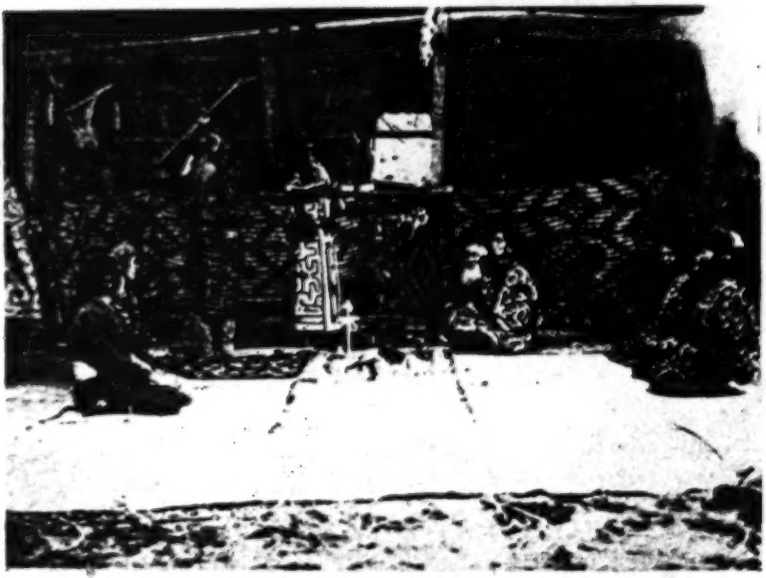


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife—three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu—was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them. 517 123 171

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him. 517

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts! 123 [186]

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace! [252] [262]

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was 515

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

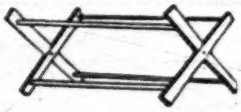
Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine 776
marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return!

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, 761
the killing of an animal does not imply the ex- 775
tinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect.

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have 522
found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin.

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

Ainu. Skinning it for supper.

Inn-keeper. How is it you have only got half a hare?

Ainu. My master shot it.

Inn-keeper. But how only half?

Ainu. He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

Inn-keeper. But how came you to get only half?

Ainu. Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper. Oh, how so?

Ainu. Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

Inn-keeper. What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying *"Chikushō"!* (beast) Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177 797 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told them seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite

000

EXORCISM

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

523
415
353

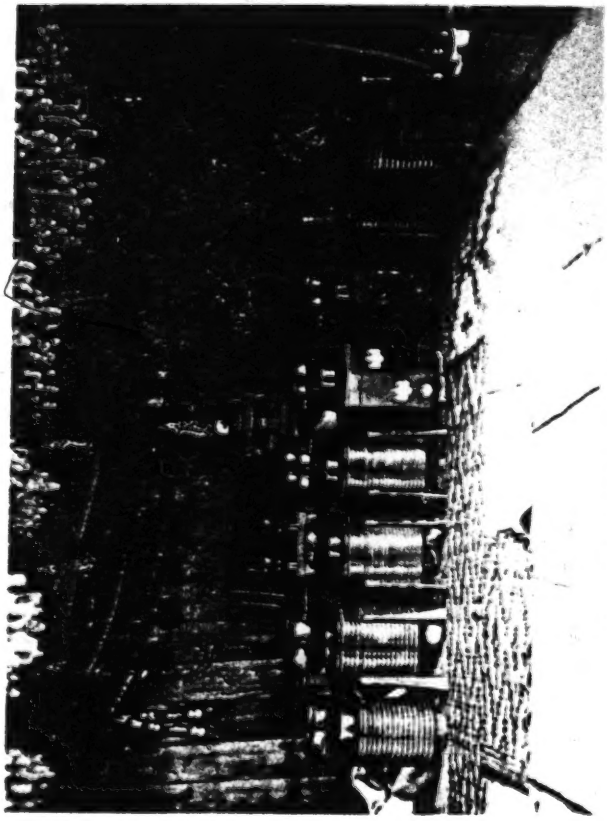


PLATE XII. Household treasures.

[p. 30 (L)]

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
● 523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer
[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
573 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[582] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
[573] the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[592] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526 foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

/453 cont./
226 island with its southern half, as well as the salt content of the
262 ocean rapidly increasing in proportion to the distance from the
[133] Amur-Liman and the /454/ warm Tsu-sima current (a branch of the Kuro-siwo) (1) running from the Straits of Korea to the

[113]

1. Cf. my article, "Strömungsverhältn. im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 25 ff., plus map, Pl. XII).

southern end of Sakhalin, the southern part of the island is far richer in invertebrate marine animals and seatang than the north. And accordingly, the latter, like the former, plays a far greater role among the foodstuffs of the Ainu than among those of the Gilyak. Everything that the sea yields in such products and occasionally casts ashore in great quantities is used by the Ainu for food, especially the large oysters and scallops, an octopus of considerable size (called achkoipa by the Ainu), whose arms are regarded as a special delicacy, sea urchins and starfish, actiniae and
[526] holothurians, the so-called trepang, and others (2). In order to

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 97. Dobrotworskij, in the preface to the Ainu dictionary, op. cit., p. 37.

get the trepang and similar animals from the bottom of the sea, the Ainu of Jesso, as the Japanese Rinsifée reported in 1786, are said to have been skilled at diving from the age of ten on (3).

[113]

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese-Chinese by Klaproth, Paris, 1832, p. 229.

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F [183] [273] [276] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*Iomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

*175 *648 439 431

A F As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

*175 *648 439 ●527

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

A [221]

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A [865] A [273] A [178]

Feudal Japan AB2

A E *C48 *175 439 178 527

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

A E [576]

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

A E *C48 *175 439 527

A E *C48 *175 439 [177]

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new-fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

A F *648 576 431

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

A F *648 527 576 *195

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of. (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

A F [431]

A F *648 *195 576 671

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

A [681]

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may
be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought
in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever
576 since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been gen-
671 erous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The
reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is
to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate
A F the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by
671 the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated
and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor
A F diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare
time.

[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been
done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona*
goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the
Otona when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited
to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to
violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make
one's language follow that of the guards.

[302] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been
noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many
[582] mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[624] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all
[657] unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family,
and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, re-
ported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate
via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even
subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or
unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately
and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not
to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly
to the guard posts through any villager capable of inter-
preting. Any other business which requires either im-
mediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported
to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and
report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch
shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other
type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the
mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his
people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all
people.[7]

*648 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
576 changes from that of the previous period. Previously
● 527
178

[7] *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

A *648 576 527 178

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

A [657]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

F *648 *175 657 431

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

A 5 *648 *175 657

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

---

[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a 117
good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has 777
heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they 777
perform any function or ceremony of importance, the 293
men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those 527
the younger of them wear are called *inauru*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

777
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are
264 first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of
782 the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk.
777 There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty
782 wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

> When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [788] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When thou comest again on another pleasure visit to the honoured one who reared thee, remember that I am the man who caused this to be done. We shall meet again. We shall see one another. *He, he, he.* Adieu!" 527 774

What a world of comfort! The cub is not supposed to stay too long with his parents but is expected to return soon from the mountains, which make the bear's heaven, to enjoy another mutual feast with the people. He may even return the following spring. His former owners will be continually looking out for him. They will recognize one another and his old friends will be pleased to see him and enjoy fattening him up again for another "send off." And so, my dear little cub, adieu!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing 527 ●
bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are 231
kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing.

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain [362] animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better [N4] than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion.

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one an-
[462] others' tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the men turn toward the place where the fetishes are set up and arrange themselves in proper order, and worship. 527 231

The men sit down before the creature and tell him that they are about to send him to his ancestors among the mountains. They ask him not to be angry with them, for it is a very great honour which they are now about to confer upon him. He is informed that if he is really a good and proper cub he will reincarnate as before and come back later to be treated again as he is being treated now. An address is then offered like this:

"O thou divine one, thou didst come into this world for us to hunt. O thou precious little one, we worship thee; pray hear our prayers. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with great pains and care, and all because we loved thee so much. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy parents. When thou comest to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been to thee. We beseech thee to return to us once more, that we may again entertain thee."

A rope is next tied about the cub and he is taken out of the cage and led to the place where the fetishes have been set up. Then when the multitude of people have seated themselves in their order, he is made to walk about in front of them for their pleasure.

After the prayer has been said, Bruin has one cord placed round his neck and shoulder on one side, and one round the opposite shoulder by another man in such a manner as to make it quite safe. The two men hold the noose so firmly as to ensure that he shall be able to make no attack on his friends who are teasing him and will soon kill and eat him. He is then led to and fro by the two men, one on each side. If the bear is a large one and very strong, a rope is also passed over his hind quarters by two other men. Thus the people take good care of their own skins.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231 527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

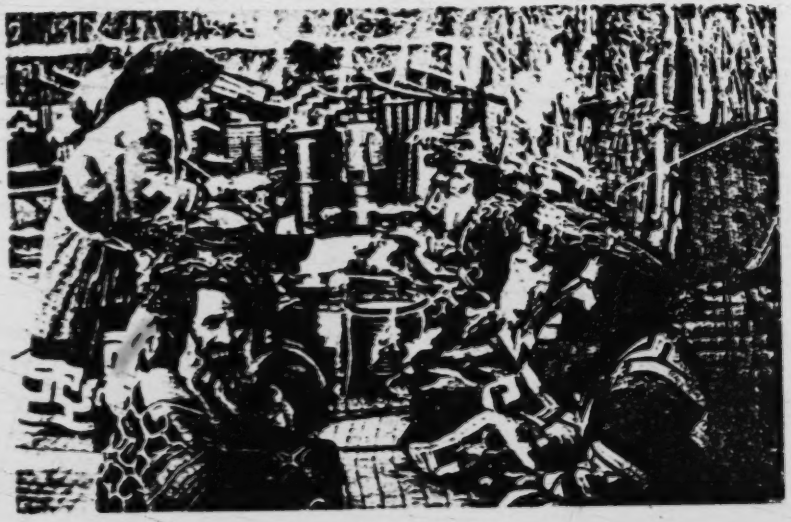
[411]

BLUNT ARROWS

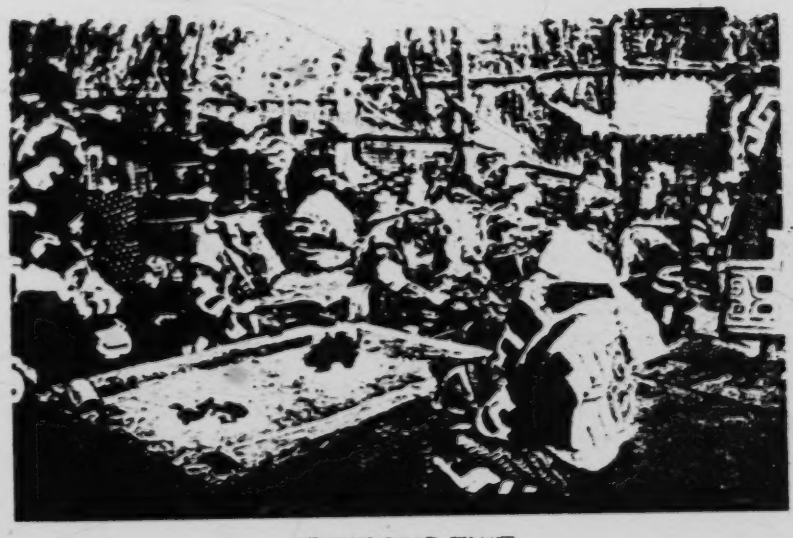
Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527
231



A DRINKING FEAST



AT THE BEAR FEAST

[p. 208(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival. 231 527

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years. 178 527 321

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish." 527 231

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of his own cooked meat and broth to eat. And a little of his own blood is also set before him. After waiting a short time, when all are quite silent, the headman worships, saying, 'O divine One, we present Thee with these fetishes, cakes and dried fish. Take them to thy parents and say, "I have been brought up by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept free from harm and trouble. I am now grown big and am come back to you. I have also brought cakes, dried fish, and fetishes with me. Let us rejoice." If you say this to them they will be glad.'

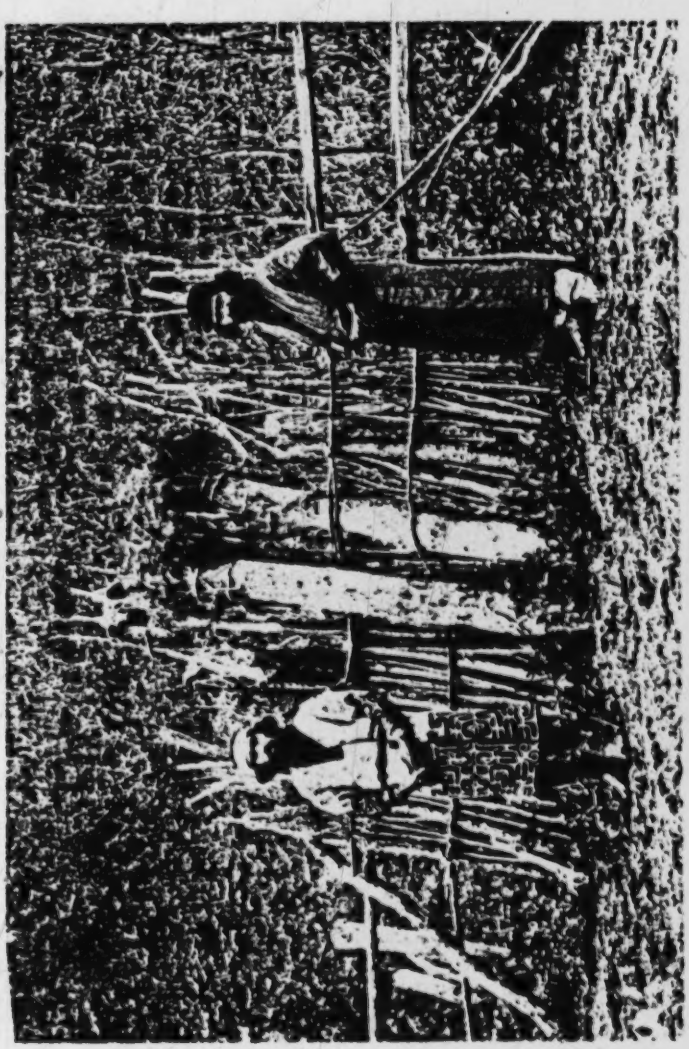
"After the meat has been cooked, some of it is put into cups and placed near the mouth of the cub, and all wait in respectful silence for a short time. After a bit the Master of Ceremonies calls out in a loud voice, 'The little divine one has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us eat with him and worship.' He then takes a full cup, salutes it, offers a few drops to the fire, and divides it among the guests. This cup is called the "cup of offering" and also the "cup of the feast." And in this feast we find the people holding a communion with their God, namely, the Bear. The entrails of the creature are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw.

"Later, a pole is prepared to hold the cub's head. This is placed outside at the nusa place. The head is taken and fixed in a crotch in the top, and is tied there with strings of shavings, and called "Life-containing-fetish."

"Thus, the skin having been quite detached from the head, peeled off, in fact, right down to the snout, the ears being left standing on the shining skull, the skull is taken outside through the east end window, now made into a doorway, and there set up on high. It is no longer called a bear's head, but the name is changed into "Divine Preserver." It is here frequently wor-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
527
231



BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

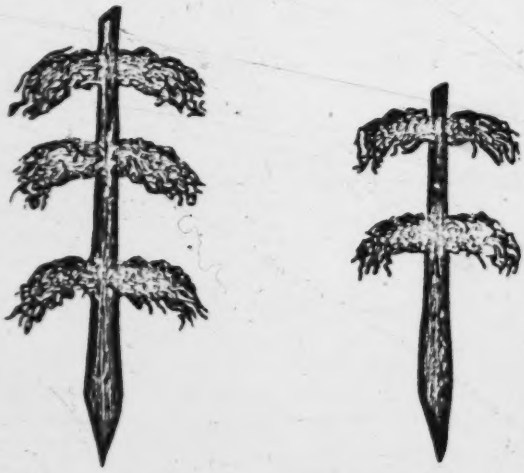
[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *kew-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent 775] away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527
231

hut is a sad sight in the morning, when the men may be seen still lying about the floor, snoring where they fell over. And it is a sad thing to see the crowns the men wore lying scattered about among the cups.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825
527

During my sojourn in this land I have witnessed many peculiar customs, but among them all I think the one I saw at a festive scene was the most comical, peculiar and ridiculous. As I was passing by a certain hut one day, I heard a very merry chattering, accompanied with much loud laughter, going on inside. This greatly puzzled me, for I had not heard the like before. As it was the home of an old friend, I took the liberty of slipping quietly through the door, without giving the customary coughs before entering.

There sat the family with a few friends round the hearth, partaking of stewed meat, vegetables and millet. They were taking it directly out of the pot which was hanging over the fire, and so they got it hot. They were much astonished at my sudden appearing, and all turned to stare at me. They stopped their eating and for a second or two seemed to hold their breath, and then suddenly burst out into roars of laughter, their merry eyes sparkling with delight. They made room for me and invited me to join them. But it was all so funny and I so ignorant as to what was in the pot that I declined with thanks.

I was greatly surprised to see the people, big and little, each with his or her personal belongings tied up in bundles as if in readiness to migrate to some other land, and it reminded me of the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Some of them actually had bundles slung on to their backs with the tying cord round their foreheads. Beside others were clothing, ornaments, spoons, moustache-lifters, pots, kettles, axes, bows and arrows, knives and other articles, all ready at hand. When the Ainu men are greatly surprised they sometimes say, "*Etukishma*"! This means: "I seize my nose!" All I could do was simply to say "*Etukishma*" and laugh with them. I did not know what to make of it all, for it was such a peculiar scene. Nor have I seen it since. I was indeed fortunate to have caught them in the act at that time. I did not think it would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

be wise to pass remarks then or ask any questions, so 825
I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527
appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753
about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262
for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie ●527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *saké* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

539 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] ●527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527
516

AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

527
123
576 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [242] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 273 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
273 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[182] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of
[273] this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were
having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[292] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive and well-composed till then, went into fits of laughter when Gounod's masterpiece was played, and all through it the noise of people laughing was so great as to drown entirely the orchestra and singers. Some of the women in the audience nearly went into hysterics at the long *legato* notes at the beginning of the piece. Louder melodies and of a livelier character did not affect them so. I wish to draw attention to this fact, that amongst all primitive peoples the native music is sad and slow—the livelier melodies coming later; and also, that with both wild and domestic animals the most noteworthy effects are produced by slow and simple music. We all know how dogs will remain quiet and calm when a soft and gentle air is played, but get furious to the point of savageness under the "plan-plan-rataplan" of a merry noisy tune. As for the last item connected with Ainu music, viz., dancing, it is rarely practised, even by the Ainu women, to whom alone it pertains. At the best it is of a very rude form. In the Piratori festival (Chapter IV.) we have seen that their dancing is accompanied by rhythmical sounds imitating the noises produced by implements in everyday use, as the squeaking of a paddle by the friction on the canoe, the cry which accompanies the pounding of millet, blowing alight the fire, and similar sounds. Time is kept by clapping the hands and by vociferations which tell the partners what position or action to assume, each action being accompanied by a different sound, but all performed while the hopping is kept up. I have not felt justified in classifying these rhythmical sounds, which accompany the dancing, as choruses, for there is not enough in them to constitute either a tune or a melody. They are suggested more by the action of the arms and upper part of the body than by the steps; in fact, if it were not for the continuous hopping it would be more accurate to describe Ainu dancing as "posturing." The dancers form a circle, with sometimes one or two children in the centre. As there are no professional musicians, there are no professional dancers; but though each man may be his own composer of music, the women never alter their dances, which are handed down unchanged from one generation to another. It is only at festivals that the dance is performed, and never inside the huts, but in the open air. It is not for the amusement of spectators, for besides one or two of the older women,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 885 527

[p. 281]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

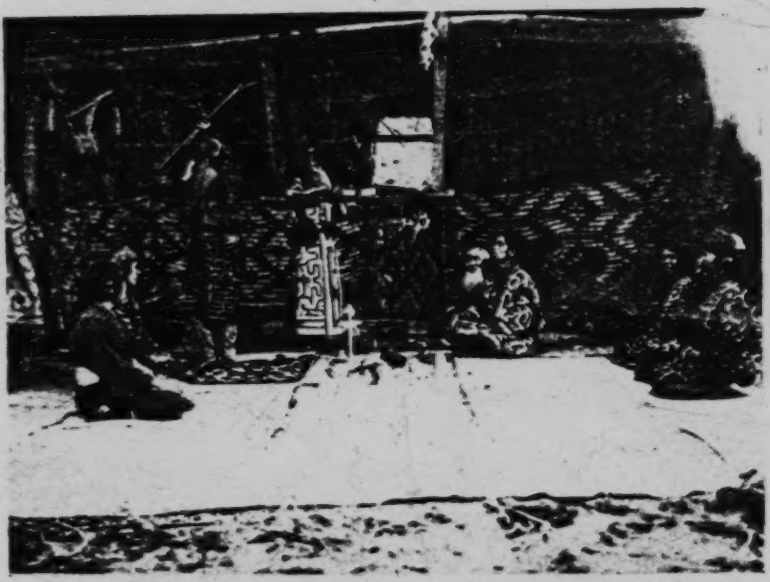


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342
527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 576 527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 [554] The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

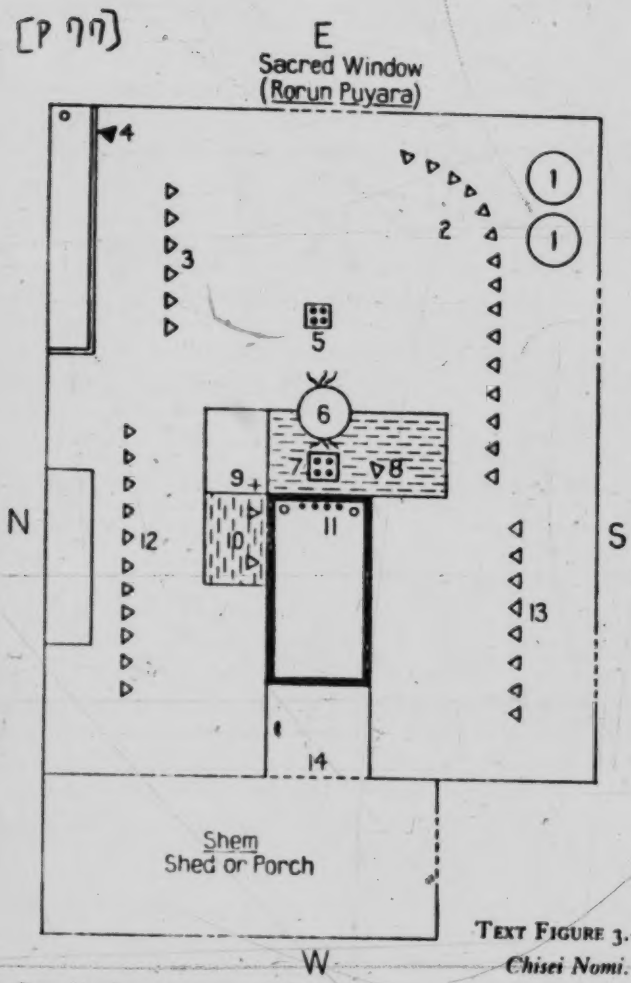
342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that [411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [789] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P 77]

342
527
353
554



TEXT FIGURE 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-to*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau.*
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
● 527 ceremonial dress with patterns woven on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some
527 at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to
782 the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow
[576] and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and
[562] humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should
[292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They
[789] show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

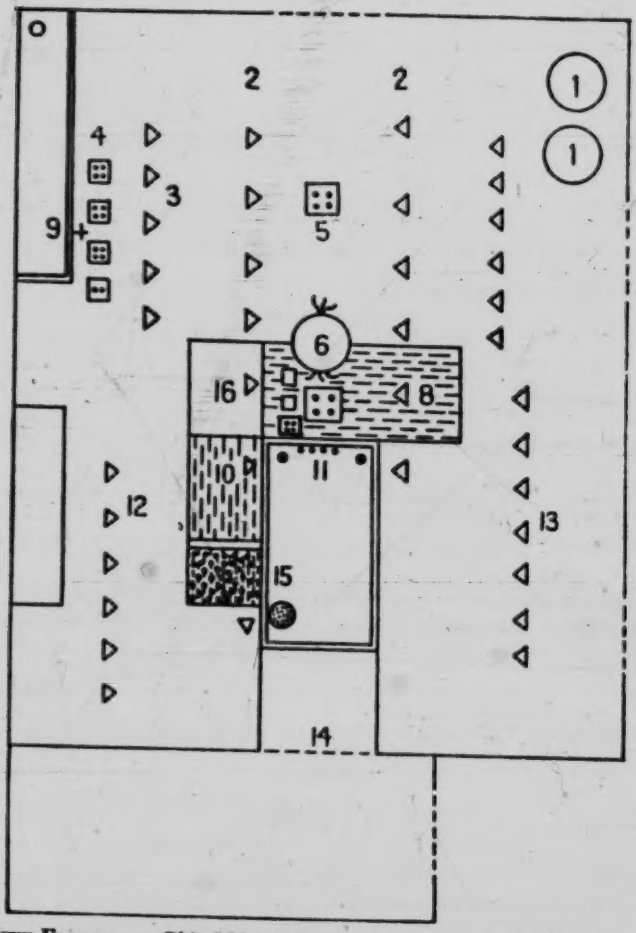
A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 83]

342
527
782
554
353



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-horo inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

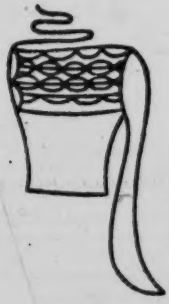
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go, poor unfortunates, and fell down into the depths below, where they were killed outright. It is therefore now well known that elm trees are peopled by demons."

292
531

A HOOD

AN APRON



LEGGINGS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576

TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

431
531

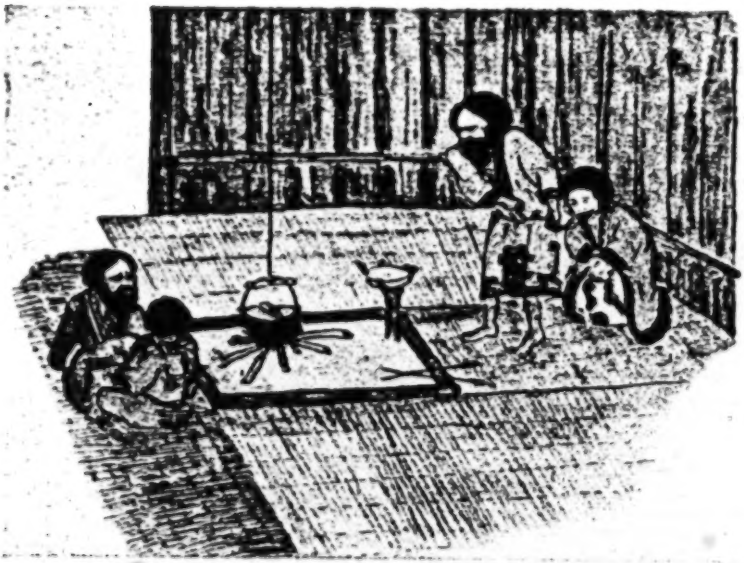
BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED

BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

[p. 82]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

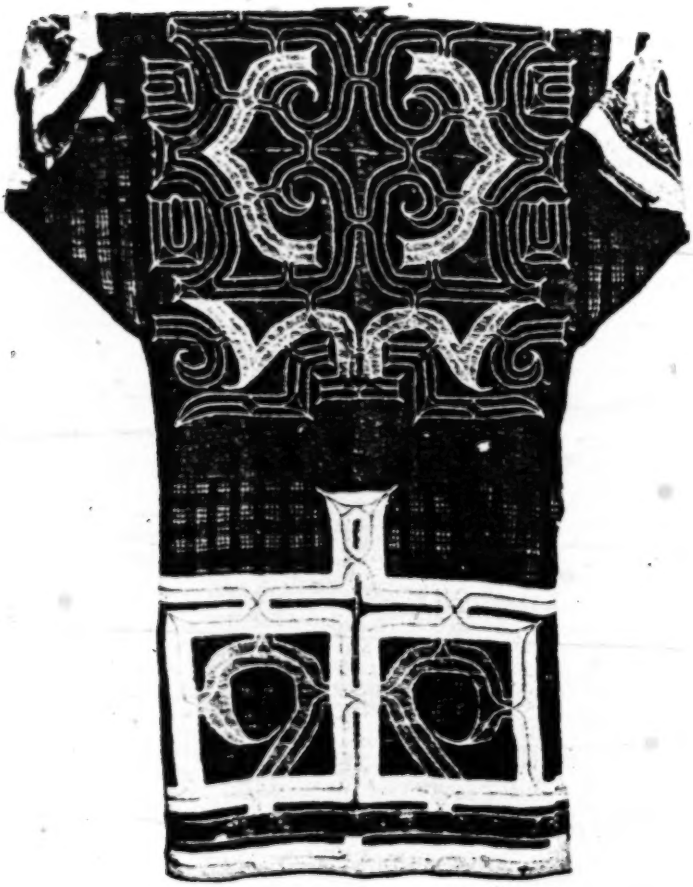
531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531



AINU EMBROIDERY. A MAN'S COAT

[P. 330 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

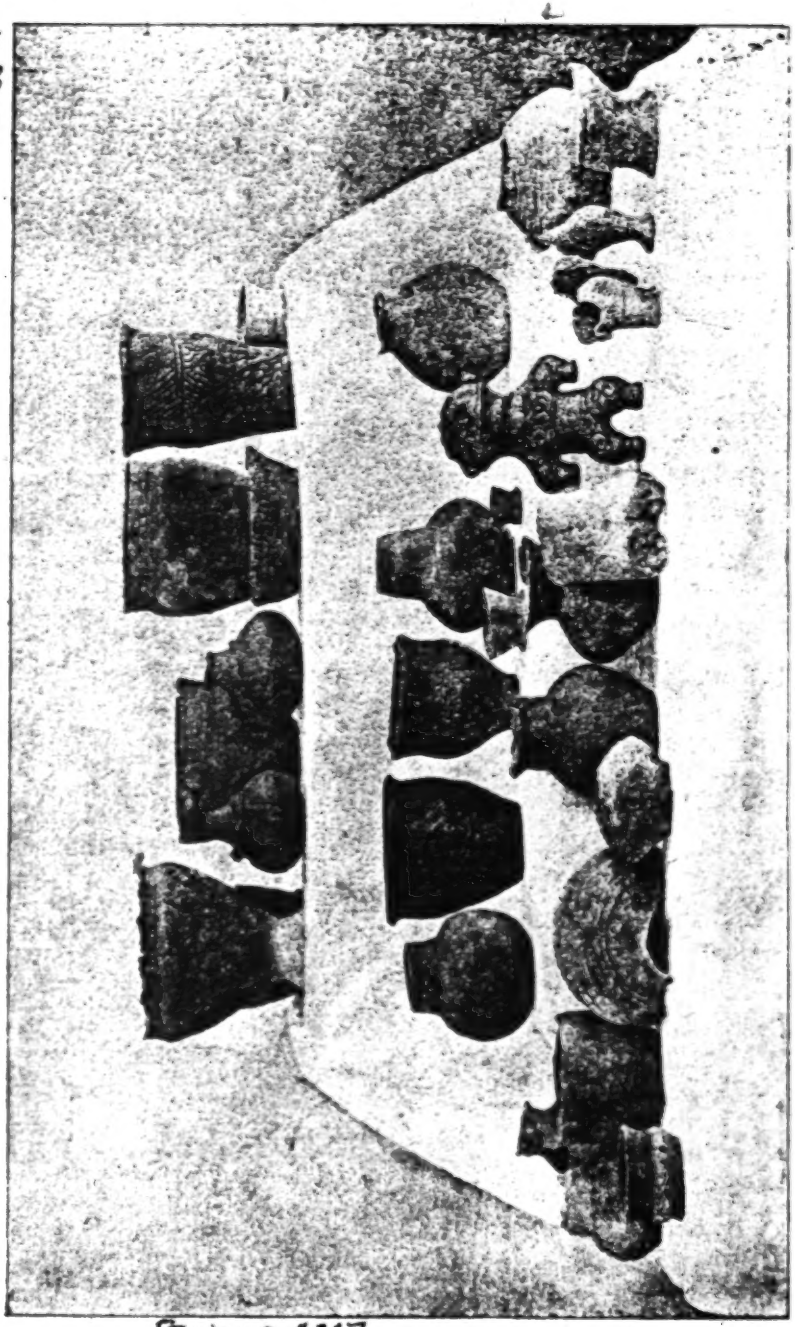
532
531
342

THE HOME OF KUTRI AND YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.444]A

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

415
323
172
531



ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

304 this is gradually extended until a more or less broad band surrounds the mouth and perhaps extends in a tapering curve on both cheeks toward the ears. The arms also are tattooed in various patterns. [434] The tattoo marks are made by cross-hatching the skin with knives, which they get from the Japanese. Into the cuts thus made the soot of burning birch (*kaba*) bark is rubbed, which is collected on the bottom of a dish held over the fire. The color of the marks thus made is distinctly bluish, and for this reason it does not show so conspicuously in photographs as it appears to the eye. The width and extent of the tattoo marks, as well as the depth of the color, is different in various parts of Yezo. In the north it is a narrow band on both lips, not very conspicuous, as shown in the picture of two young women of Tokoro, Plate XCII. At Ohotsu, on the southeast coast, the bands are wider, but not much extended on either side of the mouth, and the color is almost black. This pattern is seen also about Urap (Pls. XC and XCIII.) In other localities the band is very broad and well extended towards the ears, as shown in Plate XCIV, but in this case the color is in wavy lines and not deep.

On the road from Tamakomai to Sapporo I met two women with vertical tattoo marks on the forehead between the eyes. This observation was only casual and therefore not entirely satisfactory, for I supposed it would be possible to further verify it by visiting some of the villages in that region. This I was unable to do. But the practice of tattooing the forehead has been noted by other observers. Mr. Batchelor has casually mentioned that the Aino women "in some cases tattoo their foreheads." This, as well as an allusion to the fact by Dr. Scheube, confirms my own observation. Prof. H. E. Stockbridge, with whom I have since spoken on the subject, informs me that he has frequently noticed this form of tattooing, and that it seems to be most common along the west coast.

The tattoo marks on the arm are best shown in Plate XCV, which [435] represents an old woman of Tokoro. The patterns vary greatly in different cases, but they all have the same general character of alternating horizontal lines and crossed lines.

The origin and significance of tattooing among the Ainos is obscure. It seems to be merely an inherited custom without any recognized object.

STAGE OF CULTURE.

Probably few who read these lines have ever seen the lower stages of human savagery and barbarism, still less have they an adequate conception of the physical and moral condition, or of the manner of life, which characterizes the lower types of human existence. The American Indian is a picturesque character as we think of him roaming over plains and through forests, hunting the buffalo and other wild animals, sleeping peacefully in his wigwam, and enjoying the fruits of a luxuriant soil. But come nearer, and we find that the hunt is for

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
531

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

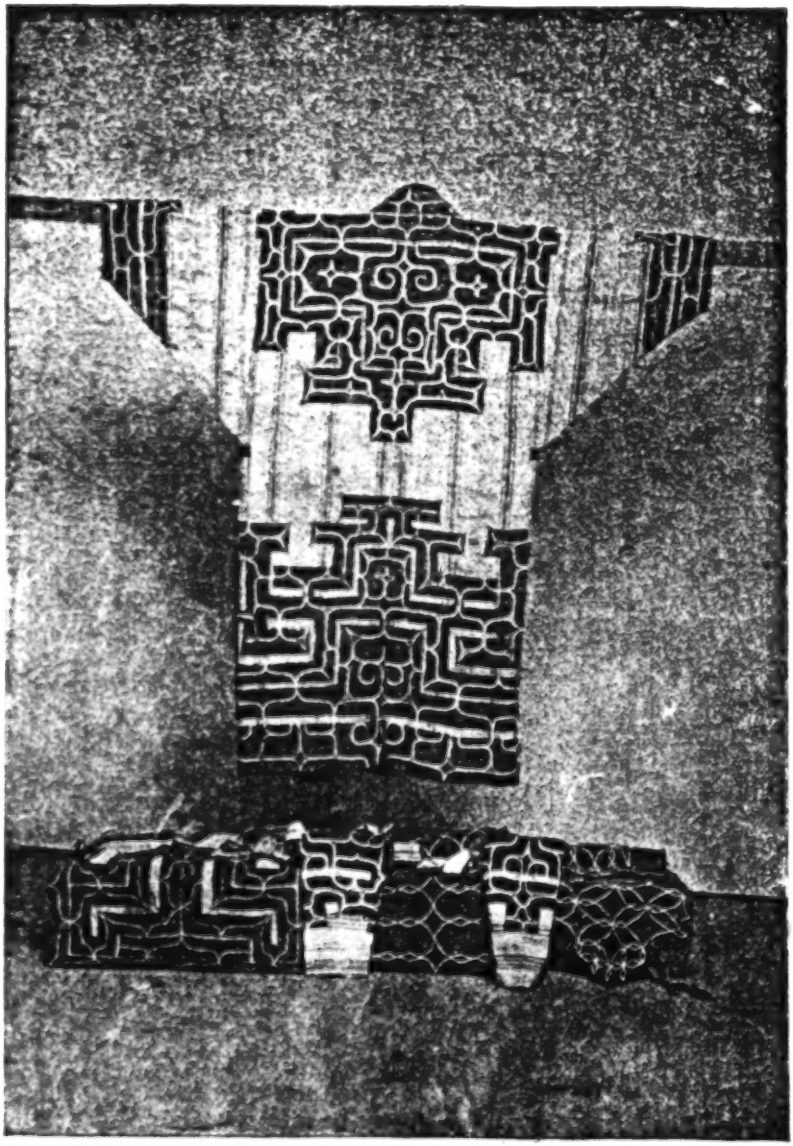
442
291
531
285
516

AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531



AINO CLOTHING.

[Facing p. 450 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286
bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291
after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177]
XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the [531]
ohiyo, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439]
the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342
usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 74, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

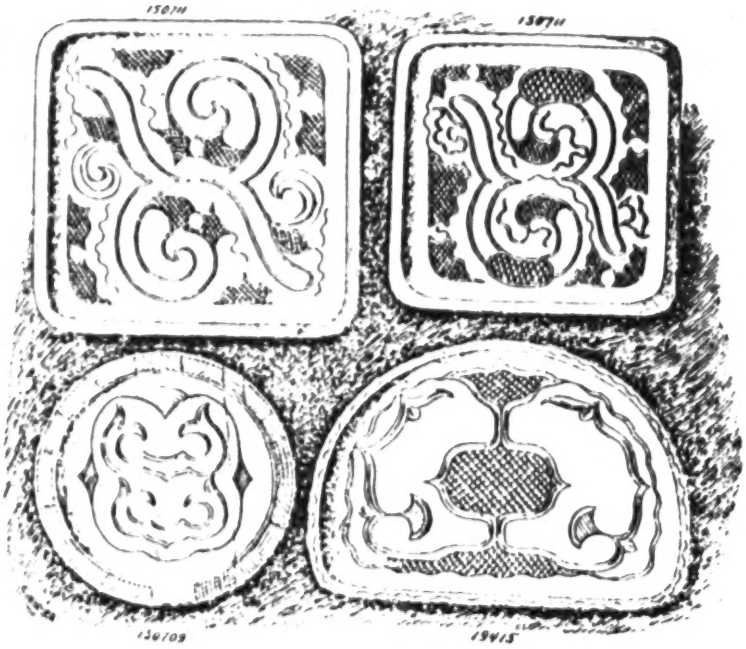


Fig. 74.
CARVED WOODEN PLATES.

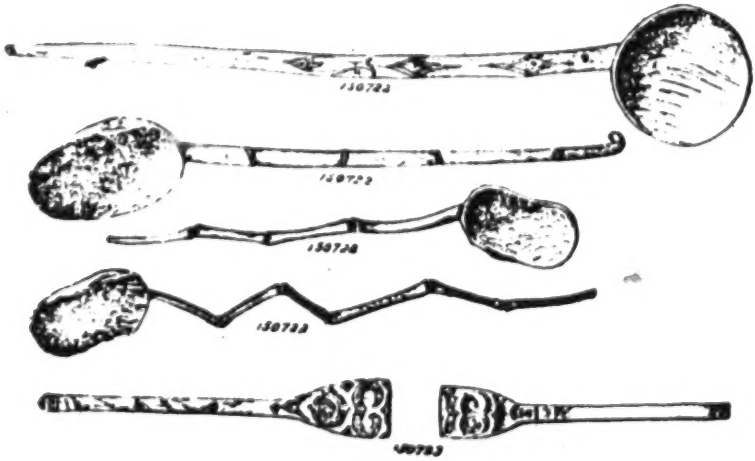


Fig. 75.
WOODEN SPOONS AND CARVED SPATULAS USED IN EATING.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

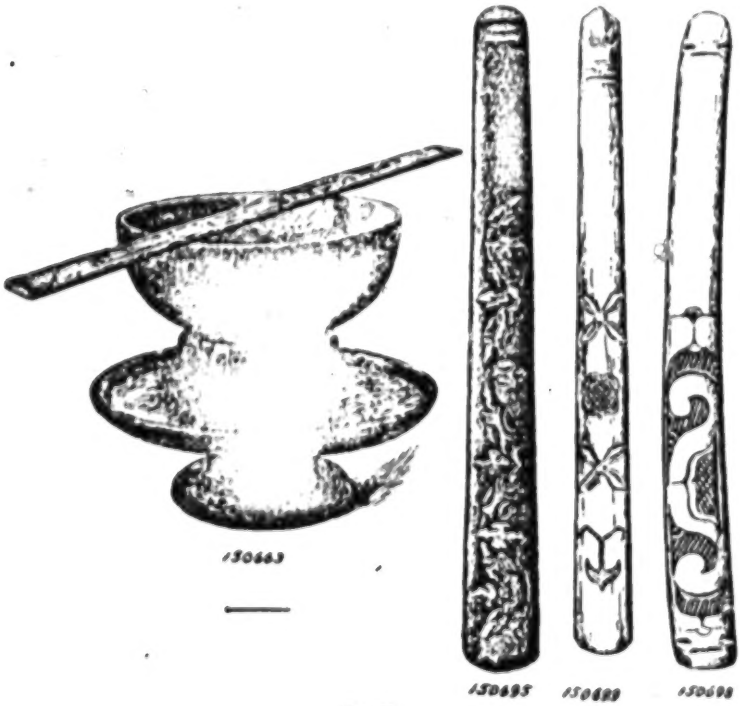
A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Ainu village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276
531]

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

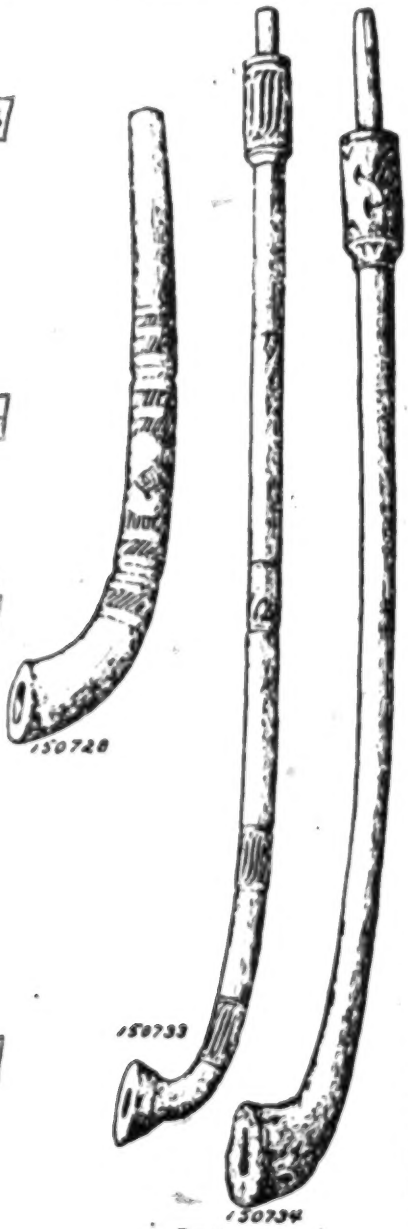


Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782 Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

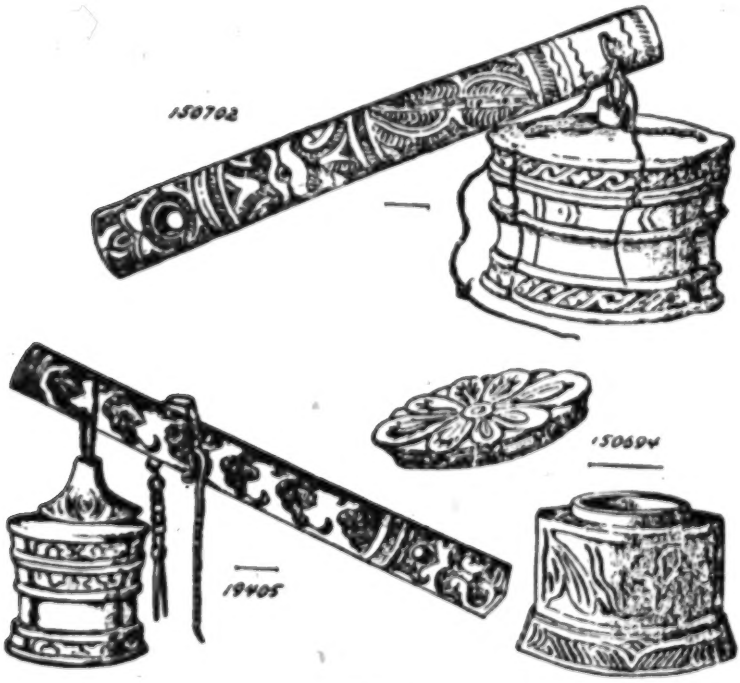
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 276 782

The sakó drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276



[531 415]

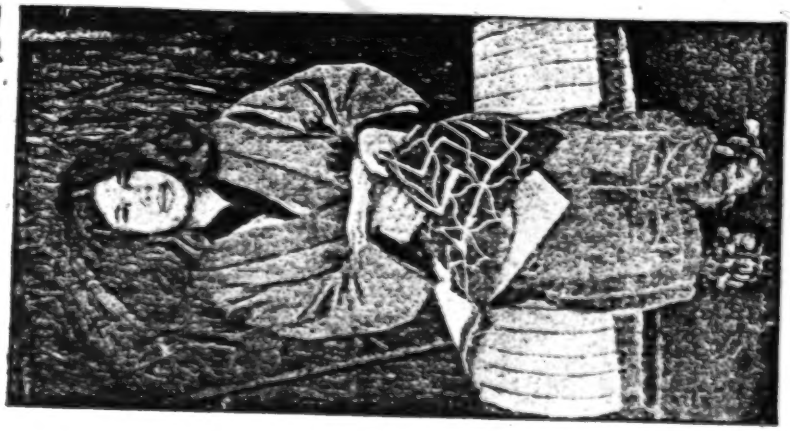
Fig. 78.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

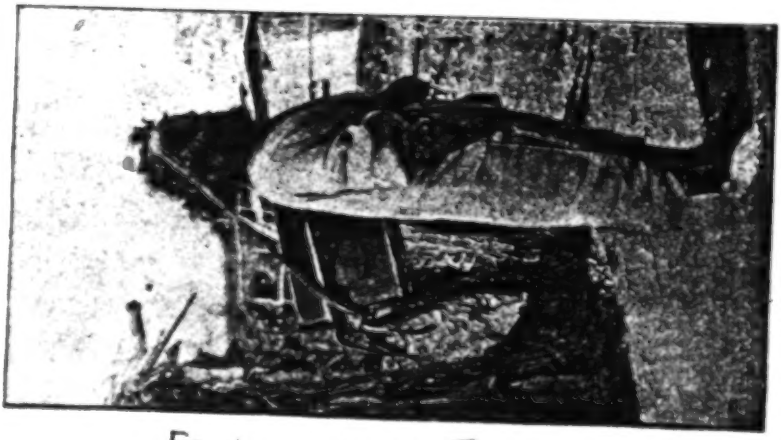
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

●531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera*. Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [B24] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.

AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

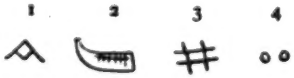
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212



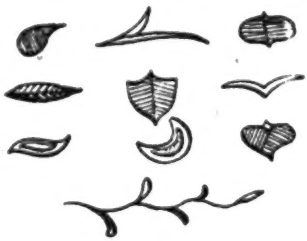
Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale;* Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind. 532 413 157

Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy. 532



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels. 531

ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.

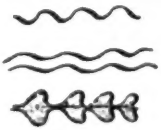
ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.

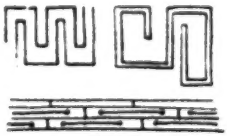


WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

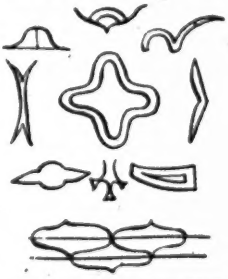
REVERSED COIL.

Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.



FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.



OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

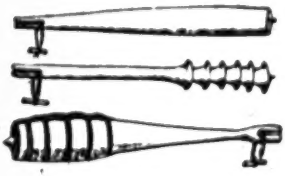
532 [322] I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

411 and how when the arrow is drawn from the flesh the poisoned point remains inside the wound.

The arrows, when in war or hunting, are kept in a quiver, and a small *Inao* is hung to it to bring good luck to the owner.

Spears and harpoons of one barb are common, and some of the poisoned spears have heads similar to the arrows but of a larger size. Spears are out of date now, but harpoons are still employed in fishing.

Knives are the weapons on which a modern Ainu most relies. Some of these knives are of such length that they might pass for swords. The blade is single-edged, and is protected by a wooden sheath. Nearly every man possesses one, which he carries in his girdle when dressed; when naked, he

[531]

AINU KNIVES.

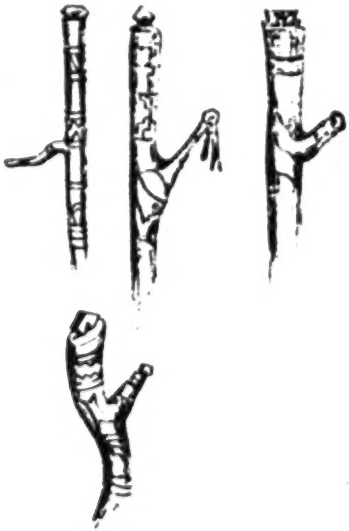
carries it in his hand. The illustration shows knives of different sizes, and with different patterns worked on them. From an artistic point of view the sheaths of knives are the most carefully wrought over, and ornamented to a greater extent than any other article of Ainu manufacture.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then come the graves. The Ainu are very jealous of these places of eternal rest, and good care is taken to hide them either in the midst of a forest, on a distant and almost inaccessible hill, or in some remote spot, difficult to find or reach. 764

Each village has its own semi-secret graveyard, in which all its dead are buried. Occasionally, when the site of a graveyard has become known to others than these local Ainu, the place is deserted, and a fresh place of sepulture is chosen. The manner of burial is as follows. The body, wrapped up in a *Kinna* (mat), is fastened to a long pole and carried to the grave by two men. All the villagers follow, each carrying some article which was owned by the deceased. A grave is dug, wide and long enough to hold the body laid flat. In it are placed the bow and arrows with their quiver, the knife—from which, for the sake of economy, the blade has been pre-

[531]



WOODEN MONUMENTS OVER MEN'S GRAVES.

MONUMENTS FOR WOMEN.

viously removed—and the drinking-vessel which belonged to the deceased, if he were a man. Women are usually buried with some beads, earrings, and furs. All these articles, carried

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

276
531

AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

291 291 531

BACK OF ATZIS.

291 294 531 562 294 531 291 [184]

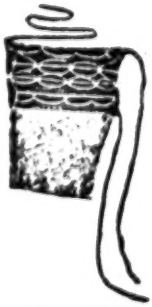
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [812]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531

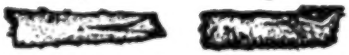


THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2



BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING. DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARRA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth ●[531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [600] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms
304 and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

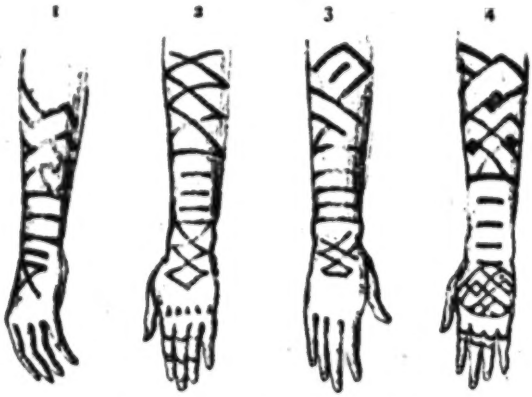
304 A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as
[564] the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line
[531] joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of 304
Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori.



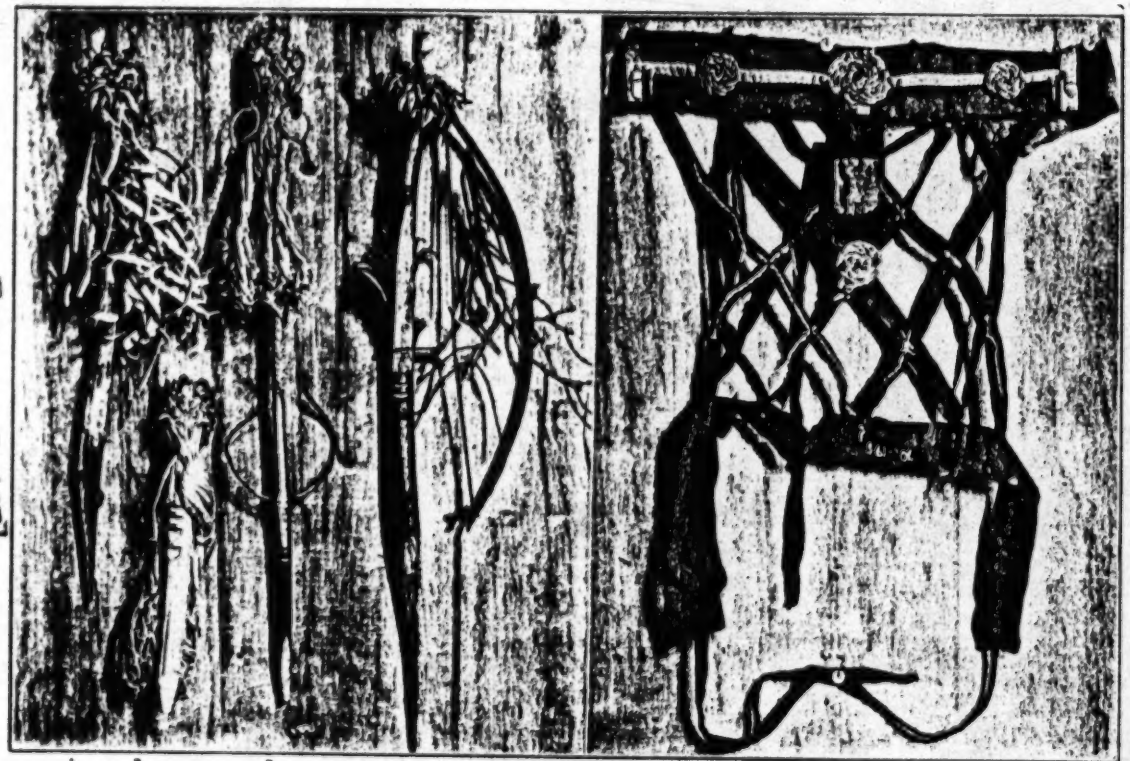
[531]

TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have 304
come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the [177]
fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the 184
two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2.

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have 304
already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6



1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with plaited shavings appliqued in the shape of magic coils and strings.

[Facing P. 427]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
778
531
413

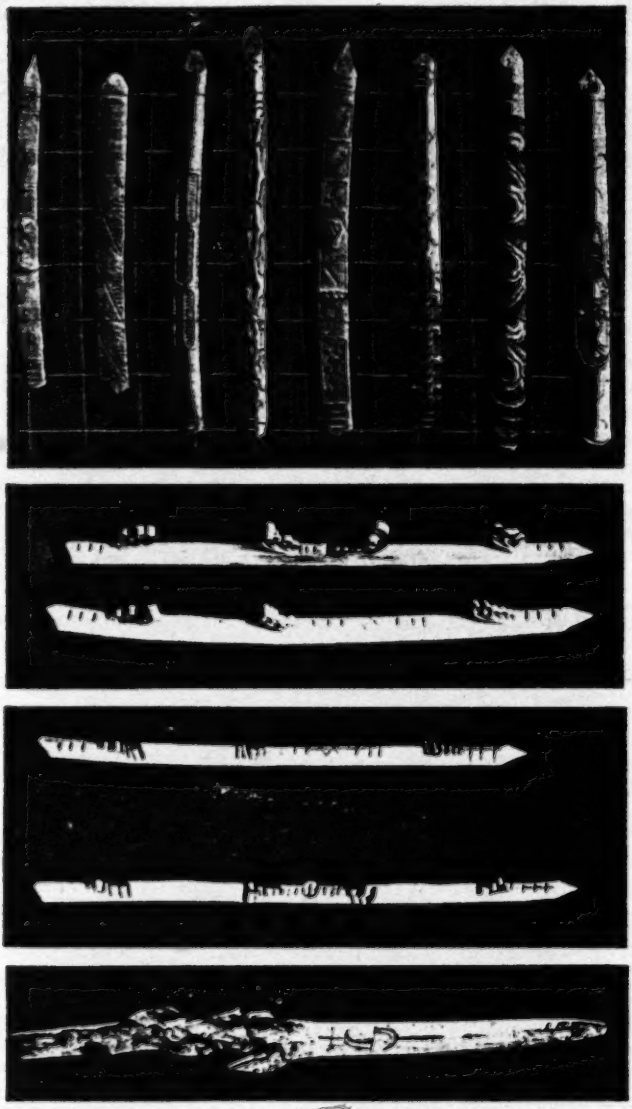


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30,(F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

422 [353] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they [523] were knife-worked. [177]

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects [342] that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and 422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, 411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu [531] and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when [755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

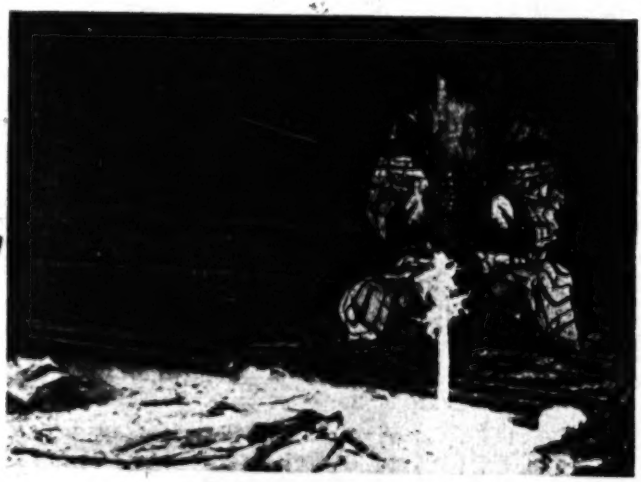
422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden 789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value [777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike [773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, [532] the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes 342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre- [513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), [264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the 342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing 574 (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

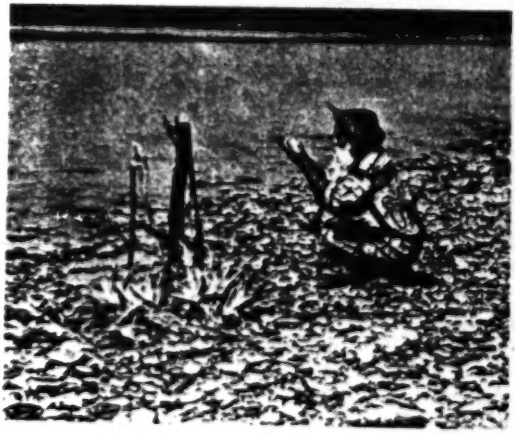


Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
[531]

Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
755
778
←
756
755
292
531
516
→

756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

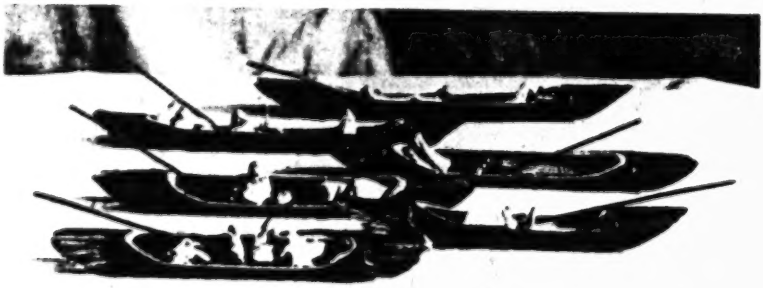
Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

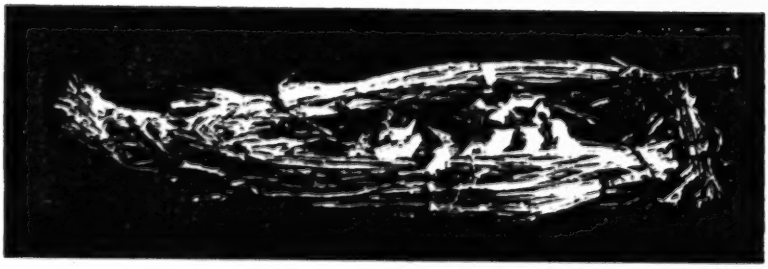


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

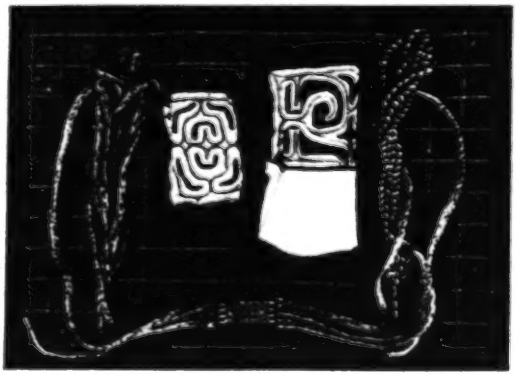
[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764
[775]
[789]

4.

[301]
[291]
[531]



3.

2.

1.

[p. 78, (H)]

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

342
535
291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
301
304
291
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531 ●
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*). 396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description. 534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *taphara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur. 825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it 304 789

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shionbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like [532]
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui [776]
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the [774]
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accom-
pany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*. ....and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 (13) A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934).
531 Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown
[778] and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 (14) Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River
614 area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula
608 of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18.). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." (Ibid.) A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* and *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
136

AN ANGRY BEAR
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P.204]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu hatu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

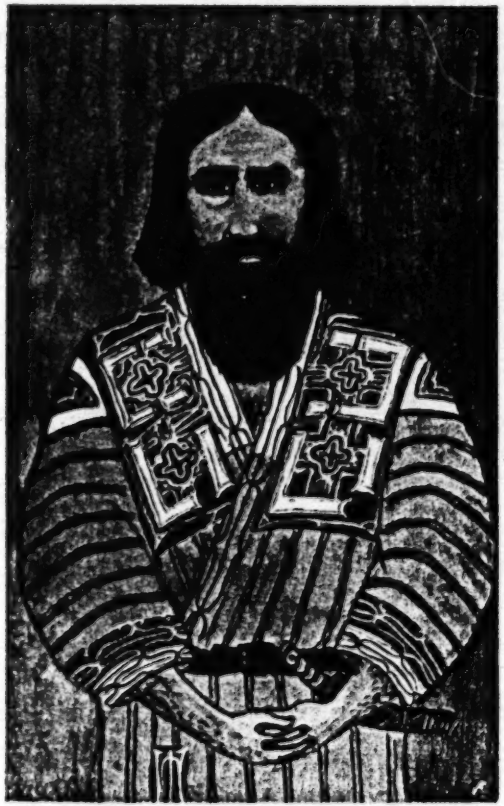
Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
302
304

YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

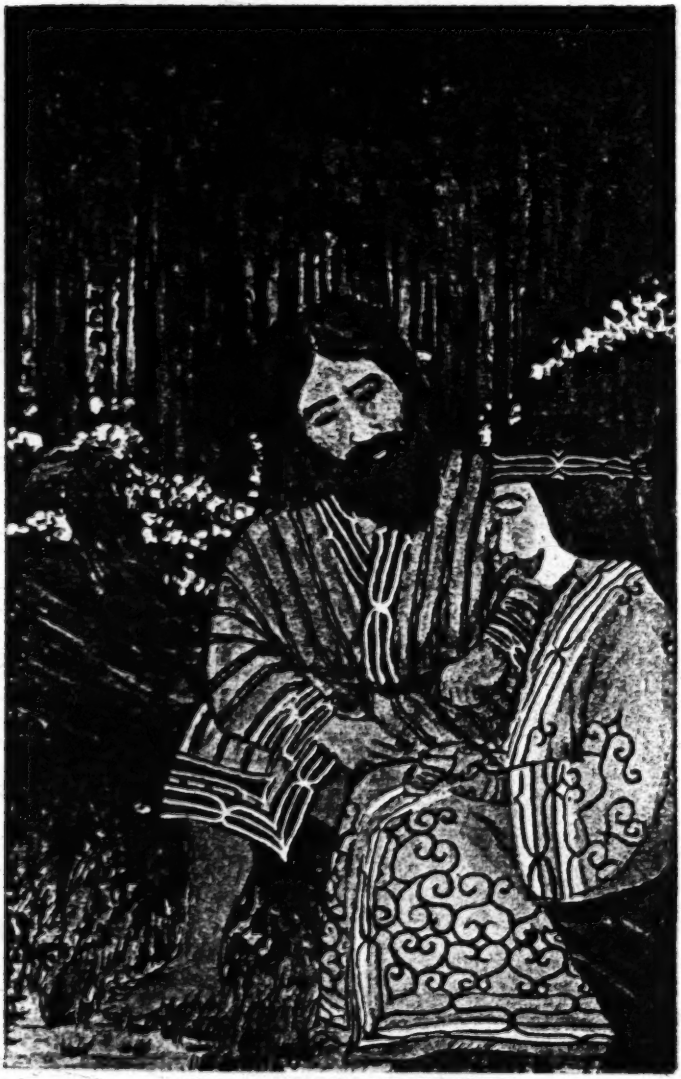


KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 436(A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
831
516
584



KUTRI AND YAI-MAII COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
531
342

THE HOME OF KUTRI AND YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[R444]A

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

532
224

HUNTING SCENE, SET-BOW.

[Facing p. 470]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

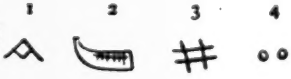
Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of [173] visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212 1 2 3 4



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

● 532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation. 532

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak. 532 322

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design. 532

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character. 532 184 412

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A 532 412

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small
412 open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

SIDE VIEW.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

532
413
157

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking

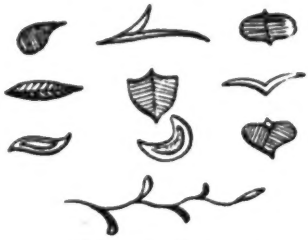
KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale;* Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind. 532 413 57

Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy. 532



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels. 531

ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

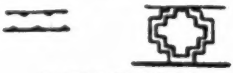
Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.



ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

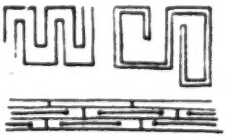
Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.

WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

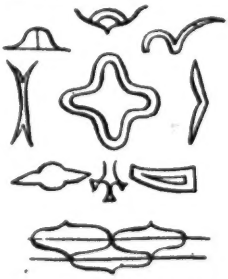
REVERSED COIL.

Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.



FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.



OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

532 I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

766A by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

[562] Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a 766 village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

766 532

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *swastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial out-
532 come of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude
152 beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low
181 in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

276
531

AN AINU PIPE.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front
322 (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primi-
[412] tive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

798 A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it ex-
532 hibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] 778 Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the 114 inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among [782] [532] some of their tribesmen.[2]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it 778 must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. 532 114 Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*.

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") 96 and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's 174 tongue." [193]

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents 778 nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost 171 identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
● [532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

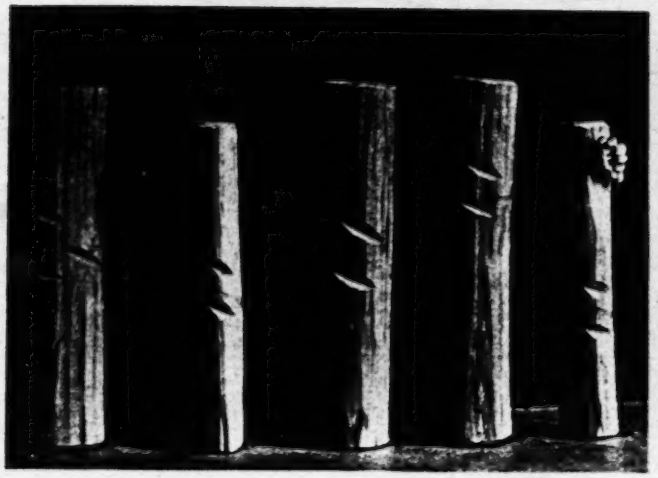
774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
776
532

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamul. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

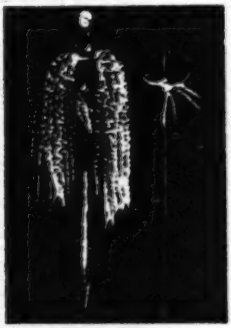
[p. 30, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
778
532

1.

2.



3.

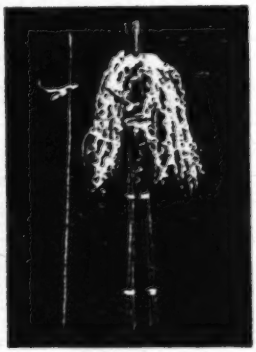
[825]
[796]

4.

[844]

5.

6.



7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

776
796
782

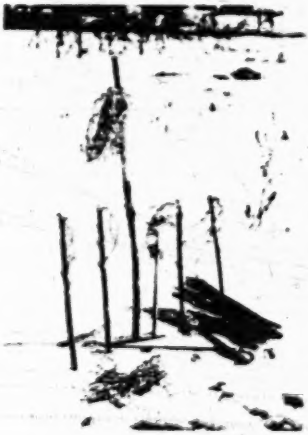
[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]



3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
●532
212

ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

THE INAU

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inauk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
● 532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 776 ●532 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 776 532 [789] [171] Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 776 552 532 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

532 778 776 184 [796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1906-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
776 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
●532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaruye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

776 EFFIGIES

778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifuna-*
● 532 *rep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of
[755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
[184] the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[789] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764
778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like [532]
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui [776]
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom [774]
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
●532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

9: Lavrov--1 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
171

/32/

The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

A
G
532
114

A
G
[113]

1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Ainskaia Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

A
G
[113]

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, sviazannye s Amurskoi lodkoi (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A
G
532
114
[13]

/32 cont./

Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

A
G
532
114
171

mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

A
G
114
121
532

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
• 532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out

A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178

5. See L. Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

*532
825
178
[113]

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825
[171]
[114]

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

[113] 6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the picto-
224 graphic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and
211 with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee
171 and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have
[114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

532 [113] /38 cont./

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L.Y. Shternberg, in Ainskaia problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for [825] the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation develcped on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 171 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

A /39 cont./

•532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

G
171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
532
825

Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A
172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.
532
825

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
825

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

/39 cont./

•532
825

heads, wound by cords made of bark.

Figure 6, page 39.

Ainu sticks ikunisi: a) high relief carving (swallow and bear head); b) high relief carving (swallow chasing a whale, and swallow in enclosure); v) stick wound with cords made of bark; g) and d) carving imitating intertwining of cord. Reproductions from various sources.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
797
*175
792

reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[40] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

---

[40] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshû into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshû is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyō Kikyō*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

A
●[533]
[539]
[788]

Nembutsu Shonin *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu shohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* *Epakashimuko Taka*)
Sooner or later all men must die once
(*Tonashikamorika* *Arishimu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* *Raiwa Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yaaki Shi Scihere Osiyora Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there and live as he pleases
(*Omansekutoha* *Yaeramu Ainine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiko Otare* *Enu Kashikeura Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Tahan Mushirikata* *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etsnhako* *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* *Kashiketa Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funn Hetsune* *Shomaorai Ruhone*).
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namnamidabutsu* (*Namnashitaki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namnamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko. Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[265] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the
152 power of words to compass.

After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune,
576 the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted
533 in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo;* and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they
[516] have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all 533
music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds 151
which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed 861
a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are 533
mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the 534
Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

534 ment; and as it is applied by them to all Japanese instruments of music, it shows that they do not distinguish very sharply one instrument from another. Though in my long journeying I found one of these *mukkos*, I was never able to discover any Ainu who could play on it, and the Ainu of Ishikari from whom I bought it told me that the man, the only one, who could play on it, was dead. This was unfortunate, as none of the others could tell me how he tuned it; and one old man, in attempting to solve the problem, broke three strings. Seeing that I was then quite unable to learn any of the tunes of the deceased Ainu Paganini I purchased the instrument, and found by cross-examining the natives that it was played by twanging the strings with the fingers, and not with a plectrum, as is the case with the Japanese *shamesen*. In the illustration I have faithfully drawn a front and a side view of this instrument, so as to give the reader an exact idea of its shape. The Ainu of Volcano Bay sometimes make bamboo jew's-harps for their children; but even those are very uncommon, so we might as well define Ainu music as entirely vocal. Ainu music is sentimental, and not displeasing, but it is monotonous, and continually repeats itself. It is difficult to establish a rule as to what order of intervals their music is founded on, as their progressions, modulations, and rhythmical effects are often so peculiar as to make it impossible to indicate them accurately by means of our musical notation; but the nearest approach to it is the diatonic minor scale. The Ainu are fond of chromatic intervals, and when their recital comes to an exciting point they make use of this method in a

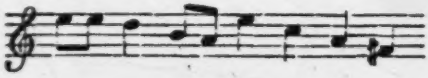
A "MUKKO," OR MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

SIDE VIEW OF THE "MUKKO."

533

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:— 533



The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain 533
form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the 538
folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu— [177]
are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, [242]
it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body. 539

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language. 538 [177]

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs. 533

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow, 533 755 [753]

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
[190] tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
755 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
[992] are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 114
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533●
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (51) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, [562] imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoise*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

764

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 291 [439]

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Ainos are not a very musical people, and the only instrument that can positively be identified as their own is a kind of Jew's harp made of bamboo. Fig. 80

Fig. 80.
A MOKURI PLAYER.

shows this instrument and how it is played. The one in the Museum collection measures 5¾ inches in length.

There is a kind of five-stringed guitar, which I have only seen figured in books. At the Sapporo Museum there is a three stringed instrument, but of quite a different shape. The former, known as the *tonkari*, has been described by Dixon in the "Chrysanthemum Magazine," of 1882, where there is an excellent illustration; but since that publication is not now accessible, Fig. 81 is copied from a Japanese *makimono* belonging to Dr. G. Brown Goode. Mr. Blackiston, in speaking of this instrument, says it was mentioned by a Japanese traveler in Yezo long before the Ainos from Saghalin took up their abode in Yezo, from which he infers that it was not introduced from Saghalin. It is not common, and in the course of my travels I was unable to discover a single one, although the instrument was known to the Ainos in different sections of the country.

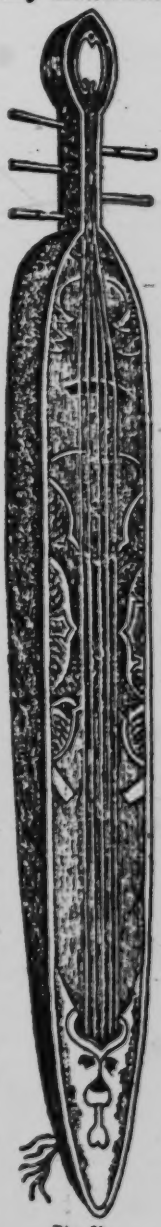


Fig. 81.
TONKARI.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¼ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2¼ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9¼ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¼ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3¼ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3¼ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

Mokuri.—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

[534] *Bark dishes.*—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

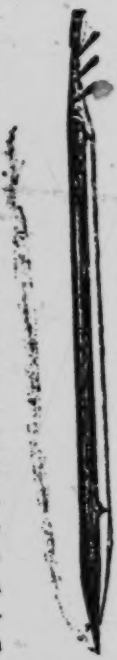
The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all 533
music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds 151
which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed 861
a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are 533
mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the 534
Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

534 ment; and as it is applied by them to all Japanese instruments of music, it shows that they do not distinguish very sharply one instrument from another. Though in my long journeying I found one of these *mukkos*, I was never able to discover any Ainu who could play on it, and the Ainu of Ishikari from whom I bought it told me that the man, the only one, who could play on it, was dead. This was unfortunate, as none of the others could tell me how he tuned it; and one old man, in attempting to solve the problem, broke three strings. Seeing that I was then quite unable to learn any of the tunes of the deceased Ainu Paganini I purchased the instrument, and found by cross-examining the natives that it was played by twanging the strings with the fingers, and not with a plectrum, as is the case with the Japanese *shamesen*. In the illustration I have faithfully drawn a front and a side view of this instrument, so as to give the reader an exact idea of its shape. The Ainu of Volcano Bay sometimes make bamboo jew's-harps for their children; but even those are very uncommon, so we might as well define Ainu music as entirely vocal. Ainu music is sentimental, and not displeasing, but it is monotonous, and continually repeats itself. It is difficult to establish a rule as to what order of intervals their music is founded on, as their progressions, modulations, and rhythmical effects are often so peculiar as to make it impossible to indicate them accurately by means of our musical notation; but the nearest approach to it is the diatonic minor scale. The Ainu are fond of chromatic intervals, and when their recital comes to an exciting point they make use of this method in a

A "MUKKO," OR MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.



SIDE VIEW OF THE "MUKKO."

533

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396
782
[778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534
789
[821]
[224]
[531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825
789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304
789

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

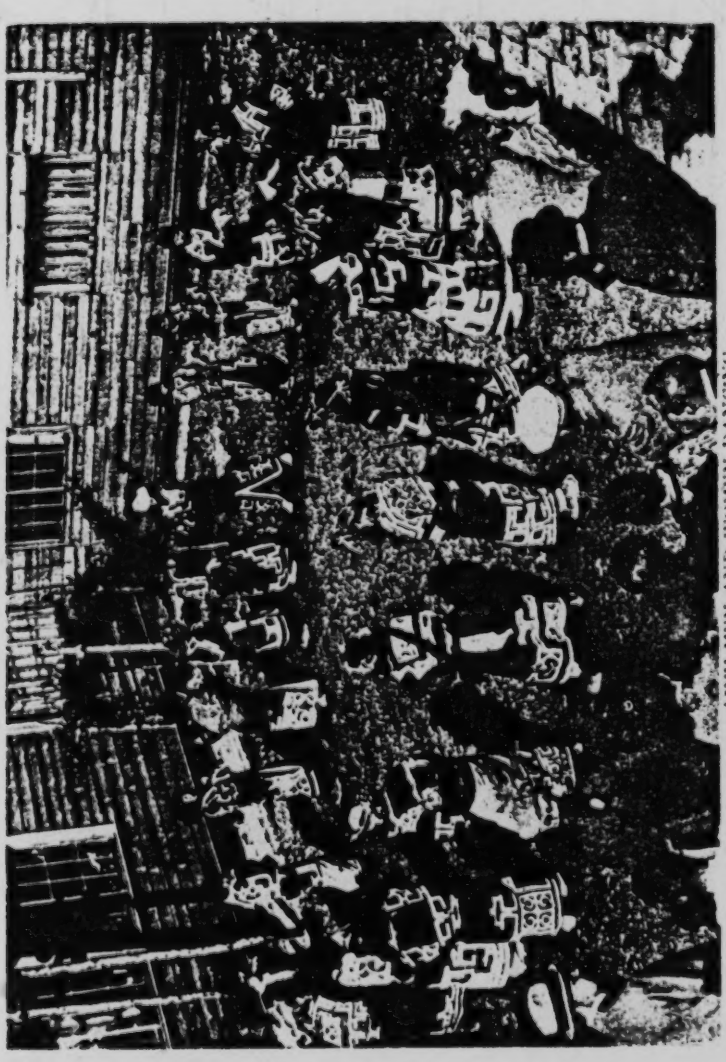
535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●535



AINU MEN AND WOMEN DANCING

[p. 422]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

 A 796 [722]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

A [778] A G 171 796

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
373 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[780] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
[273] the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[292] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 tive and well-composed till then, went into fits of laughter when Gounod's masterpiece was played, and all through it the noise of people laughing was so great as to drown entirely the orchestra and singers. Some of the women in the audience nearly went into hysterics at the long *legato* notes at the beginning of the piece. Louder melodies and of a livelier character did not affect them so. I wish to draw attention to this fact, that amongst all primitive peoples the native music is sad and slow—the livelier melodies coming later; and also, that with both wild and domestic animals the most noteworthy effects are produced by slow and simple music. We all know how dogs will remain quiet and calm when a soft and gentle air is played, but get furious to the point of savageness under the "plan-plan-rataplan" of a merry noisy tune. As for the last ●535 item connected with Ainu music, viz., dancing, it is rarely practised, even by the Ainu women, to whom alone it pertains. At the best it is of a very rude form. In the Piratori festival (Chapter IV.) we have seen that their dancing is accompanied by rhythmical sounds imitating the noises produced by implements in everyday use, as the squeaking of a paddle by the friction on the canoe, the cry which accompanies the pounding of millet, blowing alight the fire, and similar sounds. Time is kept by clapping the hands and by vociferations which tell the partners what position or action to assume, each action being accompanied by a different sound, but all performed while the hopping is kept up. I have not felt justified in classifying these rhythmical sounds, which accompany the dancing, as choruses, for there is not enough in them to constitute either a tune or a melody. They are suggested more by the action of the arms and upper part of the body than by the steps; in fact, if it were not for the continuous hopping it would be more accurate to describe Ainu dancing as "posturing." The dancers form a circle, with sometimes one or two children in the centre. As there are no professional musicians, there are no professional dancers; but though each man may be his own composer of music, the women never alter their dances, which are handed down unchanged from one generation to another. [527] It is only at festivals that the dance is performed, and never inside the huts, but in the open air. It is not for the amusement of spectators, for besides one or two of the older women,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spectators there are none; but it is for the enjoyment of the dancers themselves. The men do not seem to take the slightest interest in the dancing, and apparently regard it as unmanly. They remain in the hut drinking while the girls enjoy themselves in this way outside, and should one of them by chance come out, he would stop and look on no more than men in civilised countries would stop and watch little children at play. On the other hand, on such occasions Ainu matrons squat in a semicircle not far from the dancers, and keep up a lament-like or sometimes quarrelsome conversation among themselves, and occasionally encourage the girls in their hopping, and suggesting *encores* of this figure or that, which, between one quarrel and another, has taken their fancy.

535

[276]

A WOODEN PIPE.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema-expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
535
291
531

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa hamui ran wa niteh ha cren, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, ● 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

APPENDIX II

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

A /737 cont./

796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ÿżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchá and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulātsch, an attribute that means the
G [778] same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
[532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news
[203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
● [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 764 291 [439]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-hote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

The lore, legends and customs collected in this book 114-
have a pathetic interest as being almost the last echoes 538
to be heard of the old life of a declining and fast disappearing race of men, who have never had a literature and are therefore leaving absolutely no written records behind.

Many of the chapters first appeared in the *Japan* 114-
Advertiser, published in Tokyo. Several of the subscribers to that paper have been so good as to express a desire to have them in book form, and the author has gladly fallen in with the wish, especially as his former book, "The Ainu and their Folklore," has long [113]
been out of print. He only hopes the reader may find as much pleasure in reading these old "Echoes" as he himself has had in collecting them. He first came in contact with the Ainu as a young layman in the year 1877 and has ever since been in very close contact with them. In the year 1879 he joined the Church Missionary Society, of London, and from that time till 1924 remained in connection with that Society. Having then more than attained the age limit, he retired, but is still on the spot, doing what he can privately to help the Ainu on. Dr. Batchelor has also received the very high distinction of being made an honorary member of Hokkaidō Government and is in receipt of a pension in recognition of his work among the Ainu race.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu.

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market.

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Aínu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the 533
end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—

The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain 533
form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the 538
folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu— [177]
are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, [240]
it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539
rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-n.," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or. love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538
repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am in- [177]
clined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhvme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533
by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533
illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755
spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [753]
when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu A86

178
273
887
796
769
574

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *taphara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574
538
769
[177]

small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[056] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[056] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [78] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 156

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44] 101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45] 538 ●

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46] 167 578 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern 208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

F
*648
797
*175
792

reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[40] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

---

[40] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshû into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshû is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyô Kikyô*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

A
[533]
●[539]
[788]

Nembutsu Shonin *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu shohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* *Epakashimuko Taka*)
Sooner or later all men must die once
(*Tonashikamoreika* *Arishimu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* *Raiwa Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yaaki Shi Seihere Oniyora Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there and live as he pleases
(*Omansekutoha* *Yaeramu Ainine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiho Otare* *Enu Kashikewa Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Takan Mushirikata* *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etnihako* *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* *Kashiketa Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funu Hetsume* *Shomaorai Ruhone*)
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namuamidabutsu* (*Namuashitaki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko. Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

It will be seen in the next chapter how a certain 562
haunted man professed to despise his departed spouse and how he said that now she was dead and buried he never wished to see her again. But it must not be supposed from this example and one or two more I might cite if necessary, that the Ainu men are misogynists, for they are not so. However, they sometimes tell a remarkable story of the creation of Hokkaidō (Yezo), which hits very hard at any talkative woman's capacity for chattering. It is also sometimes quoted by the hearth to children, in order to inculcate the [861]
principle of working rather than talking. Hokkaidō, we may remind ourselves, is a fine island about the size of Ireland. It has good, rich soil, great abundance of wood, and much coal and other minerals. It has also extensive plains and is well watered. But the western coasts of the island are much more rugged and precipitous than the eastern, and the legend now about to be cited has to do with this fact. It is as follows.

"The island of Yezo was made by two deities, one 539 ●
of whom was a male, and the other a female, and they 562
were sent by the Creator of the world. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, while to the male deity were assigned the south and eastern parts. For a time they vied with each other in their tasks to see which would get through first. But as the female was proceeding with her work she happened to meet with the sister of Aeoina, and in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat
562 with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and
[181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *nupe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 great whales." So much did the Ainu despise those
773 supposed "little men."

But the whole crux of the matter lies in a word, and philology has been very hardly dealt by sometimes. Take two instances only as examples of what I mean. In studying Hebrew it was once remarked by a student that it seemed to him that the principle of the language was this: "Every consonant is interchangeable with the others and the vowels do not count!" But to get nearer home, a gentleman was once very much exercised as to the derivation of the Japanese word, *neko*, "cat." He thought, and thought, and thought again on the problem. At last he said to himself, "Cats eat rats and seem to be very fond of them. Now the word for "rat" is *nezumi*, and "to be fond of" is *konomu*. Now I clearly see the reason. *Ne* is the first syllable of *nezumi*, "rat," and *ko* is the first syllable in *konomu*, "fond of." So we have *ne-ko* "fond of rats!"

Koropok-guru, as these supposed dwarfs are named, can by no manner of reasonable means be made to mean "dwarfs" or "dwellers beneath the petasitis." Its unforced, simple meaning is "people who live below," *i.e.* "pit-dwellers." And I believe these pits were none other than those which the ancient Ainu, Tungus and Oroks tribes used to live in, as men do even now at times in the north. I repeat, we find no names of places in Hokkaidō in any strange language. To Anra, however, in his hysterical ravings, these beings were very real, and according to him they were wild, spiteful, intolerant and malevolent demons.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX

CHAPTER V

THE AINU AND OROKS AT WAR

A
G
648

One day, when we were staying at Hakodate, we had Chief Penri with us. On a certain afternoon he went out and returned in a very wrathful mood, "for," said he, "I have just met an *Orokata* (*Orok*) who was very rude to me." "Oh," I replied, "who was he and what has he been doing?" "The beast! He didn't do much," he replied, "but his manner was very condescending and his speech most haughty." "Oh, is that all?" I said. "No," he said, "it isn't. He actually had the impudence to offer me tea to drink!" (Penri of course wished for *saké!*) In this little incident we find another echo of the past, for the feelings these two worthy men exhibited toward one another were of quite a hereditary nature.

The Ainu of Saghalien have for untold ages been in close contact with the Orokata, or Oroks, as they are now called in brief, and their traditions give us to understand that they were not always on very friendly terms with each other. The Yezo Ainu from of old knew of the Oroks, and Chief Penri had no good word to say about them. The Orok tribe, as the legend now to be cited will show, used reindeer as beasts of burden, and not dogs, as the Ainu did.

A
648
539
G
648

"There were six Ainu gentlemen who had their homes at Taraika. One of them one day went to visit the Oroks, who he found kept a big herd of reindeer (*Cervus Tarandus*). Upon entering one of their houses, he sat himself down by the hearth, and his host expressed great pleasure at meeting him. He set before

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A
539 him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared
648 with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.*
G The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly
648 refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

G
[262]

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

A
[764]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war. A 539 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him. G 648

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty. A 764 184 A [441 171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A
539
648
G
648

"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Tan-atui*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

A
[342]

*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldl RX3

A
539
648
G
648

women into captivity, where they married them. Yes, they seized the Ainu women of Karere, married them, and had children by them." And so this war came to an end.

The legend tells us that the Taraika gentlemen were dressed in armour. The word used for "armour" is *kusari*. The *kusari* were coats made of cords and nets covered thickly with adhesive mud or clay well dried in the sun. Sometimes the foundation consisted of salmon skin. Rather bad for wet weather warfare, I should imagine! I have also heard of coats covered with stones tied on with string used as armour. Ainu bows were often made of yew, and though short were quite strong.

After reading this story we may well expect to find a great blood relationship between the Ainu and Oroks. In fact, it is said by themselves that they no longer fight with one another because they are so closely related. Neither likes to begin a fight, they say; yet, "if our friends over yonder desire to begin a quarrel, we are always ready to fall in!"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

On walking through the forest one evening with an Ainu chief, we had to pass through a marsh, and I was much struck as we went along by a peculiar and very loud noise coming from among the reeds. So loud was it that we could not carry on any conversation, for if we attempted to do so the noise was immediately enhanced. *Oat, oat, oat,* came the croaks from every direction. And "Beasts, beasts, beasts! Demons, demons, demons!" answered the chief in return.

304
1539

On reaching home, by which I mean the chief's hut, I seated myself on an empty *sake* tub which served as my chair, and began to question him as to who the "beasts" and "demons" were, who were making all that noise. "Ah," he said, "they are demon frogs." And so he, his wife and I spent a happy evening discussing this matter. Said he: "If you will catch a marsh frog and examine it, you will find marks on it resembling the tattooing of women. They sprang from a woman who was cursed by the gods and punished by having her body changed into a frog and her soul into a demon. All that is left to show that it was once a woman are the slight traces of tattoo marks which by a careful scrutiny may be found on its hands (fore feet)." It was very pathetic, sitting there listening to such folklore, cited and thoroughly believed in by this old man and woman. The following is another story:

"In olden times there were a man and woman who became husband and wife. After a few months they did not get on well together. This was because the woman was a bad character. She was disobedient to her parents and in the end bewitched them so that they died. She also killed her husband in the same way. In the course of time she married no less than six husbands, every one of whom she killed by her wicked spells. But God observed all this and was angry with her. He therefore punished her by turning

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 her into a frog and casting her far away into a marsh.
539 At the same time He said to her, 'O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominably iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother but thy husband besides and several others. I am therefore now turning thee into a frog. Thou shalt henceforth live in marshes and on the edges of lakes and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs and hop about in the slime of the most filthy places. If thou shouldst venture into the dwellings of men, they will without more ado knock thee on the head and throw thy carcase away.' So spake God.

825 "This, then," said my chief, "is the true account of
304 the origin of frogs. It is because a woman was the
539 ancestor of these creatures that they have the tattoo marks on their hands. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality. They are demons. Yet as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Main Island of Japan every winter to market. When they return they eat, drink and make merry in their dwelling places. This is the noise one hears in the spring time—*Oat, oat, oat.*"

In continuing his lecture the old man said, "Frogs are called by three names which are: 'Dwellers among reeds,' 'Dwellers in lakes' and 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' As a whole class they are called 'Hoppers' and 'Hop-and-eaters.' They are given the last name because when they see flies or other insects upon which they feed, they open their mouths, blink their eyes, hop forward and suck in their prey. It is because they go to Japan in the winter that they are named 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' Those we have just heard in the marsh have now returned and are making merry."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Before retiring to our rest, the chief said he would give me just one more legend connected with tattooing. 539

"Once upon a time a beautiful little sparrow threshed out some millet, placed it in six tubs, and set it by the east end window to ferment. After a few days had passed, the gods desired to partake thereof. The scent of the brew filled the whole house. When it had been strained and the time appointed for the drinking feast had arrived, a great multitude of gods were brought in and the feast was well furnished with guests. There were eagles and jays, crows and water ousels, fishhawks and ravens, and many other kinds of birds. All rejoiced greatly over the delicious wine. While they were drinking, the jay stood up and danced before the company. He went out of the house and when he returned he had an acorn in his beak which he dropped into the vessel. This improved the wine greatly and the gods were delighted. After this the raven danced. He also went out, but when he returned he had a piece of dirt in his beak which he brought and dropped into the wine. This spoiled it and caused a great uproar. It really seemed as though the poor raven would be torn to pieces. The guests therefore went out and called the woodpecker and asked him to come in to mediate. But he said, 'O sparrow, you made wine, but you did not invite me to your feast. And so I will not now come in to help you, even though the quarrel be so great.' After this they sent for the snipe, but he returned the same answer. As no one could be found willing to mediate, the poor raven was killed."

When I told the chief that I did not see where the tattooing business came in, he said he had quite forgotten and had given me the wrong legend, and he forthwith dished up this: "When God had finished the work of creation, He made a sparrow and placed him on earth. Whenever the people pound their millet, this bird comes and gathers up that which is scattered over 539 304

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 the sides of the mortar and eats it. This is why he is
304 called 'Little millet eater.' Now, when God had finished His work and was about to return to heaven, all the birds determined to make Him a farewell feast. But the sparrows were not informed of this, and when the time came they were very busy tattooing themselves. However, as the day fixed had arrived, the birds and bears and all other creatures arose early in the morning and set out to say goodbye. The sparrows, hearing much ado, inquired as to what it all meant, and upon learning the cause, left off their tattooing before it was finished and went with the rest, for there was no time to lose. Therefore, as may be seen even at the present day, the sides of the mouth were not touched but only the uppor part of the beak was tattooed. This may be seen even now if the beaks of sparrows be examined." And so ended another very pleasant evening with the Ainu.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

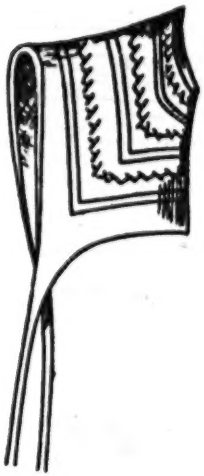
"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

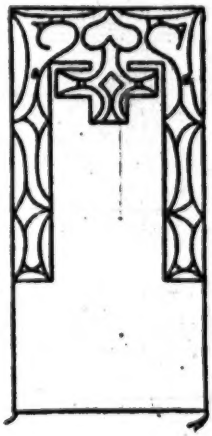
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go, poor unfortunates, and fell down into the depths below, where they were killed outright. It is therefore now well known that elm trees are peopled by demons."

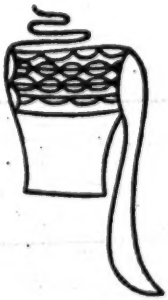
292
531



A HOOD



AN APRON



LEGGINGS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 080
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

● 539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to eat human beings as well. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh. But when the divine Aeoina descended from Heaven, he taught the people to make fish spears, bows and arrows, pots, pans and suchlike useful articles. He also ordered them to cook every kind of fish and flesh before eating it. He furthermore warned them against devouring human beings." If this be true, the Ainu were indeed a wild race when they first met the Japanese.

266
539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle 800
and draw their "dole."

Amid all her work the mother's love for her off- 855
spring is very great among this people, so that, ac- 462
cording to their lights and material ability they look after them well. I have now before me a story of a goat-sucker which owes its origin to the carelessness of a woman in nursing her child, and will be in point to quote in this place. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird. Pliny and Aristotle call it by the names Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which mean "goat-sucker." These names were given it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu knew nothing about goats and gave quite a different version of the origin of the name by which the bird now to be discussed is known to them.

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once 539
a human child, and that, out of sheer mischief, a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is meant to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. The being who stole the child and did all the mischief was the evil genius of swamps. Now, although the child once managed to escape from her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a bird, and possessed its nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babies when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women and that the sound of its note is looked upon as of evil omen.

"Once upon a time, in far away bygone days, a certain woman took her dear little baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 she placed the child securely in the cradle and left it hanging to a branch of a tree while she went further off to labour. After working for some time she began to feel tired, and so returned to the place where she had left her dear baby, thinking to take a little rest and give it some food. But alas, and alas, both child and cradle were nowhere to be found. Thereupon the mother was greatly distressed and wept bitterly; the people also gathered together to see what was the matter. When they heard about it, they wept and tried to comfort and help her. They searched high and low for the lost child; but all was in vain. As they were unable to find it, search as they might, they concluded that some wild beast had stolen it away. So, too, thought the mother. Having arrived at this conclusion they all returned to their huts with heavy, aching hearts and weeping eyes.

"After many days had elapsed and many nights had passed away, a voice was suddenly heard in the garden where the child had been lost, crying out, '*Hapo totto, Huchi totto,*' 'O mother, feed me; O granny, feed me.' But the people thought it was the voice of some demon or wild animal, and were afraid to go near the place, especially as the cry came at night.

"After a while all the people in the village had the same dream at the same time. In their dream the lost child came to them, and in an angry voice said, 'Pay ye attention, all of ye, to what I say. I am the baby which was lost, and this is the way it happened. The demon of swamps came suddenly upon me as I was hanging there on the tree in the shade by the garden, and, stealing me away, hid me among the marshes so that ye were unable to find me, search as ye would. By and by I seized an opportunity which offered to escape, and came back to the garden and called in a loud voice, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," for I had become hungry. But ye would not come to my assistance. The demon therefore came

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along and caught me away again and this time changed 539 my body into that of a bird. Yet, although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, "Hapo totto, Huchi totto," "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." For this reason the people call the goat-sucker 'Tokitto.'"

As such is the origin of the cry of this bird, and 000 as the sound of its note is so like a child calling, "O [136] mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep bitterly every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the Tokitto," for they may not say *totto chikap*, 'Breast bird,' because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep much, and it also makes them think of their lost offspring. Again, the goat-sucker only flies about and cries during the night time. The [776] reason of this is that the horrid demon of swampy places only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now a demon nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus we see that the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, but is now, alas, a dreadful demon. The name of the demon is *Nitat Unarabe*, and this means, "Aunt Marsh."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

● 539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to ex-
776 plain briefly. During his trance the man thought he heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

774 seen sea-lions and other marine animals carved on the moustache-lifters used by some of the men, and I have also seen many crowns with bear's heads and the heads of foxes and wolves carved on them. I believe these were originally totemistic signs and that such stories as those now related bespeak certain feuds or tribal wars among the people. And it is a matter of fact that when I first came down from the mountains and visited the dwellers at the sea shore of a certain place, the chief would not receive me because the language I spoke was that of the "hill men and dwellers among bears!"

Until within very few years ago, Robin Island in the Bay of Patience was a well known place for hunting fur seals, and many foreigners have made fortunes there. Formerly it was regarded by the Ainu as their own personal property absolutely, having been produced by an Ainu goddess. The people living in those regions made profit by bartering the skins of their kills to the Russians, Manchurians and Japanese. After a time the Russians took the island over, turned off the Ainu, and forbade them to take the skins any more. This has rankled in the minds of the men greatly, and although they have not said much to other people about it, they have spoken of it among themselves and friends and told them that they would not mind so much if the Russians would allow them to have a share either in the killing or profits realized. They consider themselves to have been very hardly treated. But as the Russians are said to have ruled by fear, they were afraid to air their grievance, lest they should be sent off into the interior of Siberia.

As a proof that the Ainu originally owned this island they quote the following legend:

539 "There lived a young woman in a certain village who had been adopted into a family with a view to making her in time the wife of the son. Though betrothed, they were not yet married. After a time she

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was found to be with child, whereupon her betrothed husband became angry. He thought the matter over and then flogged her with a strap, but not over-much. He felt better after that. They were then married and very soon she bore two little girls—twins. They grew up into fine women and were always strong and well. One of them became a wizard and practised sorcery. She was the prettier of the two and for this reason was called the Flower-of-the-Plain. 539●

"Now, the fact is this. Flower-of-the-Plain was the child of a sea god, whilst the sister had a land god for a father, although the mother had an Ainu for her husband.

"In olden days there were no islands off the cape called "Land's End," toward the north. But Flower-of-the-Plain, being the child of a sea god, and a mighty shaman, used her sorcery and raised up an island from the sea off the Bay of Patience. (This is Robin Island) Soon this island was covered with one and two year old seals, and its name became "One-two-year-old-seal-island." These animals increased so mightily that the waters round about it were at times covered with them.

"Now one day Flower-of-the-Plain took a boat and rowed off to the island she had produced, and built herself a house, beautiful to behold, on the top of a reef projecting into the sea, and there she dwelt alone. Soon her kinsfolk went there in boats and killed seals. When they had quite filled their boats to the very brim they sailed back to the mainland. This they did yearly.

"After a time the people about the village where Flower-of-the-Plain's family and kindred dwelt had a big quarrel. So great did the commotion become that her immediate kindred got into a very big boat and came to her island. It was a migration, and Flower-of-the-Plain received them all, men, women and children alike. Not one returned.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 539 "They caught very many seals indeed. Others also came, more and more as the years went by, and also killed many. By degrees the young seals were destroyed, so that now one can only see an odd sea-lion or sea-bear now and again. The coasts are deserted. Formerly, the island being well stocked with beautiful fur-bearing seals, the Ainu were able to live well and prosper. Now alas, the Russians have come and seized our property."

This is a true echo and will live as long as there are any Ainu left in Saghalien to tell the story.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

other. So when the Creator produced the earth, He caused this creature to become its foundation. There lies the living trout underneath the world, regularly taking in and sending out the waters of the sea through his mouth. When he sucks the water in, the tide ebbs, and when he expels it, the tide flows." 823

The chief used often to wander from the point under consideration, and I found it much the best way to wander with him on such occasions and pull him up later. We had got thus far with the matter in hand, when he quite forgot the earthquake and stuck by the trout. The following is the legend he gave me:

"At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake, in which there used to live a monster trout. He was so big that he waved his pectoral fins at one end of the lake and flapped his tail at the other. Once upon a time the honourable ancestors met together and went to kill this fish. Though they tried to do so many times, they could not accomplish their end. The gods, who had a special regard for the Ainu, sent help from Heaven. The Heavenly Beings came down and seized the great trout with their hands. He thereupon plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force. Then the gods put forth all their might, and, dragging the creature to the surface again, brought him to the shore. The honourable ancestors then drew their swords and chopped him till he was quite dead." 539

The chief told me that "this trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing such animals as deer, foxes and bears which might venture near to drink, but would sometimes gobble up men, women and children; not only so, but he would devour whole boatloads of people, boats and all."

I pulled Penri up here and asked him to give me more information about earthquakes. So he continued thus: "The trout upon whose back the world is found- 823

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
● 539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he 772
added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land 539
and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of [775]
this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appear- 828
ed to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

[p133]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *fritillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.' 539

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.** [595 592]

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in today." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best garments. She then put her ear-rings into her ear-holes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the backyard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

[291 301]

"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the menfolk to come home.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"'As the evening drew near, the men came home 539 ● bearing a great load of fish. I quickly set to work and cooked them a meal. When they had finished eating, I said to them, "This morning I asked you to stay at home for just this one day but you would not listen to me. Now, yesterday your wife went to get tubers and while digging them up met with a man who helped her to collect them. And so they worked together. When she came home she set to work and prepared a special dish of which all the people and you yourselves partook. That is why I wished you to stay at home today. But you would not consent, and went off to catch fish instead. After you had gone, my elder sister filled a bark vessel with the particular food she prepared yesterday, which she had set apart. When we were at home quite alone today, she called to me and said, "Just come outside." Her ear-rings were in her ears and she was dressed in her finest apparel. Arrived outside, I saw a young man standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. The man ate up all the food she had brought. Then he struck her—his wife—and she became a she-bear; he next slapped himself and he immediately turned into a he-bear. They then went off together. I then returned to the house, and behold, I have been here awaiting your return. She has now finished her relationship with you—her two brothers."

"Hearing this, the younger man raved greatly and said, 'Those creatures called bears indeed! Many have I pierced with my lance and brought home. Bears indeed! What are they? So now having taken my elder brother's wife, that fellow has gone off with her! From my very childhood's days I have speared bears with my lance as if they were mere house mice! What! Has this bear suddenly become so insolent? Come what may, I will go off on his trail at once and follow him right up to his den.'"

Here the story is taken up by the young man.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "Twelve valiant men, ten of them carrying provisions on their backs and all furnished with lances and bows, went upon the trail. For two months, nay, for three months did they go on, and yet they were unable to reach the place where the bears were. The provisions gave out completely. Ten men then turned back to their homes and two only kept on the trail. On we went for two more days, nay, for three days with nothing to eat. Then I—the younger brother—said to the elder, 'Get you back. I will follow the trail up alone, even to the very place the bears have gone.' So my companion went back toward the seashore and I alone went forward. For six days I travelled without food.

"As I went on upward along the higher part of the bed of a stream, I came at length to a bear's den. I approached the threshold and looked in. I then saw that my brother's wife, early as it was, had got two children! Her husband was lying on his back not far from her. As I stood looking, I saw an old man and woman sitting inside. I stood still and scolded them roundly. Said I, 'Wherefore hast thou stolen my elder brother's wife and led her away with thee? For this come outside and let us fight till one or the other of us is killed. Come on.'

"The old man inside growled savagely and in wrath, and, throwing a box out to me said, 'Take this box and get off down to thine home. Then if thou askest for any other woman in thy village she will be given thee to wife. Both you and your brother will marry. It was because my son fell in love with the woman that they were married. So now I give thee this box. I am a bear and although thou thinkest I own nothing, yet I bestow part of my goods on thee. Take it as a remembrance. Do not be angry with me.'

"Yet wishing to fight him to the death, I still stood outside and challenged him. Then he said, 'Such being the case, I will give thee another box. So now thou

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

wilt have two boxes, and it will be well for thee if thou wilt at once withdraw thine anger into thy soul.' But I replied, 'Not at all. I desire to fight.' Then the old man growled and said, 'Thou art a man and hast a desire to fight. If it comes to a real battle thou wilt surely die. Even if thou shouldest kill me, I should come quickly to life again; I should live again. But as for thee, if thou once diest thou wilt entirely die. Therefore do not continue to wish to fight.' Still I was obdurate. Then he replied, 'Well, if you will fight, fight you shall.' 539

"Then the old man awakened his son and said to him, 'Rise up quickly. There is a man here who has followed thee right up to the threshold of our home and he wishes to fight with thee.' But the son did not stir. Then the wife said, 'I will go outside and do battle with the man if he will have it.' But the old man demurred and said, 'No, you are a woman and have but lately borne children. Do not go out to fight.' So said he. As I stood there in the doorway of the den the woman came out to me. She at once emitted magic force so that I could not even look at her. I was completely overpowered. This only do I remember, but as to what took place after the magic power reached me, I do not know in the least. At last, I came to myself and found I was lying in the deep bed of a stream. I had been lying on my back unconscious. When I came to, I turned over and fell into a sleep. In my sleep I saw a dream.

"The old man said to me, 'Thou camest here following thy brother's wife and wishing to fight, and thou hast got this from the woman. I might even leave thee without any compensation, but I have pity on thee. When thou arisest, go back down toward the seashore and I will give thee a bear cub. When thou beginnest to climb the mountain slope thou wilt catch one cub, two cubs, three cubs. As thou approachest nearer thy village, thou wilt again catch one cub, two

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 cubs, three cubs. Thou wilt catch ten in all. When thou comest to thy village the men will bring up these cubs and all will be well.

"'Moreover, right to the day of thy death, I will give thee sixty slain bears and creatures of the sea without number every year. When thou hast prepared many pelts, thou shalt sell them to the Lords of Japan. And thou shalt have much Ainu treasure. When thou wantest a wife in any village, thou wilt be able to buy one with thy treasure and cause thyself to be well fed. When thou goest back to thy village with thy wife and hast many children, they likewise after thee shall go hunting and I will give them little bear cubs as I do to thee.'

"Now this man presently married again and had many children, boys and girls. The daughters were taught by the women, but the man himself taught the boys. The man spent a long and happy life and at last died. His sons went hunting in the forest, as their father had done before them, and brought home sixty bears every year. They also hunted in the sea with like good fortune. Now when these children had all grown up and passed away, their children also lived and prospered after them. They had great wealth. The ancestors living in the other world are not at all disquieted as to what happens. It is good for people to live thus well."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773
over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825
common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539
firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; more- [753]
over, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fetishes and offered apologies; nevertheless, the man got no better at all. Later on the sick man had the following dream.

"In his dream a snake was seen, which said, 'O man! listen well to me. When you were getting firewood, you cut and killed a snake, and I am his brother. We are angry for our brother, and so have sent you this illness. And, although you have made fetishes and prayed, you have not recovered your health. For what we desire to have offered us are fetishes made from walnut wood; therefore make some of this tree and offer them to us; if you do so, we will make you well.' So spake he. After that the man woke up and told others about his dream. And so the men made fetishes out of walnut, and, offering them to the snake, made prayers. And then the man got well. This is how it came to be known to the Ainu that snakes like walnut fetishes. The reason why these creatures are called 'grass root' is because they move about among the roots of grass." Snakes are called "rope" by some.

825 "When the summertime has come and while it is very hot, the skins of the snakes peel off, and then the people say, 'Inasmuch as it is now very hot, the divine snakes have taken off their clothes; their skins have peeled off.' So they say.

[757] "Should there be a wart upon the foot or hand of anyone, if he will take the skin of a snake and rub the place with it, a cure is certain to follow. Or, should the insteps or back of the hands crack, then, if the skin of a snake be burnt to powder and rubbed into the places, they will be healed immediately.

"Snake skin is a woman's charm. Sometimes snakes come to the granaries and stay in them for a long time and leave their skins among the grain. When a skin is found there, it is treated with great care and respect. The men seeing it say, 'From now on, the year will be fruitful and this granary will be

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

filled. It seems as if there will be a fulness of grain, 825
for the divine snake's beautiful garments are here.' Then, taking the skin, they make walnut fetishes for it and put it away as a charm. This is the woman's personal talisman and is therefore placed in the granary.

"But the snake is not a very good deity. Its purpose in getting among the grain in the granary is not a good one. It goes for evil purposes. But the true reason for esteeming it and making a charm of it is to deceive it by flattery and so misdirect its mind and purpose. Once more. As regards snakes, when the people burn off the scrub and weeds from their land in order to make their garden plots, although snakes then sometimes get burnt up and so die, they may not get angry." Such is part of the Ainu lore, respecting snakes, and a wonderfully curious piece of lore it is.

In the chapter on Ainu women and tattoo I mentioned a legend dealing with the marks found on the forefeet of frogs, which the Ainu take as a remnant of tattoo, left by a woman who was transformed into a frog by a curse for evil done. In Ainu religious thought there is always a strong flavour of dualism [812] present, and the following legend shows one phase of this doctrine. It runs thus:

"As snakes have never been liked, the ancient Ainu 539
once met together and asked God to take them away. He heard their prayer and determined to get rid of them by starving them out. But when they were about to leave Ainu-land in search of food, a frog stepped forth and told them that if they would held its legs in their mouths they would not starve. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so nice that it gradually swallowed the whole body. From that time to this, frogs have been food for these reptiles. It was the evil one in the frog who thus frustrated the good purposes of the gods."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 A very extraordinary piece of lore concerning this matter is embodied in the following. "Some of the old Ainu have told of a large snake which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile was said to be of the feminine gender, of very great length, of a beautiful colour and very charming and seductive to look upon. But she was a very dangerous creature. One day she met an Ainu who was hunting far away among the hills, and tried to seduce him into evil. But he escaped her wiles, whereat she was very angry. As a punishment, she told him that he should be unable to die for a thousand years. And so it came to pass that when he attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, skin and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills of babyhood. As the snake said it should be, so it was. Ten times did he reach the age of a hundred, ten times did he lose his beard, hair and teeth, and ten times did he become a little baby. But when he came to be one thousand years of age he died. His name was Enewa, and this I believe to mean "Existing." At length, however, the mighty woman snake was slain by a man, and as the carcase decomposed the particles thereof became wasps and stinging ants."

Chief Penri told me that the worst kinds of snakes and vipers were originated by a famous Japanese warrior called Yoshitsune, who is said to have fled to Yezo in the twelfth century A.D. and lived for a time in hiding among the Ainu at Piratori. Having stolen a boat from his hospitable friends, he ran away. Being hotly pursued by his host, in his hurry to push his boat away from the river bank, the pole he was pushing off with snapped in two. One part stuck on the bank and became snakes and vipers, that in his hand he cast into the river where it turned itself into eels and lampreys. When I first went to Piratori the Ainu had nothing good to say about this Japanese hero.

[775 136]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But now comes another little piece of lore on this subject, and, although it still refers to Yoshitsune as the direct cause of the presence of the evil-dispositioned snakes in Ainu-land, the method of their production is different. The story runs thus: "When Yoshitsune was building a house for himself, he cut down an alder tree with which he proceeded to make a frame for his hearth. When he had finished the cutting and the pieces of wood were fitted together, one part began to wriggle about. This surprised him greatly, so he cut it in two to find out the reason. When it was cut, out popped a demon in the bodily form of a snake. This was the real ancestor of all bad snakes." 539

If one changes the name Yoshitsune into the Ainu hero, Aeoina the Divine, he gets the same legend, excepting that when Aeoina saw the piece on the hearth move, he became very angry, broke it in two and cast one piece away into the forest and the other into a river, where one stick became snakes and the other eels.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling.

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind.

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom
775 he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was
539 somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

son was away from home his father died. Just before his death, he called his elder son to him and told him that, as he was about to take his departure to Hades, he would leave his treasures and heirlooms and other property to be equally divided between him and his brother. 539

"A few days after his father's death, the younger son returned home and heard the sad news. He was very sorry, but, worse than all else, the wicked elder brother had taken every bit of property to himself, and nothing could induce him to do as his father had commanded. He said that all had been left to himself personally, as head of the family. A great quarrel then ensued, which waxed so hot that the brothers separated. The elder brother stayed at home and enjoyed himself, but the younger one took his quiver and bow and set out to find the passage by which his father had gone to the lower world. Having found the entrance he commenced the descent. He walked so quickly that he soon arrived at a large village full of people and fine houses. The dogs barked at him as he passed along, and he heard the people say, "Oh, there is a ghost about! There must be a ghost about!" They then began to present libations of wine to him.

"On and on he marched, the dogs still barking, till he came to his father's house. He entered the hut and tried to speak to his parent but could neither make himself seen nor heard. This very greatly distressed him, and so he set to work to find a way by which he might learn what he desired to know. At last he thought of this plan. As he was just a ghost, why should he not enter into some member of the village community and make him speak for him? He would try. So he entered the heart of a man near by and, borrowing his mouth and tongue, asked his father how he had left his property in the upper world. The father made answer that he had divided it all equally between his two sons. Then the young man returned

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 to the upper world and reported what he had done and seen and heard. Thereupon the elder brother begged his pardon and divided the goods with him. From that time on they lived happily side by side in the same village, till they took their last journey thence."

It would spoil these lovely legends to comment on them and so I leave them just as they are. But I must ask why some of our spiritist and necromancing friends do not adopt this Ainu method in their practice. Why, instead of playing at necromancy and so raising the dead up, do they not visit the dead in Hades themselves and bring us back something worth hearing? What good, reliable news has the spiritist or necromancer given us about the Kingdom of the Spirits? For the life of me, I have seen and heard none yet. All the Ainu see there is simply a replica of the present world. And who wants that?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *koku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a
knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should
give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus 583
and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an 144
admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, [184]
the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there 539
were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 was by the hearth, busy cooking food, some of which she gave the poor Tungus to eat.

"After he had finished his meal he asked the lady about her husband, saying, "Whither has thy husband gone?" "Oh," replied she, "he has gone hunting with his dogs and will return the day after tomorrow." The man spent the night in the house. Later on in the evening he fell in love with the mistress and asked her to become his wife. Upon this she said, "Thou good-for-nothing scoundrel of a Tungus; I heartily despise thee. I will have nothing to do with thee. Until this day I have lacked nothing from my husband and I always have had an abundance of good food. What then should I want from such a contemptible Tungus as thou? What is there I can ask thee for? I spurn thee and will have nothing to do with thee. Beast! I utterly scorn thee!" So spake she.

"That poverty-stricken Tungus went to bed full of fury and wrath, and at daybreak the next morning sneaked off without waiting for his breakfast. He returned to his home and stayed there. Now a very wonderful thing happened. Every season from that time, when he went hunting in the mountains, this man took as many as from 100 to 200 skins. But he who was formerly reckoned to be a rich man died that very year. The poor man abode quietly at home, attending to his hunting. And so the seasons went by.

"After six full years had elapsed, the widow of the rich Tungus came to the house of him who had been a very poor man. All who met her saw that she was in a starving condition. She came and asked the owner of the house to take pity on her and marry her, for since her husband had died she had been unable to get sufficient food to eat. Therefore had she now come to him. If, however, he should refuse to marry her, she asked him to allow her to stay in the house as a servant and draw water for the family.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5

A 539

"'Aha,' said he who had been formerly poor but was now a rich man. 'I spurn thee! So thou hast heard that I am now a rich man, hast thou? When I wished to take thee to wife, thou didst say, 'Oh, thou good-for-nothing scoundrel, I heartily despise thee. I will have nothing to do with thee. I want nothing from such a wretched Tungus as thou art. What can I ask thee for, thou abject scamp? I will have nothing to do with thee. I hate thee.' So saidest thou. Now, as there is no other resource left, thou hast come to me! Avaunt! Even though thou shouldst entreat me till death itself do overtake thee, I will never accept thee. Depart thou out of the house. Go outside and die.' Then the woman got up weeping and straightway when she got into the yard she died."

T 583

Such is the old Tungus tradition. And so it comes to pass that whenever Tungus women meet a poor man they always have a strong desire to annex him. And thus it is that in matters of courtship the Tungus women, even at the present day, make the first advances.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "I can not tell how it came to be, but when I first opened my eyes I found myself lying in a certain place among the common grass. Near at hand stood a fine big ash tree.* The stem was long and quite straight. There was not a knot in it and it was very glossy and pleasing to the eye. In the top of this tree two eagles, a male and his mate, had their home, and seemed to be very happy together. Whenever I wished to eat or drink there was always a most beautiful tray containing food and a cup of water by my side. I ate and drank and was ever satisfied. I slept and woke and lacked nothing. Every day for many years the female eagle brought me food to eat. Very often did I hear the birds in conversation, till at last I came to understand their language.

"One day the male eagle flew away, and, although I awaited his return for a long time, it seemed as though he would never come back. At last, when I had almost given up all hope of ever seeing him again, he arrived at home. The pair soon began to talk to one another. The male said:

"'Every day I was away from home I thought much of the child we have nourished. Some time ago, when I went to find food for him, I discovered in the midst of the two seas a beautiful island. The scenery was grand beyond description. One end of it lay high up before me stretching out afar, while at the other end there was a cape extending out into the sea, and beyond this I saw a long reef of rocks. Near by I saw a large ash tree to which I flew and in the top of which I seated myself among the branches and looked about.

"'At one end of the island I saw a large well-beaten-down sporting ground. One part of this was for the highest gods to take exercise on, the middle part was for the next in order, and the lower end was allotted to the gods of lesser importance. I saw it all

* For further information on the ash tree, see chap. XLIII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

stretched out most beautifully before me. Here among the branches I passed the night. By and by I heard the gods preparing themselves to descend and amuse one another. Before dawn they came, with a noise as of birds flying through the air. The mighty ones played together on the upper part of the field; after them came the lesser ones, and last of all the lowest. When the daybreak was near at hand, they left off their sports and went to the end of the cape where the reef of rocks was. Here they sang to one another, told stories, recited heroic verses and related old fairy tales. It was a grand sight. As soon as the day broke they ceased and ascended to heaven. 539

"'I thoroughly enjoyed watching these gods, so much so, indeed, that I stayed on to see them day after day; and this is the reason I am so late in getting home again.' All this did the eagle tell his mate. I was lying there beneath the tree, listening to it all.

"Having heard this, I was immediately filled with a strong desire to set off at once to the place and see for myself. So I got up from my bed the next night and set out to pay the island a visit. I listened carefully and heard the birds quietly breathing in sleep. Stealthily did I make ready and slip down to the seashore. Here I ran along the higher part of the shore close by the forest and came presently to a place where I found a little old boat. This I seized with my little hands by the cross-beam in the prow and dragged to the water's edge. I quietly set the oars in order and pulled for the open sea. I rowed hard, wishing to get to the island that night, but at first could make no headway at all. Nevertheless, after some practice, I learned how to manage the oars, and was glad. I pulled away till the break of day and continued rowing till the evening was setting in, when at last I saw the island before me.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "I landed quickly and, upon taking a look round, saw that I had without doubt hit upon the place the eagle had spoken of. There were big ash trees whose branches drooped to the ground. Under these I dragged my boat out of sight. I, too, hid there. By and by, just as I heard my foster-eagle say it happened in his case, I heard the sound of the gods preparing for their descent and saw them passing the horizon. They soon arrived and the highest in order disported themselves on the field. When they had finished, the lesser ones amused themselves. After all had done they went to the reef, just as the eagle had said, where they invited one another to sing. So they sang ditties, told stories, repeated fairy tales and recited heroic verses. When they had concluded this, and it was now nearing day, the gods rested.

"I then crawled stealthily along, hiding myself well, and, laying hold of the robe which the youngest of the goddesses had taken off and hidden among the rocks, rolled myself up in it.

"Then the gods, having rested, began to ascend up on high, and the young goddess came to put on her robe. But as I was rolled up in it she was unable to take it. I then suddenly seized hold of her and held her fast. When the others had all gone up to the skies, I led her to the boat, which I dragged to the sea and in which I placed her. I then pulled for home, having the divine one with me. The twilight came and then midnight, at which time I arrived at my house. Both of my parent-eagles seemed to be fast asleep when we arrived, for I heard them snoring away above in the ash tree. So I and my heavenly girl entered my grass home. The next day at dawn the male eagle spoke to his mate and said,

" 'The child we brought up till now has evidently left us for good. What shall we do next? He has

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

become a full-grown man and has no doubt, gone off 539
to seek a wife. We are fully satisfied that it should be so, so let us return to our own native land." Such was the speech I heard from the top of that beautiful big ash tree. But when they saw us, they congratulated me on having found a wife, told me who I was, and how all my family had been massacred, and declared that we were to become the first parents of a new clan.

"The eagle—my fosterparent—said to me, 'The name of thy native land is "Sea-end." It is a very rich country and you had formerly many prosperous ancestors there. However, certain evil demons came and ravaged it. And you alone remained alive. But the gods took counsel together, for they were pleased with the old inhabitants, because they made many fetishes which they offered to them and which were graciously accepted. And so it was that in olden times your ancestors flourished.

"'Then the gods took further council together as to finding a god who should nourish you, and the choice fell upon me and my wife. My name is *Kapa-Chiri*, i.e., eagle. If, therefore, you desire to prosper in your country you must make a fetish and worship before it, saying: "O bird, who didst nourish me! O chief of the Eagles!' If you say this, and also make fetishes for the God who is master of the earth, then the divine Ones will look upon you from above with favour and will bless you and your country at all times. You will never be in want.' So here we live and our people increase. All the eagles told us has come true, and we are happy. It is marvellous! This is the origin of making fetishes at 'Sea-end' and setting them up." Thus does the legend end.

In looking over some fetishes one day, I happened 115
upon a pair of fine bird claws and was told by the owner that they were taken from a "White-tailed Eagle." In talking the matter over with him, he informed me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 825 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven. It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used 755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause 758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 551 approach the gods when their help is required. The wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive [177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 825 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some phillodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be." 539 825

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.' "

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now. 551

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie 527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A 262
little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water 278
cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toihchunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. 539
It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stuff flowed down to the sea and mixed with the salt waters of the ocean and became the origin of all the mermaids and demon-elves there. Not only so, but some of it gradually sank down through the earth, where it became in Hades a big river full of bogs and quagmires."

The name of this river is Black-River, or perhaps River of Death, and out of it come all the evil spirits of the lower regions. Right in the centre of a big quagmire, surrounded by the river, the head demon of Hades is at home, and he has a big body of stone. His name is *Hekuru*. The name *Toi-hekuru*, by which I heard a man called, means, according to this, "Wicked Demon." These are not at all nice names and they carry their bitterness and do their work; moreover, [551] they afford some remarkable information as to the working of the minds of this race.

I was very much amused one day by hearing a jealous, angry little girl call her companion, with whom she was quarrelling, by the name of *Pan*. This word means "Lowlander." I could not understand why this should be before I heard the story I am now about to cite, which may well be called the Story of Pen and Pan.

"One day Mr. Pen (*Pen* means 'upper') had a strong desire to become rich. After a great deal of thought, he determined to use his inherent magic powers and work it that way. So he made his own tail become longer and longer till it reached to Matomai. It came right into the court of the Lord of this place. When my Lord saw what he thought to be a very beautiful pole, he ordered his servants to hang his very best garments over it to air. When all was quiet again, Mr. Pen gently withdrew his tail with all the garments on it, and so became very rich.

"His great wealth soon became noised abroad, so when Mr. Pan heard of it he came to him and asked him how he managed to become so suddenly rich. 'Oh,' said he, 'come in and sit down, and I will tell you all

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

about it.' And so he told him the story. Mr. Pan suddenly became very jealous and angry. He snarled dreadfully at poor Pen and said, 'You most abominable creature! You have forestalled me. You did the very thing I myself intended to do.' So saying, he went off in great wrath. 539

"Very soon he also stuck his tail across to Matomai, right into the Lord's court. Again the Lord of the place said, 'Look, here is a beautiful pole come from the gods. Hang out all my best clothing upon it to air.' This was soon done. Now Pan was so eager to become rich that he could not wait until all became quiet, but began to withdraw his tail too soon. My Lord saw it moving along and quickly told his retainers to cut the pole in two. This was quickly done, so that Mr. Pan was left with but a short stump of a tail."

When some of the Ainu began to become Christians, the shamans were very angry, and they raked up the *inau-sak-guru* for them. This means "persons without fetishes," which we may quite well translate by "infidel," or "godless one." By not making these fetishes, the men cut themselves off, more or less, from the Ainu brotherhood. This does not matter so much now as it did in bygone days, though it still carries its sting with many, and the shamans yet harp on it. It is curious to remark that among the Japanese the strongest and most philosophical opponent of Christianity I know is a man who formerly became a Greek Church Christian and then turned a Buddhist priest. This man has truly "the gift of the gab." When he is about, no one else has a chance to speak. He is unable to bridle himself. The strongest opponent I have met among the Ainu was a man who became a Christian and then turned shaman. He was very fond of referring to the Christian Ainu as *inau sak guru*, "infidels." He, too, was a good speaker. But, strange to say, he would always flee when he saw me coming along, and 798

2: Batchelor M-S (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

886 301 778 824 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *saké* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

539 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They 821
are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies 539
and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones."

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One 773
did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.' 754

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, imprisoned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross." 177 754

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two sculls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange. 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 Now this gentleman had a wonderful dream, in which he saw a very large house with a multitude of people assembled inside it. In front of the assembly, a chief was standing up, who said, 'I was one day passing through the midst of Ainu-land, not in the least expecting to meet with anything evil, but in the houses of many of the people I became aware of a fearful odour. The smell came from a certain bird of the sea called by the name of albatross.'*

"Said he, 'My friends, enter ye not into the house where there is one of these birds, for such houses are not for you to enter.' So spake the chief. After this the man awoke, and as he wished to know what his dream could mean, he arose and walked through the whole land. As he looked into the houses, he saw that there were many in which the people kept the head of an albatross as a fetish, to which they were in the habit of offering *saké* and sacred shavings. He also observed that there were no sick people where they kept this charm. No, in no hut was there a single person ill. All were hale and hearty. The man therefore went and procured one of the heads, worshipped it, and scraped some of the shavings from the skull and beak. These he put into a cup, poured hot water upon them and gave decoctions to any of the sick people he met with. All who drank of it were completely cured in a very short time. Therefore the head of this bird is kept wrapped up in fetish shavings, and when a person gets sick it is taken out, placed upon a tray, and devoutly worshipped. It is then scraped and given to the patient to swallow in hot water. Thus, although in the beginning the Ainu did not know the value of the head of the albatross, yet after this dream the matter was made clear to all. The man also knew that the chief he saw and heard speaking in his dream was none other than

*The chief who was addressing the people was himself none other than the demon of disease.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isho-kopiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539 ●
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

221 226 262 231 251

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire. I will follow you directly.' As soon as the demon was gone in, the man spoke to the leader dog and directed him to the tying-up pole. Having arrived here, the man got out, tied the dogs up, and then arranged the sleigh. He then opened the door to enter, but at that very moment the devil seized and killed him. He next went outside and slew the two front sleigh dogs. 539

"Now at length the first sleigh arrived at home and the people came running together to hear the news. After this some men went down to investigate. On coming to the summer dwellings, they found that the man had been dead for some time. And they saw, too, that the dogs had been slain. The hinder dogs alone had been left alive.

"When the spring came round, the villagers took counsel together and said, 'Should this demon go on killing in this way right on to the world's end, will not the dead be very full of wrath?' And so they sought out three mighty shamans.

"Then all the people of the house, including the children, were taken out, and two brave, stout-hearted fellows were brought in to warm the drum over the fire. On the right-hand side sat a mighty old shaman; a little back sat another shaman; and on the left-hand side sat the least important young shaman.*

"Between these three shamans were placed the common people who had been allowed to be present. As the place was strange to the shamans, they had been careful to remove all the fire-wood to the back wall for fear of accidents. The demon himself was plainly visible to everyone. There he sat over in the right-hand corner of the room. As the shamans commenced

*It is well to note here that these five men, namely, the three shamans and their two servants, had a good time alone inside the house, preparing the furniture and mysterious atmosphere for the spiritual séance which was so soon to commence. As soon as they had made their preparations, the performance began.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. '*Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292 778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The shamans then became very angry. Once more they performed. Again an arrow from the gods entered through the chimney hole with a whistle. The people then saw the demon clap some broken pieces of a wooden bowl in front of his body. The gods shot another arrow and he fended it off. That god-sent arrow was seen sticking in the wooden bowl. At this the demon raised another great laugh and said, *'Iha-ha-ha!* They have shot the ends of a broken wooden bowl; *Iha-ha-ha!'* He roared with laughter. 539

"Sleepless sat the people. Breathlessly did they watch. Then there came through the smoke-hole another arrow from the gods. The demon took some fragments of birch bark and clapped with them before his body. With a whistle it came and struck the bark. Yea, that divine arrow hit the pieces of bark. Aye, it struck hard and stuck in the pieces of that birch bark vessel. *'Iha-ha-ha,'* laughed the demon, 'they have even shot this broken old birch vessel. *Iha-ha-ha!'* And so he derided the gods greatly.

"The demon then covered himself with a great variety of rubbish. The glare of his eyes was to be seen from every quarter of the house, like glowing cinders. Just then midnight came and the gods of the greatest shamans were wrathful, and from that time they became quite unable to keep up with the séance.*

"At last the blood was seen to mount into the cheeks of the young and less important shaman. He looked very fierce. This little man performed with great vigour. He invoked the gods. He stood up. He struck lustily on the drum with a stick covered with hair. As the people watched, behold a snake came out of the end of it and fell to the ground. Quickly did he seize it with his hand. He beat the drum with it. The

*The powers of the two older shamans were now quite exhausted. The devil had beaten them at their own game.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said, *'Pish! pish!'*

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time *swish* came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due."**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

[754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotized. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

if the devil had gone on forever in this way—would there not have been continued trouble?" 539

Thus ends this very extraordinary shaman séance. These are the kind of people among whom my lot has been cast. And I must confess that I have had hard times now and again to keep my end well up. Shamans have been after me several times and have tried to mesmerize me, and that in public, but have in every case failed. I, in my turn, have time and again gone after them, but could never catch them at home. The rascals! 114

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIII

STORIES OF LOVE, VENGEANCE AND WAR

The following touching story of love and vengeance was told by an Ainu who lived at Tsuishkari, near Sapporo, some years ago. He was born in Saghalien and returned there to die. The tale shall speak for itself, so what follows is a simple translation of it. 539 628

"In very olden times the place called 'The Broads' had a large population, but as time went on the people gradually died off, till there was but one family with a few relations left alive. It was a very bad, pathetic state of affairs. So few were they that this remnant lived together in one large house and had room to spare. The head of the family was a very beautiful woman named La Belle.

"Now, a well-to-do man who lived at The Hollows came to see La Belle, and was so struck with her incomparable beauty that he at once conceived an ardent desire to marry her, but she would have none of him. So he finally returned to his home in anger, very much disheartened. Alas and alas, the people living with La Belle still continued to die off one after another, and it looked as though they would soon become quite extinct. And they were feeling lonely and depressed. They thought it would be better for them if they were to leave their native place to go and dwell elsewhere.

"Having decided to migrate, they descended to the seashore and all sailed away and came to a place called Hill Bottom, where they landed and built a house to live in. After a little time had elapsed the men said to one another, 'We are becoming extinct rapidly. Let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
628

us go on to the Ainu villages yonder and take wives to ourselves. We can then raise up children, and later on return to The Broads and rebuild our village.' So spake they. But La Belle, who was the head of the family and who had formerly refused to marry the suitor from that place, could not be persuaded to agree. She met the men in argument and prevailed over them. She was so eloquent. They therefore went off to a place called Big River, and there set up another house. They also built a fine large storehouse which they filled with excellent salmon, well smoked. Thus did they make abundant provision for the coming winter.

"Now, the man called Archer of The Hollows—the man who wished to wed La Belle,—had returned to his village full of wrath and overcharged with a desire for revenge. Here he abode with a darkened brow and with a heart full of ire, plotting vengeance. During the following winter there was a great deal of snow and the weather was exceedingly boisterous. During all this windy, rough weather, La Belle and her company were imprisoned in their pit-dwelling, covered in and unable to get out. While they lived thus in fancied security, the man Archer went down with an axe and cut the supports of the storehouse, so that it fell to the ground. After he had made a complete wreck of it, he returned to his home and waited.

"The wind continued to blow and howl worse than ever after this, and a mighty blizzard came up. It was absolutely impossible for the men to get out of their dwellings to go down to the store for food. By and by they had eaten up all the food they had taken with them into the house, and had become very hungry. At last, however, the storm abated and they managed to dig themselves out to go to their food store. When they got there they were much surprised and deeply grieved to find that the pillars of the storehouse had been cut in two, and the building had fallen down. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fish which they had so carefully stored away had been eaten up by the foxes and pine-martens. They could find but a very few remnants, which they carefully gathered up and carried back with them. 539 628

"Though they ate of it very sparingly, it lasted but a short time. By the time spring began to come, there was no food left for them to eat and they were very hungry. They all sat there in their dwelling in a state of woe, knowing that they were doomed to starve to death. So they—men, women and children—arranged themselves in order, dressed in their best garments, and decorated themselves with beads and other ornaments as though they were corpses prepared for burial. This done, they all lay down together. And so all died.

"After this, the man Archer, the would-be husband of La Belle, whom she refused to have, was ordered by his elder brother to go on a visit to Big River. On reaching this place, he found that all the people had gone to their summer—above-ground—dwelling and had there died of starvation. He then returned to his home and reported what he had seen. When the people of the other branch of La Belle's family heard about it, the men set off bear-hunting in that direction. Upon reaching the house, they saw that it had two separate hearths in it, but the beams were fallen down and scattered one over the other on the ground. And a little way off on the scrubland they found the great cooking pots lying on the ground.*

"By all this, then, we see how bad it was in those olden times for the men to be over-persuaded by the discourse of a woman. These things have the ancient ones reported for the instruction of their children."

*Ainu graves were formerly made in the forest, not far away from the dwellings. At the time of burial, pots, pans and other articles were laid on them for the dead to use in the future world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

When writing of earthquakes and their cause,* I mentioned a place called *Chiroma Mashiri*, which means "The lowest world." About the time that myth was told me, old Mr. Kanturuka, whom I have mentioned in another chapter, gave me a splendid legend of love and war, in which that country is mentioned again, and in which great battles between the thunder gods are said to have taken place. As the legend is so very interesting and makes so many allusions to quite unexpected matters, I propose now to give a translation of it.

"There was a person who was brought up as a slave at a place called the 'Great Plain.' Once upon a time he heard it noised abroad that there was a Lady living at Black River, who was famous for her beauty. So one day, after he had cooked and eaten some food, this slave buckled on his belt, stuck a trusty sword into his girdle, and fastened on his helmet. Then he was taken up by the winds which arose from the head of the fire-place and swiftly carried through the roof opening. Here his guardian angels came down upon him with a mighty sound, and he went before the great winds till he arrived at the village of Black River.

"Thus he came to my Lady of Black River. When he looked at her, he found that she was weeping exceedingly. Shedding tears profusely, she said to him, 'The Gods of Thunder who have their dwelling-places in the heavens above are two in number, and the youngest of them persistently makes advances to me and is about to take me to wife. This being so, my dear Yaumbe, we cannot marry, though you have come for me. Nevertheless, I will cook some food that you may eat.'"

(The Lady said she would cook some food for her visitor. It would be considered a great breach of etiquette and very forward in a young woman to do such

*See Chapter XVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

a thing for a bachelor, unless she was commanded to do so by her parents or guardians. This is perfectly natural, because part of the Ainu marriage ceremony consists in the act of the bride cooking food and giving it to her betrothed.) 539 831

"After she had spoken thus, she swung a pretty little pot over the fire and put some of her choicest treasured-up food into it. She then dipped in her ladle and stirred up the delicious vianda. Then she took a very pretty eating-vessel, which she set on a most beautiful tray, and, heaping it high, carried it to him and bowed profusely.

"Just as he had commenced eating, flashes of lightning, white and glistening, came through the upper aperture and played round the beams in curious forms. Upon looking up, he saw a Lady even more beautiful than the Lady of Black River, reclining in a white chariot." (The word here translated by "chariot" is the common word for cradle, but in this legend "chariot" suits the sense better. The chariot is conceived of as being suspended from above by means of strings and cords, in the same way as the Ainu women suspend their cradles from the roof of their huts.)

"Showing great anger on her countenance, she said with a wrathful voice, 'O dear Yaumbe, listen to me, for I have something to say to you. I am the younger sister of the Wolf God and the benefactress of my Lady of Black River, and you are being watched over by my elder brother. This being so, I am here to tell you that the Thunder God is angry with you for coming to visit this Lady and has determined to make grievous war against you. The war is near at hand. Although I am but a woman, I have come to help you. Get into my white chariot.' So spake the younger sister of the Wolf God.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

"So he got into the chariot, and they immediately flew out of the opening above. The trappings of the chariot whistled and rattled. As they went on their way they skirted the mountains toward the source of the river, and proceeding along, saw white and black lightning playing about the clouds in the lower skies. As he was looking at it, he saw the aforesaid thunder god sitting in a black chariot. He was a remarkably small man. There, too, sat a little woman, who, without doubt, was his younger sister. She held a wand in her hand with which she continually struck first one end of the chariot and then the other, as they hung and swayed about over the mountain tops. The thunder god, having wrath expressed on his countenance, said, 'Look here, dear Yaumbe, listen well to me, for I have something to say to you. You have been making love to and flirting with the Lady of Black River, whom I have determined to marry myself. I take this as a cause for war. Be very careful, my fine fellow, for I will bring down your haughty looks. When he had so spoken, he attacked him vehemently with his sword, so that his blows rattled upon the sides of the white chariot. Thereupon Yaumbe also drew his sword and set upon the thunder god as fiercely as he was attacked himself. They fought with might and main. The black and white chariots rose and fell to meet the attack, so that the blows from the swords fell upon their sides and bottoms, sending forth clashing sounds.

"And now there was a tremendous roaring sound of thunder over the land and a mighty wind began to blow. They continued to fight with all their might both by day and by night. After the battle had lasted twice ten months, the God of Thunder said,

" 'I observe that as we fight upon this land on which men dwell, we are wasting and wearing out the country, for, as you know, its backbone (foundation) consists of rocks only; we ought therefore to be more

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

careful of the world. Now then, come, the foundations (backbone) of the world above us are made of iron, let us go up there and fight. We may wage war there without any fear of spoiling the place.' So spake he.

"He then withdrew into the air and Yaumbe followed behind him. The younger sister of the Wolf God, holding the wand in her hand, continued to strike first one end and then the other of the chariot. The thin trappings whistled and the thick trappings rattled as the white chariot followed close upon the black one. The gates of heaven opened with a great noise, and after they had passed through were shut upon them with a mighty bang. Now, they saw things on this wise. A splendid country lay before them and a very beautiful waterway opened up to their view. On the banks of the river were forests of magnificent oaks, and the clouds upon the horizon were floating gently along. The Thunder God said,

"'This country is in truth the high heaven. Its foundations are of iron, so that even if we fight here for many years, we need have no fear of damaging it. This is indeed a place in which we may unsparingly measure our strength. So said he.

"Having so said, he set upon Yaumbe mightily with his sword, who also turned upon him as fiercely. Nevertheless, the edge of the black chariot clashed against the sword and warded off the blows. There was therefore only the sound of clashing iron to be heard. In the same way, the white chariot, also rising up and fencing with its floor, sent forth a mighty clashing sound. And now, fighting fiercely, they chased each other from end to end of heaven and back again, till at length they passed by chance over a metal house which was covered with a peculiar lid, and directly over this they stayed and did battle, whilst there came forth a voice from the inside of the house, which said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 "'Look here, O dear Yaumbe, and thou Thunder God, I have a word to say, so please pay attention. It is indeed true that the foundations of Ainu-land are rocks, and it is also true that the foundations of heaven above consist of metal. But as ye continue to carry on your battle here, heaven has grown weary and waxed very hot, for the very reason that its foundations are iron. Ye ought to be careful. Now, then, come. Underneath Ainu-land there are six countries, and beneath these again there is another most beautiful land. Its name is *Chirama moshiri* (Lower world), and its foundations are earth. Go ye to that land and fight, for unless ye do so, our country with its villages will be completely spoiled.' Thus was heard the voice of God.

"Upon this the Thunder God sheathed his sword and Yaumbe also sheathed his. Then, as they entered heaven before, so now they went out with a rush. They passed down through space head-first like snipes, and, piercing the earth, went clean through six worlds. Having done so, they came, as they were told they should, to a truly beautiful country; without doubt this was the Lowest world to which they had descended.

"And now they chased one another from one end of the land to the other, fighting as before with might and main. Nevertheless, whenever and howsoever they fought, the black chariot rising, falling and swinging to and fro, warded off Yaumbe's blows with its sides and bottom, so that the result was nothing but the sound of clashing metal. In the same way, the white chariot also rose up and fenced the blows with its sides and bottom, like a shield. However much Yaumbe strove, he could by no means touch the God of Thunder. He therefore aimed at nothing but to cut the trappings by which the black chariot was suspended. Fighting hard with this intent, he was able after a time and by the help of God to sever them. So too,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

all the trappings of his white chariot were cut asunder. They therefore all fell down to the ground. Then the Thunder God got out of his black chariot and came over to Yaumbe, walking by the help of his hands. 539 831

"Upon this the younger sister of the Thunder God wept and said, 'Oh my elder brother, you are a god; and if you would but marry a goddess, you would have no need to carry on this fierce combat with Yaumbe. Why do you set your affections on this lady of Black River as though she were the only woman? Now our charmed black chariot has been quite broken up and you are as one fighting without armour. Be careful or Yaumbe will slay you.' So spake she through her tears.

"After she had said this the sister of the Wolf god went out and fought against her. Then the Thunder God set upon Yaumbe most fiercely and he attacked him just as vehemently. Thus fighting together, Yaumbe managed with great difficulty to strike him now and then, so that his garments hung about him in rags. But he was not to be beaten; for he also in like manner cut Yaumbe's clothes into many pieces. Whilst things were going on so, a mighty sound, as if the very gods were coming, issued from the east of the Lower kingdom, and all at once the Lady of Black River, more beautiful than ever and shedding tears profusely, alighted and came to the side of the Wolf God. And now the sister of the Thunder God fought mightily, but after two or three mighty struggles she was cut down and slain. Her divine spirit roared loudly as it ascended into the skies. She went up to heaven a living goddess; and when she had departed the roaring ceased.

"After this, my Lady of Black River, in company with the sister of the Wolf God, came to Yaumbe's side, and the three fought together against the God of Thunder. After a time, and with great difficulty, he was smitten down and died. His spirit roared as it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 went up; but, as it was impossible for him to go into the western end of the Lower Kingdom (that is, to become extinct), his spirit ascended to the high heavens with a great noise. It went up a new god; then the sound died away and there was peace.

"When all was over, my Lady of Black River and the younger sister of the Wolf God saluted each other with their swords, and then after they had come to their own country and reached the village, the young Wolf Goddess said, 'As I am a goddess, I must take a husband from among the gods, but as you are a man it would be well for you to marry my Lady of Black River. Your guardian angel is the Wolf God. Henceforth fight no more, but when you have saké be careful to make fetishes and offer libations to the Wolf God.' So spake she.

"When she had finished speaking, she departed with a mighty sound. Then my Lady of Black River worked away with a willing heart and great pleasure, and, having prepared food for Yaumbe (made a wedding feast), heaped up a very pretty cup which she set on a lovely tray and brought it to Yaumbe, making many bows. After eating a little of it he pushed the remainder to her, and she, lifting it up with reverence, finished it. (This was the marriage ceremony.) Then, when the meal was over the Lady proceeded to set the house in order and they lived happily ever after."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[539] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 There is just one more word I would like to write
476 about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was
776 told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

539
226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

habit it." Thus we have another illustration as to how worlds were brought forth. 539 226

Many of the people would not, I found, eat eels, and when I inquired the reason I was told it was because they were so much like snakes. The tale was this:

"In ancient times, when the divine Aeoina was upon this earth, fish were so numerous in the rivers that the people were able to catch more than enough to live on. But the bears multiplied so greatly that they came down from the mountains and killed the salmon so fast that they became very scarce indeed. It was so bad that the people stood in danger of being starved out. Then men were very angry at this state of things, and came and accused the bears before Aeoina. Upon hearing of the trouble, the Divine One smiled benevolently and said, 'Fish were made by God and placed in the rivers in the beginning for men and animals to eat. But the bears are taking too many. What then shall be done to help you and keep those animals from killing the fish off? I will look into the matter.'

"He then returned to his house and twisted straw and grass into wisps which he caused to become eels. These he placed in the rivers. When bears next came down from the hills to catch fish they saw these long creatures creeping about. This astonished them and put fear into their hearts, so that they ran away again and let the fish alone. The people were then once more able to catch fish and eat."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXV

A GRANDFATHER, GRANDSON, DEMON AND DEMI-GOD

Thus runs this very remarkable old world story: 539 [221]

"I was brought up by my beloved, aged grandfather, and we lived together. He was a man who spent his days hunting seals, which he brought home for our daily sustenance. On a certain occasion when meat had become scarce, he set off again to hunt. But when he returned at his usual time that evening, I saw that he had made no kills. On entering the house he said, 'I went to my usual hunting grounds where I have hitherto never failed to get seals, but today I was surprised to find that there was not so much as one to be seen. But I could hear far out at sea the cries of many, both male and female animals. This being so, I thought thus within myself, "The old seals have evidently migrated to some other island and thus it is that I am unable to meet with any. This is the first time I have ever been unsuccessful."' So said my dear grandfather. Hearing this, I retired to bed but could not sleep, through having an ardent desire to go off to the place where he said he had heard the animals crying.

"Before very long, as I saw my grandfather was sleeping quietly, I went down to the seashore. Here I found the boat which he used in his hunting. This I quickly laid hands on and entered. I pushed off, and directing my course toward the offing, I rowed straight on. By and by I saw an island in the distance, to which I steered. I rowed hard till I came near and found a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 531 landing place. On looking round, I soon saw that there were many seals there.

"Immediately upon landing, I saw a mean-looking man coming toward me from the western end of the island. When he got near me, he spoke in a somewhat hostile manner and said,

" 'Wherefore hast thou come hither? On this island there dwells an exceedingly evilly-disposed demon-god. It is a very dangerous place for thee. Why hast thou come? Hide thy boat at once in yonder cave among the cliffs, and put the two seals thou hast taken there also. When thou hast done this thoroughly, hide thyself and keep quiet. See, the very dangerous demon-god I have mentioned to these is close at hand. Hasten! Be quick! Hide!' Along he came and I very soon heard his voice from my hiding place. He came close up and questioned that mean-looking little man and said,

" 'What is this? Whose boat is this?' 'Oh,' replied the other, 'that boat is mine. Look at the mooring cord in it, and you will see that it was made by twisting with the left hand, as men make cord, and not by being twisted to the right as the gods make theirs.' 'Yes, that may be so. Indeed, the boat may be thine, yet it seems to me to have a human smell about it.' 'Oh, indeed!' the little man replied, 'thou knowest me and my name. Am I not called Yairespo and am I not a super-man? In truth I am a demi-god, being half god and half man. This accounts for the boat and cord being made so and the fact that there is also the smell of a man about it.'

"Then that wicked demon-god said, 'Ha, ha, ha! O Yairespo, thou art indeed a mighty magician. And so thou hast done this, hast thou? For this deed thou and I will this very day measure our strength.' So spake he. When their conversation had ended and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon had gone away, Yairespo said to me, 'Boy, flee towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and another of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish out of the tree called *sita-ni* which is the particular magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be well. From the days of my early childhood thy grandfather and I have been very close friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee the great danger thou hast run into by coming here. When thou passest through the midst of the sea on the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest farther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above. When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long, being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted about thee. He has departed from his house and now, behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying, with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for thee.' So spake he.

539 [778 824]

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their way.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●539 "So I steered my boat along under the rainbow.* As I drew near to land, I saw my dear old grandfather standing on the sea-shore, leaning on his staff. His chin was raised up toward Heaven and he was praying very earnestly. Although I landed close to him, he saw me not. Seizing a seal with each hand, I carried them to him and flung them down at his feet. He was so suddenly and effectually startled at this that even I myself fell backward. Then only did he perceive me.

"Much pleased, he patted me on the shoulders and tapped me on my bosom. Lovingly he chided me, saying, 'Oh, why didst thou go to yonder island? Had not my friend Samaikuru (Yairespo) been there to help thee, I should not have seen thee in the body again.' We then went home, where I flayed the two seals, cut up some of the flesh, cooked it and gave my grandfather to eat. After he had eaten, he blessed me and said, 'I am now very old and nigh unto death. When I am gone, do thou go seal-hunting. Go anywhere but to the island whence thou hast just escaped, for that is a most dangerous place.' With that the end came."

*I may mention here that the Ainu believe when they see a rainbow that it is a bridge over which the gods hold discourse together.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was 539
used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kerep-Turuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows 539
laden with this kind of poison, and went and found 278
deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he 224
took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affecticn as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 of the earth, and the people should treat him with
824 great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there
825 has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is because this plant had such a high origin, 539
having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a 824
beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in exis- 825
tence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished.

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a 825
grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly."

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the 539
gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 there. Shouldst thou rise above the earth with the
825 intention of entering Heaven again, thou wilt find that thou will not be able to go up more than from 120 to 240 feet from the ground.' So spake the God.

"The skylark was very angry and commenced to argue and storm, saying,

"'O thou true God, it was because Thou didst make the world so beautiful that I stayed a little too long looking at it, and dost Thou punish me for that? Even so, I will return to my home in Heaven.' So saying, he argued much and long. But God would not assent. Therefore when these little birds fly daily up toward Heaven in anger, they can not go higher than 240 feet at the most. So they stay there and storm. Yet God will not allow them to enter. So they return to the earth, making a great noise. Again and again they ascend and storm away at God, but He will not allow them to go nearer. Even at the present time, when the summer comes round, they often go up to the limit of 240 feet and abide there a very long time storming. Then they return to earth and amuse themselves. It is on account of their storming so much that skylarks are called 'arguing birds,' or 'answering back birds.'"*

*Here is an amusing cutting I one day took out of the "Japan Advertiser," and which I think well worth quoting at this place.

A little daughter of the slums, on her first day in the country, saw a lark motionless, high in air, pouring forth its lovely music. She listened a moment, then she ran to the matron.

"Oh, Miss May," she said, "there's a sparrow up there, and he can't git up and he can't git down, and he aint doin' nothing but holler about it."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLI

A LITTLE BOY DELIVERS HIS TWO BROTHERS FROM A MONSTROUS DEMON

"I am only a little growing-up lad and live with my two big brothers. Every season they go hunting and kill many animals. From infancy they fed me with bear's flesh and venison. One year they went off as usual on a hunting expedition, and I was left alone in the house. As I sat there by the hearth, a sudden thought forcibly struck me. "I wonder what my brothers can have hidden away so carefully in that pile in yonder corner! I must look and see." Being thus desirous of knowing, I uncovered the pile and found there an ancient box. Quickly I untied the cord and opened the lid. Oh, how surprised I was! The box was heaped full up with treasures. There were gold and silver and many other precious things. Thus, seeing with my own eyes, I knew what they had hidden in that pile in the corner. 539 776

"I was not satisfied with seeing merely what was on the top, but wanted to know what was hidden at the bottom also. Right underneath every thing else, at the very bottom, I found two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver; two in all, lying side by side. I took these to myself, but broke up all the other precious things into fragments. The two knives I struck into my girdle, walked out of the house, and struck the path leading into the forest. By and by I came to a great mountain, at the foot of which I stood and looked round. Presently my eyes lighted on a tiny old lodge with a conical roof, in a river valley.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
776

"Taking this roof as a guide, I went on towards it. When at last I came to the place, I went and stood quietly in the courtyard. There I stood and listened, hardly daring to breathe. I heard the sound of my two big brothers snoring loudly as they lay sleeping inside. I sadly wanted to go in to them, but remembering how I had shortly before destroyed their precious treasures and was wearing their two knives, I felt afraid to enter. So I stood there all day long, in shame. It became dark soon, for the sun had set. Yet I could not move, for my behaviour had been too bad. I still had a burning desire to go in to my brothers. But the shame of the thing! What would they think of me? I had no face left! Filled with sorrow and regret, there I stood outside. By and by I heard a strange sound in the forest. What could it be? I stood and listened. The sound came from the river valley and seemed as if some people were coming towards this very hut. Whoever could it be! Breathlessly and intently did I peer into the darkness and at last I made out a he-wolf and a she-wolf coming along. They came close up to the lodge. The he-wolf went and stood upright at the right-hand corner of the doorway and the she-wolf at the left-hand corner. They seemed to be awaiting someone and stood up with their chins resting on their fore paws. I sadly wanted to go in to my brothers, but as that was impossible now, I could do nothing but remain outside, watching and listening.

"As I stood there open-eyed, listening intently, I heard the sound of someone else coming down from the mountain range. On the hard ground the footsteps went *thud, thud*, and when they went over the softer places their tread sounded *sush, sush*. Thus, in truth, came the sound of their approach. I became paralyzed with fear. So there I stood and looked. As I gazed, I saw a mighty, monstrous bear come close up beside

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the hut. On he came, right up to the place at which I was standing. Putting his fore paw up to his chin, he stood still and listened. Soon after, as I stood there in terror, I heard a sound as of someone else coming along out of the forest. Nearer and nearer he came. Whatever could it be? As I listened in great apprehension, I made out something in the distance. It seemed to be an enormous demon, whose upper jaw touched the very heavens above, while his lower one scraped the earth below. When he stepped on the dry twigs, they went *creak, creak,* and when he walked over the green ones, they sprang back after him, *swish, swish.* I saw and heard all this and was transfixed by fear. 539 776

"I very earnestly desired to enter the hut and wake up my brothers, but being filled with shame and fear, I could do nothing but stand outside as I was. It was dreadful. The noise made by the approaching demon grew louder and louder the nearer he came. By and by a very quiet voice came to me from the great bear standing beside me. He said, 'Oh thou young lad of Eastern Turu, this is surely no common demon who is now upon us. He is an extraordinary one. Extraordinary, too, is the sleeping of thy brothers. Their sleep is no common slumber, but was willed upon them by the fearful demon. That is why they sleep so soundly. These two wolves, O lad, are the guardian angels of those two gentlemen of Eastern Turu, and they are here to save their lives. But I am very doubtful as to whether they will be able to do much good. I am the god of the mountain ridges and I ardently long for fetishes which shall be made by thy two brothers. It is on this account that I have now come to help them. Yet, somehow, I feel as though I shall not be able to save them. I am filled with apprehension. I think it would be well for you to return

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 776 at once and very quickly to your home.' So whispered the big bear in my ear.

"This speech, if possible, filled me with more fear than ever. But yet, as I had smashed up the precious things belonging to my brothers while they were away, I felt that I could not leave them now in their hour of so great danger. And I was rooted to the spot. Very soon the awful creature reached the other side of the hut. Whatever sort of thing could it be? Was it a good god or a dreadful demon? I could not tell, for he was behind the hut. Although his forequarters were close up to the structure, his hind quarters were still rustling in the forest behind! His upper jaw reached up to the skies and his lower one touched the ground. Gradually the entire creature reached the hut.

"Round the corner came his head. Then the mighty bear—that god of the mountain heights—pawed the air, and soon the two rushed upon one another with a tremendous roar. They fought with might and main all that night. Towards morning I heard great thuds, as if someone had thrown big heavy stones to the ground. On looking towards the place, I saw the mighty bear lying on the ground, cut in two halves. I shook with terror. Strange to remark, the demon took no notice of me, but made to go in by the door of the hut. Then I quickly seized my golden knife and with a mighty blow severed the creature's head from his body. And yet that detached head continued to attack me. As quick as thought, I drew my silver knife and smote the upper part of the body, which also continued to attack me. And so we fought. When the head came for me, I hit out with the golden knife, but when the body rushed upon me, I smote with the silver one. Thus we fought till the demon was cut up into very fine pieces. I then gathered up all the fragments and cast them to the four winds—to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

grass, to the trees and to the birds. That monstrous demon was completely destroyed. 539 776

"Having made an end of him, I listened, thinking that my two big brothers must have been awakened by the din we had made. But no! I heard them sleeping and snoring as beautifully as ever. Their heavy breathing was like the hum of a house swarming with flies! There they were, those two, merrily sleeping and snoring, and quite unconscious of everything. Being assured of this, I rushed out of the courtyard and ran swiftly back home. Here I sat at the hearth-side as unconcernedly as if I had never gone out anywhere.

"As I thus sat alone, I heard the footsteps of my two brothers as they walked towards our hut. They were in earnest conversation. When they came nearer, I heard one of them say to the other,

"'Who could have saved us when our guardian wolves and the bear god were all killed? How is it we are now alive?' The other replied, 'About midway on our return journey, I saw a little way off in the forest foot-prints of the little boy we have nourished.' But the other was very doubtful and said, 'Such mighty gods were they! And yet they were all slain. How could one such as he have saved us?' So they talked and could not believe that I had taken any hand in the matter. I heard all this as they came along, but I made no move and sat there as unconcernedly as before.

"Soon they came in by the door and sat down. They talked of nothing but their wonderful escape. Said they, 'Who could our saviour possibly have been? To whom do we owe it that we are now in the land of the living?' So they sat and talked together. But as for myself, I remained silent and kept the bearing of one who had been nowhere—of one who understood not their talk. But in my soul I thought thus, 'They 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 are sure to find out sooner or later the part I have played, for have I not broken up all their precious treasures over in yonder corner. So it will be all one in the end, even if I confess to them.' So I spoke openly to them after this manner.

"'When you, my brothers, started off hunting, a sudden desire to learn what you had stowed away so carefully in yonder corner, in that pile, seized me. When I uncovered the pile, I found an old box, the lid of which I opened. There I saw many goodly treasures and some fine swords. I took all of these out, for I wished to know what was in the very bottom under all. Here I discovered two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver. I did not mean at first to do so, but by a sudden impulse I smashed up all the beautiful treasures and broke the ancient swords. But I kept the gold and silver knives for myself. The next day I followed upon your tracks and came to your hunting-lodge. Here I discovered both of you to be fast asleep. I would fain have entered, but having done ill by you I dared not enter your hut. As I stood outside, I heard someone coming through the forest, but whether it was a god or demon I could not tell. But soon I discovered them to be your guardian wolf-angels. The bear-god of the mountain ridges also came later and took up his post in order to watch over you. But all these have now gone to the underworld, for a monstrous demon came to destroy you. It was he who slew your guardians. But I killed him at last and sent him also to the lower regions. Thus is it that you are alive today. I killed him with the gold and silver knives.'"

"I told all this to my elder brothers who, when they heard, were very greatly astonished. Then they said to me, 'So, then, it is all owing to you, our little boy, that we now live. Never mind the treasures, all are yours. We begrudge nothing to you.' The next day,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for 539
the two wolves and also for the bear god. They wor-
shipped and made new gods of them. And so again [782
these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my bro- 778]
thers with special favour. They have already become more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with great success and easily make many kills. They take many skins and galls which they barter at a good price and so are able to obtain many more treasures and precious things. They have become far richer than any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu."

344 blank

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Thus there is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, 778 and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes.

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern 824 shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special 539 affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged 175
by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve 539
fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 away to strip off bark from the elm trees for making into cloth, and were in danger from something. I very anxiously awaited their return day by day, but they did not come back. So, being unable to endure the suspense, I one day got on their track and followed them into the forest.

"I went on till I came to a lake among the mountains. At one end of this tarn, close by the edge, I saw six corpses of young men lying stretched out, and likewise the bodies of the remaining six at the other end. It was a sad sight! I could no longer contain myself. So, being quite unable to do anything else, I lay down in sore distress by the lake and wept, wept. I wept again and yet again. As the day drew to an end, I arose and looked round. In the centre of the lake the waving tail of a large trout-like fish, very large and fearful to behold, was to be seen flapping, while at the other end the creature's mouth was silently opening and shutting in great contentment.*

"On looking behind me, I descried a well-beaten track leading into the forest. With a limp body and drooping spirit I went along it. Soon I arrived at a large house. Going up to the door, I struck it with my hands, when it at once opened with a big creak. I immediately entered and when inside sat down in the lowest place, near the door. Here I silently waited. On the right hand side of the hearth I saw a big gentleman sitting, who immediately rose up. He then went to a shelf and took down a nice black tray, placed some bear's flesh on it, and, bowing very low in deep respect, offered it to me. I received it in my hands and gently raised it up to my forehead. I then took two tiny pieces of the meat, but, being very shy, I

[776] *Be it remembered that in Ainu lore goblins sometimes take the form of fish when they desire to appear.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

could eat only very little. Having eaten, I again raised the tray to my forehead and, bowing low, returned it to the gentleman. He forthwith took it and placed it upon the shelf once more. 539

"After this, in answer to the questions he put to me, I told him about the young men having gone off to strip bark from the elm trees, and that although I had waited long for their return, they had not come home. And then how, feeling anxious about them, I could wait no longer, but had followed up their track till I arrived at a lake in the mountains. I told him about the mighty trout and the cold lifeless corpses of the young men, namely, the six from the upper and the six from the lower end of my village.

"The gentleman gave a big grunt and took down a black fur from a shelf. This he placed over his head. I sat there in great fear. He then took down a sword and rubbed it on a whetstone, on which he allowed water to drop. Then, having stuck it into his girdle, he took me out, saying, 'I will go to the lake with thee.' Gladly did I accompany him to the tarn (for it was his). When we arrived, he smote with all his might at that monstrous trout. But alas, his sword broke in two.

"In rage he went off into the forest and quickly made a big hook of maple wood. This he brought back with him and caught hold of the trout, which lay there silently opening and shutting his huge mouth. He dragged the creature from one end of the lake to the other, the two fighting together with might and main. Presently I saw the big gentleman thrown down a lifeless corpse, at one end of the lake, and I wept bitterly.

"After this I rose up and went home to my house. I had been away so long that the dust was piled up in heaps throughout it. So, as of old, I carefully swept and garnished the place. There I lived quite alone.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.**

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] *The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] **It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 776 The following is a legend of a six-tailed demon of disease, and is of great interest.

"There were three persons who were brothers by the same mother, the younger one and his two elders. The younger one was a very sickly man and stayed in the house all alone. The two elder men lived away in their own homes. One day news came from another village, saying that every night the dogs set up a great howling. This information was brought by the birds. One day, as we were sitting together, a gentleman came and told us that an epidemic disease was raging from one end of his village to the other and he had come to consult with us on the matter. He had come especially to us because he had heard we were under the powerful protection of the gods and would know what was the best thing to be done. So he and my two elder brothers took counsel together. After that, the two older men girded themselves with long swords and went off with the gentleman. I, the younger and sickly one, stuck a small dirk in my girdle. Alas, being such a useless one, my brothers considered that I ought to stay at home.

"After they had gone off, I slept and had a great dream. In this dream I saw a mean-looking man come down from the hills and present me with a very poor-looking short sword. I then awoke, when, behold, I found such a sword lying by my side. I took it up at once, and, as it was but a small dirk, I placed it in my bosom. I then got up from my bed and followed along the track of the other men, till I came to the upper end of the village they had spoken of. Just then the younger of my elder brothers came running along, pursued by a fearful demon having six tails. I made way for my brother to pass, at the same time grasping the dirk I had in my bosom. I struck the demon with that very mean instrument and cut him clean in two, right through the middle! My brother saluted me and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

thanked me for what I had done. And so we returned to our homes. 539 776

"I then went off again, alone, towards the lower end of the village, when, lo, my eldest brother also came running along. O, how he ran! Like his brother before him, he also was followed by a big, fierce, six-tailed demon. I, the very poor, sickly younger brother, stepped on one side, at the same time seizing the dirk I had in my bosom. The demon came rushing along like the wind. His mouth was wide open, so that his lower jaw was touching the ground and his upper one reaching the skies. As he came up, I struck the monster and cut him right through the middle. He fell apart and there he lay. My brother then saluted and thanked me, and we returned home together. My brothers were surprised beyond measure at me, the younger good-for-nothing brother, who turned out to be so brave as to slay those six-tailed demons of disease, which they themselves were unable to face.

"After this, the gentleman of the stricken village gave a beautiful daughter to me in marriage, and also bestowed two other young women on my brothers. And so all passed off well. Having stayed with our friends for some time, we at last returned to our homes with our wives. The people all round looked upon me, the poor sickly one, with great admiration. My two elder brothers remained as poor as ever, but I became exceedingly rich. I became the father of two children, a son and daughter, to whom I taught the ancient doctrines. My elder brothers also had a pair of youngsters each, to whom they, too, taught the faith." This wonderful story quaintly ends thus, "We all died of old age, but the children we left behind us are all well and very prosperous."

[p. 366 is blank]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [82]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 825 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 783 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour, for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-deer,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now
539 measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who
825 at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is
825 of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and swallowed. This must surely be done before it gets cold. If a man swallows it at once, he will become very fluent and wise, and will be able to overcome all opponents in argument. But this divine bird has power in another way. For, not only does he make people eloquent, but he also makes all who swallow his heart prosper and become wealthier than all others. The person who is fortunate enough to swallow one is called 'the one who has gained a charm.' For this reason the water-ousel should be worshipped and have fetishes offered him."

539
825

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVIII

A LEGEND TELLING HOW A CRUEL, BAD-TEMPERED MAN WAS PUNISHED BY THE GODS

Thus runs this very remarkable Ainu legend.

"I was an orphan brought up in the house of my uncle. He had two wives. He was a very bad-tempered man and treated me with great cruelty. He even begrudged me my daily food and railed at me continually. So hard was he upon me that, being but a child, I used to weep long and bitterly. But my two aunts were very kind and often gave me food in secret. 539

"On a certain occasion I saw the aunts making new garments. One busied herself with sewing up six warm coats, well wadded with cotton, and the other worked away, making half a dozen pairs of fine fish-skin boots. One day, after they had finished their tasks and the night had fallen upon us, we all went to bed. During the night I was wakened by a walking noise, as of someone coming from my aunts' sleeping quarters. The one who had made the shoes approached quite close up to me and touched the lobe of one of my ears with her hand. She then put her mouth near my ear and whispered, saying, [291]

"'O child whom we have hitherto cared for and fed, I have something of importance to say to thee, so pay great attention to my words. Thy uncle is a very well-to-do man, and he is now about to brew *saké* as if for a festive entertainment on your behalf. When the *saké* is all ready, he intends to invite his friends to the feast. When they come, it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 334 the intention to drink deeply, and when they are intoxicated they are to rise up and slay thee. I cannot abide to look on while they do this wicked thing. Do thou therefore make haste and escape for thy life. Flee down to the river, and when thou comest to its bank thou will find a large ash tree with most beautiful bark growing there. On one of its branches thou wilt see two bundles, one containing skin shoes, and the other one, garments padded with cotton. Outside the hut thou wilt see our two store-houses. One is filled with dried fish. Take as many of these as you can. Then go to the other and help thyself to millet. When thou comest to the tree having the bundles on one of its branches, take a pair of the shoes and put them on thy feet, and clothe thyself with one of the wadded garments. Then wade up the river against the stream, night and day, till thou comest to the source, where a tributary branches out from the bare mountains. Having arrived at this place, make thyself a lodge of pine branches and abide in it till all thy provisions are eaten up. Do as I have now told thee and trust in God.' So spake she.

"I then quietly got up and silently went out of the hut. From one of the store-houses I helped myself to some fish, and took grain from the other. When I came to the tree with the two bundles on one of its branches, I took them and quickly put on a pair of the shoes and then dressed myself in one of the wadded garments. I then stepped into the river and proceeded to wade up stream. It was now dark, but as I continued to wade on, the day broke. For six days and nights did I wade along, and then came to the highest point of the river, where I found a dried-up tributary bed coming from the west. I followed this up into the mountains, which I found to be bare of undergrowth, and there made myself a lodge of fir tree branches.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Here I took up my abode, staying in it always and eating the food I had brought with me. I did this for two months, at the end of which time very little food was left. I made this last for three days and nights. Then, having eaten all up, I lay down to die. I counted the days and the nights and they numbered just six. This want of food injured my health sadly and made me feel very weak. My cheeks fell in and made my face hollow. 539

"At the end of six days I heard the footsteps of two women approaching. They soon entered the lodge where I was. I had never before seen such wonderful women, for there arose most beautiful beams of light from the upper part of their faces. So great was the light that the very rafters and the fir branches with which my lodge was built were illuminated by it. It was glorious. In utter abasement and astonishment did I sit still and behold it all.

"The younger woman came and sat down on my left, while the woman whom I supposed to be elder seated herself on my right. There I sat between the two. Presently the younger one took a tobacco pouch, made of very beautiful material, from her bosom. Also a pipe set about with golden beads. The older woman also had a pipe, but this was ornamented with silver beads. The elder of the two sat for some time looking at me, and presently, drawing closer to my side, spoke. The sound of her voice was exquisite, for it was like the clang of metal striking metal. She said,

"'Oh, my lad, what hast thou come here to do? Thy rich uncle reared thee for his own purposes. He was not a true man, for he intended to take thy possessions unto himself. So it was that he made a great drinking feast, thinking to have slain thee in the midst of it. Knowing this, I caused thee to come to this place where I also myself dwell. In very olden

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 times thy original ancestors made fetishes to me, which I accepted. Then all was well with them. I am a descendant of the gods of the midlands. Yea, their daughter am I. I could not endure that any wrong should be done thee. I have therefore brought my younger sister for thee to marry.' So spake she.

"Having said this, she rose up, took my hand in hers, and led me to her house. Near her dwelling she laved me much. She took me from streamlet to streamlet and washed me in each. I reckoned up and found that she had dried up six streamlets in laving me. Then the beams of light shot forth from my body in radiant beauty. After this we went into her house where she clad me in most precious garments. I was indeed a fine, handsome young man. She then made a farewell speech, saying,

[769] "'After I have departed from you, set this my divine home in order. Thou art but a man, mortal and not divine. Now, in payment for thy wife, do thou henceforth make fetishes for me like unto those formed by thy ancestors before thee. They are to be thank-offerings. If thou doest this, season by season, all will be well with thee. When thou leavest this house, go to thine own home. I will see that very beautiful heaps of precious things shall come to thee.' Having spoken thus, she took her departure.

"As she went off, it was with a mighty sound, a sound which reached from shore to horizon and over dale and mountain peak. It was as though the gods were disporting themselves. We then lay down to rest. When I awoke the next day at dawn, I found myself in the home of a god, and there were piles of precious things reaching from the floor to the angle in the roof. And I saw my new wife, a divine woman, sleeping quietly by my side. When I arose she got up also. I then went farther up stream to a bend, and from a nice tree cut a stick which I made into a fetish. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was a very big one. I brought it home and set it up as an offering to the gods of the midland country, and I offered up prayer. Thereafter I made fetishes every season, and every time I went hunting I brought home six tens of he-bear and six tens of she-bear skins. I was more fortunate than any other person. 539

"By and by I got news from the seashore to the effect that my wicked old uncle, after having become completely impoverished, had taken to his bed, ill, and died. Before his death the gods had made him very weak. I then returned to my village, and, being a very rich man, became the head of the district. With a heart full of gratitude, I set many fetishes about in the forests, and my piles of old swords and precious things became so great that if they were touched they would come clattering down about one's ears, and cover the floor of the house. Then people came from every quarter, by twos and by threes, and settled about my dwelling. They became so numerous that they built themselves a second row of houses at the end of the village. I was indeed a great and rich man, more wealthy, in fact, than any other either before or after me. We had two children, a boy and a girl. My wife educated the girl and I the boy. Presently we both died. After our death we frequently heard about our children, namely, that they were very prosperous and, if that were possible, richer than we ourselves had been."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

"The divine bat did not come down from Paradise, but was made by God in this world. He is a very precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said,

539
825
776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will re-ascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
825
776

this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that many people offer libations to bats. After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let us measure our strength."

"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

mar were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So dried, I did not think them good eating.

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I sometimes found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose property there passed a fine river which always abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 is the perfect number) big storehouses. The people of the surrounding districts, hearing of this, went to him and purchased food. Every year they brought many precious things, among which were fine swords, and with them traded by way of barter. And so this gentleman became very rich.

"Thus did he live and prosper. One year, however, not a single fish ascended his river. As it happened, he had some left over from the previous year, stored in his six godowns. But alas, all there was quickly came to an end.

"One day he went to one of his lakes near, to try angling, but he got no bites. After a long time, thinking it would be useless to try any longer, he was about to start off home disappointed, when at that very moment he felt a fish bite at his bait. With great joy he pulled up the line, and, behold, there was a fine fish on the hook. 'Pull me up at once; be quick, be quick!' said the fish. 'Haul in faster; yet faster!' it said. So he quickly dragged the fish right up to the ice hole. As soon as he had pulled him on to the ice he gave him a sharp knock on his head. Then the fish said,

" 'O Sir, be quick and whack me on my head. Be quick and strike hard and fast. Come, make haste and eat me up.' So, after beating him well he killed him. When he was quite dead, the fish said, 'O Sir, make haste and squeeze me; press me hard; eat me at once; eat fast.' Looking at what he had caught he found it to be a fine silverfish.

[136 252 262] (The Ainu name for the silverfish is *inumbe-ibe* and it is *Trichiurus japonicus* Tem. et Schlegal. The Ainu name means 'squeezed food.' This is because it is eaten raw, having been first well beaten and squeezed.)

"Seeing what it was, the gentleman thought thus within himself: 'Here I have lived and fished for many years and have always had plenty of sport. There has been abundance to eat and much to spare. Now, hav-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ing nothing more to eat and being very hungry, I came here today at a venture and have taken this. Is it a real fish, I wonder, or is it a demon playing a trick on me? Is it a god who has transformed himself into this fish who has ordered me to draw him out of the water and kill and eat him? If it be a god, is he a good one, I wonder, or one of the evil divinities? I must have a care.' 539 226

"Thinking so and supposing that in all probability it was an evil one, he took out his dagger—a dagger which had a hilt inlaid with bone—and began to cut him up fine. Then the fish once more said: 'O sir, cut me up quickly, squeeze me hard and fast. Eat me up quickly, begin at once.' So he hastened and cut him up very fine. When he had finished cutting him up, he cast the pieces to the trees of the forest, to the birds of the air, and to the undergrowth. He then went home.

"During the night he slept well but had a dream, which was as follows. One said to him, 'Sir, until now there have been plenty of fish on thy estate. But this year not so much as one has come up. This is not, however, because thou hast been wicked. I am the famine god and have brought about this condition of things simply to please myself. I have made it so that not even one fish has entered thy waters. It was done to try thee. When thou wentest to thy lake yesterday to angle, thou didst not go of thine own accord. It was I who caused thee to go. When thou wentest and didst angle, thou wast able to take nothing. But when I saw thee about to give up and return to thy house, I allowed myself to be caught. I am not a real fish but the demon of famine. Wishing to try thy understanding, I purposely transformed myself into a fish and allowed myself to be hauled in by thee. If thou hadst shown thyself to be a man of no understanding and hadst partaken of my flesh, thou wouldest have died. But as thy guardian angel was a mighty one, he caused thee to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 778] "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"And so the battle went on. By and by I perceived that my elder brother and younger sister had met the women who had been speckled does, and had attacked them most vehemently. With great force they struck with their swords. As I was looking, I saw my brother cut in twain. As he fell, he put his hands out towards the earth and raised himself up again. I then went with my sword and struck him twice or thrice, upon which he became a living man again.* 539 628

"Then, riding upon a noise like thunder, he went up quickly into the skies and continued to fight there. I now heard the sound of some other person being slain near by. It was my younger sister who was killed. With a mighty sound she rode up to the setting sun.**

"Then that beastly enemy woman boasted of having slain my younger sister and thrown her to the ground. Then the two, the woman and the remaining man, fell upon me with might and main, but I struck the fiendish woman several times and made her ride upon the sun. She went up to the sun a living spirit. Then the malignant, evil man, being alone alive before me, lifted up his voice and said to me,

"'Because you are a brave man, the fame of your valour has gone to many lands. Now know this, I am called *Samatuye Ainu* (this, the reciter told me, means 'Cutter in twain,' but I believe it is really 'sea-side man'). My younger brother and sister live together and are the defenders of my house. They are exceedingly brave and able people, both of them. If, there-

*My friend told me that when at war in ancient times his ancestors could raise the slain to life again and heal all their wounds by striking them with the flat of their sword blades. Even fifty years ago, and since, I have known of this striking and waving swords over the sick by way of exorcism. In cases of death by accidents, as has already been set forth, the custom is still practised in order to drive away demons.

**Death was sometimes called by the old Ainu "riding upon" or "into the setting sun." Life was called "riding upon" or "into the bright sun," or "shining like the sun."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 538 fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

[801 805] *Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"'Oh, my dear sister, listen to me, for I have something to say. The weather is lowering and I am filled with foreboding. You, as you know, have been a *shaman* from childhood. Prophesy now to me, for I desire to hear news.' So spake he. 539 628

"Then the tiny woman yawned mightily twice, and said,* 'Oh, my elder brother, my dear brother, listen now to me, for I have a thing of importance to say. Why are you thus in anticipation of evil coming? I hear from a far-away country. There is news coming from above the mountains of Battle River. The brave Ainu has been attacked by my elder brother without cause. A certain man has slain my elder brother and annihilated his men. The battle has proceeded with vigour. A speckled bird comes flying across the sky from the interior. I wish to speak about it, but somehow it passes by and I see it no more. Oh, it is now crossing the sea! It darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish. It is lovely. It comes straight towards our home. I hear the clashing of swords. They are the swords of the Ainu and their enemies. The battle rages. Blood spurts from big wounds. The sword of my brother departs into the setting sun and is lost. The sword-hilt of the Ainu shines upon the sun. He has conquered the foe. Our home has been hitherto in peace, but is now in the greatest of danger. My eyes are now becoming dark. Pay attention to what I have said.' So spake the little woman.

"Now, as she said this I pretended that I had but just arrived at their house, and, knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil outside, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped over the threshold. With one accord they both turned their heads and gazed at me. I saw fear settled under their eye-

*This means that she threw herself into a shaman's trance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

538 628 brows. Walking along the left-hand side of the hearth with hasty strides, I swept the little man to the right with my foot, and sat down cross-legged in the master's place. I then said,

"'Look here, you little man of Samatuye, I have a word to say to you, so attend to me well. Has not your elder brother come and attacked us without just cause? Why has he done so? As you have thus stirred up war, you will be annihilated, for the gods will punish you. Listen well to that. It is true that I am but a wounded man, but I will certainly overthrow your abode.'

"When I had said this, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with heavy blows and made the wind whistle. We went up to the ceiling fighting, where I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated about the place. They came as thick as swarms of flies. But I cut them down as men mow grass.

"Presently the little woman said, 'Oh my brothers, why did ye attack the brave Ainu without cause? Was it because ye wished to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the brave Ainu. Mark my words.' Saying this she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass. We fought side by side. So fighting we drove them all out of the house. Upon taking a view of the people outside, I saw that there were but a very few left alive. At the head of this remnant stood the little Samatuye man. Yes! There he was. In a very short time all his people were killed. I then went for him in haste and struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman came to my side and attacked him with her dagger. He soon received some great wounds and was slain.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The little woman wept much and said, 'As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a friendless man. But I was constrained to do so. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O brave Ainu. Listen well.' " 539 628

So ends the legend. It began with a war and ends in a marriage. No doubt they lived happily ever after.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

barking "*pen, pen*," like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787
and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754
are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825
this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539
this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825
upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Heaven. Now, very far away, right at the other end of the world, there lives a great dreadful demon whose name is Sam (really "over the edge of the world"). He was not created, but existed long before this world was brought into existence. He had no beginning. He is of such an evil disposition that when God created the world, He could not allow him to dwell in any place where men and women had their habitation. This is the reason why he has been made to dwell over the edge of the world.

"Long, long ago, Sam determined to try his strength with Marten, and so came forth out of his haunts and paid him a visit. On entering Marten's house, he sat down with a heavy thud and said, "I hear it rumoured that you consider yourself to be a great and mighty one. Come, now, let us measure our strength in contest, and so see who is the greater, you or I." Marten readily consented, knowing full well that an evil demon can be no match for a good god. No sooner had the divine Marten agreed to his request than the demon suddenly jumped up, seized him, knocked him down, banged him about, kicked him and then cast him into the fire upon the hearth. Here he supposed he had burnt him clean up. He was beyond measure pleased with himself when he saw what he had done, and plumed himself on his mighty power and easy victory.

"After a little rest he got up, with the intention of returning to his far-away home. But lo, a very remarkable thing now occurred. As he was going out of the door, the owner, whom he thought he had destroyed by fire, met him very much alive and in perfect trim. Sam was intensely taken aback at this and felt a little afraid. But before he could place himself in an attitude of defense, Mr. Marten seized him and in his turn knocked him down by the fireside. He rolled him over and over into the very heart of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the mistress placed herself by my side. I listened carefully all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen.

539 825 789

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 825 789 then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of man waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
782 strong and well, and big. And I have become his
778 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come. 539 825

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening. [754]

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous [754 789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 825 754 789

among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty. This filled me not only with curiosity but also with envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like serving-men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LVI

A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY

Kutri of Crag-top was the most handsome man in his district and was highly regarded by all. He had lovely locks of fine wavy black hair and a delightful beard. He was as strong as a bear in his prime, and as bold, and he knew not what fear was. He was as swift of foot as a deer, as clever as a wily fox, as keen-sighted as a hawk, and as quick and sure in his movements as a weasel pursuing his prey. He never returned from the hunt empty-handed and was never known to miss a fish with his hook or spear. His club for killing salmon sounded three times to any other man's once. In shooting, his aim was so true that his arrows invariably hit the mark, and he, above all others, knew how to track animals in the forest. He could wind the instrument for decoying deer so well that when he blew it, the sound he made was so sharp and clear as to be indistinguishable from the call of a doe for its young, the cry of the young for its mother, or a signal of distress or alarm. He was wonderful! The man was like a demi-god among his fellows. He was also very eloquent of speech; he could roar like thunder when he was angry, and when at peace his voice was like the rippling of a gentle stream of water running among the pebbles in its course. No one could stand before him. He was the pride and hope of his race, and good-tempered and humble withal. The maidens delighted in him and all the young men envied him; for, did not everyone praise him? and did not the chiefs and elders of the people extol his virtues?

539 831 181

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 181 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 831 584 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and 539
handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing 831
each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous 584
fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath [431] as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objections [582] to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831
584

himself was just as obdurate. His aversion to that one-eyed, unlovable damsel was fixed and absolute. There was consequently much unhappiness in his home where bickerings and quarrels were the order of the day.

Yai-mah also had been betrothed when a baby to another child in a village some distance away, Wenku by name, and when she was told that the early betrothal could not be broken off, she wept bitterly and began to pine away. Her proposed husband was a very poor, ill-formed, and fiery-tempered man, and as jealous as jealous could be. He was greatly feared by all and not the least so by Yai-mah herself. This man could neither hunt nor fish, and the very dogs everywhere shunned him. Moreover, as he had a partly withered arm, he was unable to shoot with the bow. He was a worthless drag on his family and the people of the village scorned him. His scowl would shame the worst of demons. Yai-mah had not a particle of love for him and declared she would rather die than become his bride. When he heard this and also that she desired to wed Kutri, he became more jealous than ever, if that were possible, and as fierce as an enraged and hungry man-eater bear. And poor Yai-mah had much trouble and shed many bitter tears. It was indeed a very unhappy state of affairs.

Neither could forget their love for the other, nor, indeed, had they a wish to do so. And so they felt they must meet again. They came together one evening and settled to flee away secretly by night, and go to live by themselves among the mountains, far away from their people. They appointed a place to which each should by stealth carry some necessaries, a few at a time, so as to attract no attention from prying eyes, and hide them carefully away against the hour of departure. Yai-mah took her best embroidered dress, her waist-band, which was ornamented with

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 ment was delightful to hear. They were overjoyed to
831 find that when busy preparing to set off on their
583 journey together, each had been so filled with thought for the other in little things.

When all was ready and the night of departure had arrived, they came quietly to the rendezvous, each followed by a fine hunting dog as companion. These faithful creatures seemed quite to understand what was on foot, for when their master and mistress took up their bundles and silently moved off towards the mountains they placed themselves in front and trotted on a little ahead, as though to show them the way. Then came the man, with Yai-mah, being a woman, behind. On they went tramping along for twice six days, camping each night in some secluded nook near water. When they started each morning, Kutri's dog alone went ahead, while that of Yai-mah followed close behind its mistress as though to prevent a surprise from the rear. The dogs seemed to know that there might be danger. On the evening of the twelfth day they came to a beautiful glade, in the midst of which there was a lovely tarn, the clear blue waters of which rippled with the movements of trout as they sported on the surface. The land round the tarn was a plain covered with most luxuriant green grass, in which were two big companies of fat deer peacefully feeding. One was a herd of fine bucks, and the other consisted of does with their fawns. Not far off were other small lakes, on which could be seen many geese and wild ducks resting quietly. All appeared to be most gentle and tame. In the light of the setting sun it was like the kingdom of the gods. It was grand beyond description, and there, right under a big elm-tree, which would yield fine bast for weaving into cloth, they determined to build their house and make it their permanent abode.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

They laid themselves down under a tree and slept there the first night, in the open. The twinkling stars came out one by one, and the silver moon, climbing up into the heavens, made the shadows of the forest trees behind them move like living beings as it coursed its way across the skies.

Pau, pau, called the foxes in the distance, and the cries of the night birds, as they flitted overhead just above the trees, were loud and constant. Yet they heard them not. The pine-martens came out of their holes and watched the sleepers with their sparkling, saucy eyes, but they saw them not. A fine fat buck unsuspiciously approaching the place where they lay, soon scented them. He sniffed, stamped his foot on the ground, whistled, and bounded off to report to his family. But Kutri was quite unaware of it. A bear roared not far away but Yai-mah slept in peace. The winds whispered in the tree tops and made a rustling among the leaves of the elms. A moonbeam rested peacefully on Yai-mah's smiling upturned face and softened it by adding to its divine beauty, while Kutri lay with his head pillowed on his arm, snoring with a pleasing rhythmic measure. It was a heavenly sight!

The night passed and at early dawn they awoke to a new day amid the whistling of the striped and red squirrels as they scudded about the tree trunks and branches, and the whirring of the tree-grouse and quails as they rose and flew away. The insolent jay alone seemed to scream defiance. The drumming of woodcocks and the quack of the ducks, together with the song of the skylark, were delightful to hear. It was splendid!

They did not hear the hoot of the owl, and little did they dream of the tragedy which was to follow. And so they abode in a fancied security. But alas, a sad end was soon to come to this peace!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Now when the flight of the lovers became known, Wenku of the withered arm and Ara-shik of the weak eye raged like demons and vowed dire vengeance. Cunning as an evil, bewitching fox, Wenku called in the shamans and asked them to divine the whereabouts of the couple. Thus did they think to gain knowledge of them and so pursue and find them. But neither by their séances nor divinations could they prevail. The secret was well kept, for the guardian angels of Kutri and Yai-mah were too mighty for them and hid them from view. So after a time they ceased their incantations and let them go. It is true they nearly succeeded, for the two dogs showed much uneasiness and distress for a day or two. They felt the influence of the shamans. But soon they quieted down again and peace reigned around. Yet the enemy would not rest. Their anger burned like fire. The rage of Wenku resembled that of a big wounded she-bear just robbed of her cubs; his fury was like a mighty torrent rushing madly down a narrow gully, or like a roaring wind tearing over the high mountain ranges. Vengeance he would have, said he, even though it cost him his life. So mad, so jealous was he.

Now Wenku had two male friends who were his relations, and they were evil like himself. These, together with Ara-shik, the woman of the one weak eye, conspired together to find out and follow up the tracks of the pair to the very end, and there slay Kutri and bring back Yai-mah to her village. Here Wenku swore to marry her before them all, according to the promise made for him and her during their childhood. Out of a new-born hatred, Ara-shik agreed to the murder of her affianced Kutri. To such lengths did her jealousy carry her. They set out on their quest, and after three months' continual searching discovered their retreat. Oh, the fiends! They carefully hid themselves in the undergrowth by the glade and watched,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

waiting for an opportunity to accomplish their wicked end. The two faithful dogs scented danger and gave warning to their master and mistress. They kept close watch over them night and day. Thenceforth neither Kutri nor Yai-mah ever wandered far from the lake. Instead of wood, they burned dried grass and rushes for cooking their food. There was no need for them to go many yards from their tiny house, for at their very door they were able to catch all the trout they needed for themselves and their dogs. Moreover, deer could be shot at any time from their window, and the lake water was good for drinking purposes. So, too, there were plenty of tubers close to their walls. It was a lovely and ideal spot. They felt secure at home, for the enemy could not approach because of the dogs. Wenku and his companions were all great skulking cowards, while Kutri was brave as a bear and a fine shot with his bow. All knew that he never missed his mark. Yet their danger was very great. Several times did the fiends attempt to approach the lodge, but the brave dogs never once allowed them to come within bowshot of the place.

539 831 578

Meanwhile Wenku and his friends were all well hidden, waiting for a chance to wreak vengeance. One day Kutri wandered, quite unarmed, nearer to the forest than usual. He was thinking deeply and did not notice that he had gone so far from his home, and the dogs gave no warning. Then it was that one of the wicked men shot a poisoned arrow at him which struck him just above his shoulder. In haste he returned to his hut and told Yai-mah what had happened. Thereupon she fell upon his neck with tears in her eyes and a great catching of her breath. She also had a big lump in her throat. Bravely did she, at the bidding of her husband, draw her knife—the very knife he had given her when they first met—from its sheath, so beautifully carved by Kutri, and at his command cut

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful
831 daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to
578 suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[762] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

angered by the sight. There was no pity in their hearts. Wenku in his rage gave a fierce kick to Yai-mah's side, when, lo, the poisoned arrow-head she had drawn from his stricken neck, and which she had cast upon the floor, stuck into his foot. He did not at first notice what it was, for his fit of passion had partially numbed his senses. Soon a tingling sensation was felt by him, and then pain like burning. He looked down and found the arrow-head sticking into his foot. He began to fear, and all worked to save him. But he quickly died, so that his fiendlike spirit went off with a roar to Gehenna. The groan he gave when he died was like that of a mighty dying bear in his death struggles. Long did it echo among the hills.

539
831
578

Ara-shik, the weak-eyed woman, then suggested that the hut be burnt down as it stood, to destroy the dead bodies completely. Her male companions agreed at once and did so. All was entirely consumed. But what of the dogs? They were nowhere to be seen. They had escaped. Having burnt all up, Ara-shik and her friends set off towards their distant homes. They had not gone far, however, before those two faithful dogs, which had been lying in wait for them, pounced out from behind a tree and severely bit them about the legs and arms. Soon the wounds began to swell and become inflamed. They burned like fire so that they could hardly walk. A fever began to consume their whole bodies. Day after day as they struggled on they got worse and worse and quarrelled with one another. They snarled, and scratched, and even began to bite one another. Long before they could reach their homes they died in agonies, foaming at the mouth and barking like dogs. They had been visited by "dog-punishment." They went off one after the other to Gehenna, whining like curs. There they must abide with the demons for ever and ever, in raging jealousy and madness. Their bodies were left to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831
578

foxes and to rot in the forest, for there was no one to bury them. But in the place of the dead they will always see, far away, Kutri and Yai-mah living in joy and peace, and this will add greatly to their punishment.

When all was over the two faithful dogs returned to their old homes, and thus did the people learn that Kutri and Yai-mah were no more, and that their enemies had met with the punishment they deserved.

THE END

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

> The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.
>
> The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[765] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

538 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
539 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
777 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking. 773 177

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD. 773 539

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

TT3
539

see the luminary, should rule the world. If the bad gods should be the first to see it rise, then they should rule; and if the good gods should be the first, then they should rule. Therefore both the bad gods and the brilliant gods looked toward the place whence the sun was to rise. But the fox-god alone stood looking toward the west. After a little time the fox cried out, "I see the sun rise." On the gods, both good and bad, turning around and gazing, they saw in truth the refulgence of the sun in the west. This is the cause for which the brilliant gods rule the world.

WHY THE COCK CAN NOT FLY.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the Creator had finished making the world and had returned to heaven, he sent down the cock to see whether the world was good or not, with the injunction to come back at once. But the world was so fair that the cock, unable to tear himself away, kept lingering on from day to day. At last, after a long time, he was on his way flying back up to heaven. But God, angry with him for his disobedience, stretched forth his hand and beat him down to earth, saying: "You are not wanted in heaven any more." That is why, to this day, the cock is incapable of any high flight.

ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the world had only recently been made, all was still unsettled and dangerous, for the crust of the earth was thin. It was burning beneath, and unstable, so that the people did not dare venture outside of their huts even to obtain food, for they would have scorched their feet. Their necessities were relieved by the god Okikurumi, who used to fish for them, and then send his wife, Turesh, round with what he caught. She every day popped in at each window the family meal for the day. But the conditions of this divine succor was that no questions were to be asked, and that none should attempt to see Turesh's face. Well, one day a certain Aino, in one of the huts, not content with being fed for nothing, must needs disobey Okikurumi's commands. Curious to see who was the lovely ministering maiden, he watched for the moment when her hand with food in it appeared at the window, seized hold of it and forcibly pulled her in, disregarding her screams. No sooner was she inside the hut than she turned into a wriggling, writhing sea monster. The sky darkened, crashes of thunder were heard, the monster vanished, and the hut was consumed by lightning. In punishment of that one man's curiosity, Okikurumi withdrew his favor from the whole race and vanished. Ever since then the Ainos have been poor and miserable.

According to another tradition, which seems to be among those most widely spread, the Japanese hero Yoshitsune arrived on the scene some time after Okikurumi had begun teaching the Aino men how to fish and hunt, and Turesh had begun teaching the Aino women how to sew. Being of a wily disposition, he ingratiated himself so well with the divine pair that they bestowed on him their only daughter in marriage. The wedding took place at Piratori, in the district of Saru. Yoshitsune was thus enabled to penetrate the secrets of the Ainos. By a fraud, to which his wife was an unwilling partner, he obtained possession of their treasures and of their books and fled, carrying all with him. Okikurumi and Turesh, incensed at this insult, disappeared through a cavern at the summit of Mount Hayopira, near Piratori. Since that time the Ainos have lost the art of writing and of pottery, and have taken to buying their clothes, etc., from the Japanese. When interrogated on any point on which they are at a loss for an answer, the almost invariable Aino reply is, "We do not know, for we have no books. Those that our ancestors had were all stolen by Yoshitsune."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

A handsome and brave young Aino, skillful in the chase, one day pursued a large bear into the recesses of the mountains. On and on ran the bear, and still the young fellow pursued it up heights and crags more and more dangerous, but without ever being able to get near enough to shoot it with his poisoned arrow. At last on a bleak mountain summit, the bear disappeared down a hole in the ground. The young Aino followed in, and found himself in an immense cavern, at the far extremity of which was a gleam of light. Toward this he groped his way, and, on emerging, found himself in another world. All was as in the world of men, but more beautiful. There were trees, houses, villages, human beings. With them, however, the young hunter had no concern. What he wanted was his bear, which had totally disappeared. The best plan seemed to be to seek it in the remoter mountain district of this new world underground. So he followed up a valley, and, being tired and hungry, picked the grapes and mulberries that were hanging on the trees, and ate them while walking leisurely along.

Suddenly, happening to look down on his own body for some reason or other, what was his horror to find himself transformed into a serpent! His very tears and cries on the discovery of the metamorphosis were changed into snake's hisses. What was he to do? To go back like this to his native world, where snakes are hated, would be certain death. No plan presented itself to his mind. But unconsciously he wandered, or rather crept and glided, back to the mouth of the cavern that led home to the world of men; and there, at the foot of a pine tree of extraordinary size and height, he fell asleep. To him then, in a dream, there appeared the goddess of the pine tree and said: "I am sorry to see you in this state. Why did you eat the poisonous fruits of Hades? The only thing for you to do, if you wish to recover your original shape, is to climb to the top of this pine tree and fling yourself down. Then you may, perhaps, become a human being again." On awaking from this dream the young man, or rather snake, as he found himself still to be, was filled half with hope, half with fear. But he decided to try the goddess' remedy. So gliding up the tall pine tree, he reached its topmost branch, and, after a little hesitation, flung himself down. Crash he went. When he came to his senses he found himself standing at the foot of the tree; and close by was the body of an immense serpent, all ripped open, so as to allow of his having crawled out of it. After offering up thanks to the pine tree and setting up divine symbols in its honor, he hastened to retrace his steps through the long tunnel-like cavern, through which he had originally come into Hades.

After walking for a certain time he emerged into the world of men, to find himself on the mountain top whither he had pursued the bear which he had never seen again. On reaching home he dreamt a second time. It was the same goddess of the pine tree who appeared before him and said: "I come to tell you that you can not stay long in the world of men after once eating the grapes and mulberries of Hades. There is a goddess in Hades who wishes to marry you. She it was who, assuming the form of a bear, lured you into the cavern and thence to the underworld. You must make up your mind to come away."

And so it fell out. The young man awoke, but a grave sickness overpowered him. A few days later he went a second time to the underworld, and returned no more to the world of the living.

PANAUMBE PENAUMBE AND THE WEEPING FOXES.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

There were Panaumbe and Penaumbe. Panaumbe went down to the bank of the river and called out: "Oh, you fellows on the cliff behind yonder cliff; ferry me across." They replied: "We must first scoop out a canoe. Wait for us." After a little while

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

Panaumbe called out again. "We have no poles," said they; "we are going to make some poles. Wait for us." After a little while longer he called out a third time. They replied thus: "We are coming for you. Wait for us." Then the boat started—a big boat, all full of foxes. So Panaumbe, having first seized hold of a good bludgeon, feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and spoke thus: "Panaumbe, you are to be pitied. Were you frozen to death, or were you starved to death?" With these words all the foxes came up close to him and wept. Thereupon Panaumbe brandished his bludgeon, struck all the foxes and killed them. Only one fox did he let go, after breaking one of its legs. As for the rest, having killed them all, he carried them home to his house and grew very rich [by selling their flesh and skins].

Then Penaumbe came down to him and spoke thus: "Whereas you and I were both equally poor, how did you kill such a number of foxes and thereby become rich?" Panaumbe replied, "If you will come and dine with me, I will instruct you." But Penaumbe at once said, "I have heard all about it before," and went out. Descending to the bank of the river, he called, crying out as Panaumbe had done. The reply was: "We will make a boat at once. Wait for us."

After a little while he called out again. "We are going to make the poles. Wait for us," said they. After a little longer they started a whole boat full of foxes.

So Penaumbe first feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and said: "Penaumbe here is to be pitied. Did he die of cold, or did he die from want of food," with which words they all came close to Penaumbe and wept. But one fox among them—a fox who limped—spoke thus: "I remember something which once happened. Weep at a greater distance." So all the foxes sat and wept further and further away.

Penaumbe was unable to kill any of those foxes, and as he brandished his bludgeon they all ran away. Not one did he catch, and he himself died a lamentable death.

THE HARE GOD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

Suddenly there was a large house on top of a hill, wherein were six persons beautifully arrayed, but constantly quarreling. Whence they came was not known. Thereupon Okikurumi came and said: "Oh, you bad hares. You wicked hares. Who should not know your origin? The children in the sky were pelting each other with snowballs, and the snowballs fell into this world of men. As it would have been a pity to waste heaven's snow, the snowballs were turned into hares, and those hares are you. You who live in this world of mine, this world of human beings, must be quiet. What is it that you are brawling about?" With these words Okikurumi seized a firebrand and beat each of the six with it in turn. Thereupon all the hares ran away. This is the origin of the hare god, and for this reason the body of the hare is white, because made of snow, while its ears, which are the part which was charred by the fire, are black.

THE WICKED WIZARD PUNISHED.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

One day a wizard told a man whom he knew that if any one were to go up a certain mountain peak and jump off to the belt of clouds below, he would be able to ride about on them as on a horse and see the whole world. Believing this, the man did as directed, and in very truth was enabled to ride about on the clouds. He visited the whole world in this fashion, and brought back with him a map which he had drawn of the whole world, both of men and gods. On arriving back at the mountain-peak in Aino land, he stepped off the cloud on to the land, and, descending to the valley, told the wizard how successful and delightful the journey had been, and thanked him for the opportunity he had given him of thus seeing so many strange sights.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

The wizard was astounded, for what he had told the Aino was a wicked lie, invented with the sole intention of causing the death of the man, whom, for reasons best known to himself, he hated. Still, as that which he had meant as an idle tale was apparently an actual fact, he decided to see the world himself in this fashion. So, going to the top of the mountain and seeing a belt of clouds a short way below, he jumped on to it, but was simply smashed to pieces in the valley beneath. That night the god of the mountain appeared to the first (good) man in a dream and said, "The wizard has met with the death which his fraud and folly deserve. You I kept from hurt because you are a good man. So when, in obedience to the wizard's advice, you leapt off onto the cloud, I bore you up and showed you the world in order to make you wiser. Let all men learn from this how wickedness leads to condign punishment."

LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

There was a woman who was ever sitting by the window, and doing some kind of needlework or other.

In the window of the house there was a large cup filled to the brim with wine, upon which floated a ceremonial moustache-lifter.

The ceremonial moustache-lifter was dancing about upon the top of the wine cup. In explaining the subject from the beginning and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs as follows:

Now look, do you think that the great god, do you think that the true god, was blind?

In Ainu land there was a great famine and the Ainu were dying for want of food, yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.

Now the great god had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.

And the great god had mercy upon us, therefore he looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu land there was a famine, and that the Ainu had nothing to eat. Then was that cup of wine emptied into six lacquer-ware vessels.

In a very little while the scent of the wine filled the whole house.

Therefore were all the gods led in and the gods of places were brought from everywhere, and they were all well pleased with that delicious wine.

Then the goddess of the rivers and the goddess of the mouths of rivers danced back and forth in the house.

Upon this the gods laughed with smiles upon their faces;

And while they looked at the goddesses they saw them pluck out two hairs from a deer;

And, as it were, blew them over the tops of the mountains; then appeared two herds of deer skipping upon the mountain tops, one of bucks and the other of does.

Then they plucked out two scales from a fish, and, as it were, blew them over the rivers; and the beds of the rivers were so crowded with fish that they scraped upon the stones, and the tops of the rivers were so full that the fish stood out like the porches of houses and were dried up by the sun.

So the things called fish filled all the rivers to the brim.

Then the Ainu went fishing and caused their boats to dance upon the rivers.

The young men now found fish and venison in rich abundance.

Hence it is that Ainu land is so good. Hence it is that from ancient times till now there has been hunting. Hence it is that there are inheritors to this hunting.

LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake.

In this lake there was a monster trout which was so big that it used to flap its (pectoral) fins at one end and wave its tail at the other.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tô (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T13
539

He got up greatly rejoicing; he ate some food; strength came back to his body, and—the woman was gone.

Okikurumi saw he had been deceived, but there was nothing to be done and nothing to say; so he got well.

POIYAUMBE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

We three, my younger sister, my dear brother, and I, were always together.

One night I was quite unable to sleep; but, whether what I now relate was seen in a dream or whether it really took place, I do not know.

Now I saw upon the tops of the mountains, which lie towards the source of our river, a great herd of male deer feeding by themselves. At the head of this great herd there was a very large speckled buck; even its horns were speckled. At the head of the herd of female deer there was a speckled doe skipping about in front of its fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled my belt, winding it once around my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened my leggings, made of grass, to my legs, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favorite sword in my girdle, took my quiver sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark, by the middle, and sallied forth.

The dust upon the road by the river side was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and really seemed to go along upon the clouds. Now, my elder brother and younger sister were coming along behind me.

And as we went along, in truth, we saw that the mighty mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does; the bucks had a speckled male at their head, even its horns were speckled; there was also a speckled female deer skipping about at the head of the does.

On coming near them I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the thickest of the herd, so that the mountains became covered with the multitude of those which had tasted poison (*i.e.*, which had been hit with poisoned arrows). And my older brother, shooting into the thickest of the herd of does, killed so many that the grass was completely covered with their bodies; within a very short time the whole herd, both of bucks and does, was slain. How was it that that which but a short time since was a deer became a man? That I can not tell.

With angry words he said to me: "Because you are a brave Poiyaumbe and your fame has spread over many lands, you have come hither with a purpose of picking a quarrel with me, but, however brave you may be, I think you will probably find that you are mistaken."

When he had spoken so much, this lordly person drew his sword with a flash and struck at me with powerful strokes; in return I also flashed out my sword, but when I hit at him with mighty blows there was no corresponding clashing sound. It was extremely difficult to come upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood spurted out of my body. That abominable bad man was also bleeding profusely.

Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought; and when I looked I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain; as he fell he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere; it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (*i. e.*, she died with a groan). Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted, and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then the two, the woman

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman twice or thrice, so that she rode upon the sun; she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus: "Because you are a Poiyaumbe and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called Samatuye. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus, then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful."

Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for long space or a short, I know not; but when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

So I came to myself. And I wondered where Samatuye could be and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come. I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I traveled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the seashore; here I saw many towns and villages.

Here there was a very tall mountain, whose top extended even into the skies; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and, stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fireplace.

Here again was a woman who in beauty excelled my younger sister. Now, the little man spoke thus: "Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over and I am filled with anticipation. You know you have been a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said: "My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me, for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation? I hear news from a distant land; this is news coming from above the mountain of Tomisanpet. The brave Poiyaumbe have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little Kesorap comes flying across the sky from the interior; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, some how or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a Ya un man and a Rep un man; blood is squirting forth from two great wounds; the sword of the Rep un man goes in to the setting sun and is lost; the handle of the sword of the Ya un man shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house I lifted the doors creen over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord; with fear they gazed at me from under their eyebrows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fireplace with hasty strides.

I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fireplace with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus: "Look here, little Samatuye man, I have a word to say; attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the Samatuye man, attacked us without reason? Has he not done so? As you have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

stirred up this war without reason, you will be punished by the gods; you will be annihilated. Listen to what I have to say. Besides, although I am a wounded man, I will overthrow your town. Listen to what I say." And when I had said so much, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with such blows that the wind whistled. We ascended to the ceiling fighting, and here I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated upon the threshold. They were as thick as swarms of flies; so I cut them down like men mow grass.

773 539

Whilst this was going on the little woman said: "Oh, my brothers, why did ye commit such a fault as to attack the Poiyaumbe without cause? Was it that ye desired to slay those who had no desire to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the Poiyaumbe. Listen to my words."

When the little woman had thus spoken, she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass; we fought side by side. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house, and when we looked at them, there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little Samatuye man; yes, he was there. In a very short time those few persons were all killed. After this I went after the Samatuye man with hasty strides, and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much, and spake, saying: "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, oh Poiyaumbe. Listen to what I say."

AN AINO RIP VAN WINKLE.

In conclusion comes the story of Rip Van Winkle, told in so many forms by so many peoples. It should be compared with the legend of the fisher boy Urashima and his Pandora's box, which Professor Chamberlain has so well rendered in verse from the Japanese. The translation of this Aino version is also by the same pen.

A certain Aino went out in a boat to catch fish in the sea. While he was there a great wind arose, so that he drifted about for six nights. Just as he was like to die, land came in sight. Being borne on to the beach by the waves, he quietly stepped ashore, where he found a pleasant rivulet. Having walked up the bank of this rivulet for some distance, he descried a populous town, in whose neighborhood were crowds of people, both men and women. Proceeding to the town itself, he found an old man of divine aspect, who said to him: "Stay with us a night and we will send you home to your own country to morrow. Do you consent?"

So the Aino spent the night with the old chief, who next morning addressed him as follows: "Some of my people, both men and women, are going to your country for purpose of trade. So, if you will put yourself under their guidance, you will be able to go home. When they take you with them in the boat you must lie down and not look about you, but completely hide your head. That is the condition of your return. If you look, my people will be angry. Mind you, do not look." Thus spoke the old chief. Well, there was a whole fleet of boats, inside which crowds of people, both men and women, took passage. There were as many as five score boats, which all started off together. The Aino lay down inside one of them and hid his head, while the others made the boats go to the music of a pretty song, which he much enjoyed. After a while they reached the land. When they had done so the Aino, peeping a little, saw that there was a river, and that they were drawing water with dippers from the mouth of the river and sipping it. They said

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Ainu was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the sh re of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Ainu into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutuberi. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers 302
are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides.

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her 965
head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again 302
she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again.

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are 302
never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such 304
a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed.

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when 539
the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race 304
of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

539 304 the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

304 [566] A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line [531] joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539 rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story," (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538 repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese [199] ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533 by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533 illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755 spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [953] when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*nen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *ante*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

539
776
824

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S.

114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu.

539 ●
776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

158
786

An account by Munro of the dancing mania:

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

●539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* — an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782
845
776
755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782
845
539
755
776

1. *Innono itak* (*invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk'*) *to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782
845
539
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

R2
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

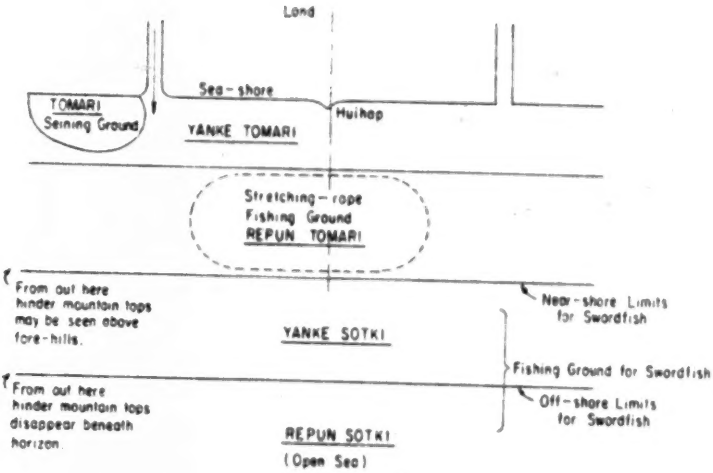
An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer [539] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

kamui of water,
To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

776
823
[782]
[539]

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34). 823 193

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru kamui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of 776

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of said. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-eikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *koku-eikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or 582
brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to per- 581
petuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered [551] ●
a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *uare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been 593
already noticed, and that the various wives lived in 595
separate dwellings and that these females were often [591]
not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVIII

ON NAMES AND NAME GIVING

"Samaria..... Samaria!.....SA-MA-RIA!" 551 and yet again "O Samaria!" in a more impatient tone of voice. With such calls were my ears greeted as I was passing through the village toward my home one day. I had not heard the call before and wondered what it meant and was all alert, ready to set down a new word. Upon arriving at the hut I asked the chief what it could be, and he told me that Samaria was the name of a little girl. "That is curious," I remarked. "How did she come by such a name?" "Oh," replied he, "I one day heard you speaking about Samaria and I thought it sounded so nice that I borrowed it and gave it to a little girl who was as yet unnamed." Mrs. Samaria is still living and is now a grandmother. She is the daughter of old Mr. Bright, whom I have already mentioned. Penri's wife's name was Orosia and he told me that it was an imitation of the name Russian.

The chief seemed to copy a good deal. One day I 000 came unexpectedly to the hut when I heard him speaking in quite a loud voice. There sat the old fellow, nearly drunk, with a congregation of ancients in front of him, *preaching* of all things in the world! His subject was Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and he was giving it in different tones of voice, making a dialogue of it between God, Adam, Eve and the serpent. I suddenly popped my head into the hut, when there was a mighty roar of laughter! The sermon ended quite in a hurry, and I then had my innings.

After a few years Penri asked me to become name- 553 maker to the village. Sometime later, sixteen women

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

● 551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [775] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor. 553 775 [753]

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in. 551 777

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards. 553 [753]

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553
Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551
better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593
once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551
She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, "It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, [462]
while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some phillodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be." 539 825

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.' "

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now. 551

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A 262
little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water 278
cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one." 551

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toikchunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. 539
It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stuff flowed down to the sea and mixed with the salt waters of the ocean and became the origin of all the mermaids and demon-elves there. Not only so, but some of it gradually sank down through the earth, where it became in Hades a big river full of bogs and quagmires."

The name of this river is Black-River, or perhaps River of Death, and out of it come all the evil spirits of the lower regions. Right in the centre of a big quagmire, surrounded by the river, the head demon of Hades is at home, and he has a big body of stone. His name is *Hekuwa*. The name *Toi-hekuwa*, by which I heard a man called, means, according to this, "Wicked Demon." These are not at all nice names and they carry their bitterness and do their work; moreover, [551] they afford some remarkable information as to the working of the minds of this race.

I was very much amused one day by hearing a jealous, angry little girl call her companion, with whom she was quarrelling, by the name of *Pen*. This word means "Lowlander." I could not understand why this should be before I heard the story I am now about to cite, which may well be called the Story of Pen and Pan.

"One day Mr. Pen (*Pen* means 'upper') had a strong desire to become rich. After a great deal of thought, he determined to use his inherent magic powers and work it that way. So he made his own tail become longer and longer till it reached to Matomai. It came right into the court of the Lord of this place. When my Lord saw what he thought to be a very beautiful pole, he ordered his servants to hang his very best garments over it to air. When all was quiet again, Mr. Pen gently withdrew his tail with all the garments on it, and so became very rich.

"His great wealth soon became noised abroad, so when Mr. Pan heard of it he came to him and asked him how he managed to become so suddenly rich. 'Oh,' said he, 'come in and sit down, and I will tell you all

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174
103

Place-names.	Japanese.	Aino.
Ina	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Inamo	Leaning clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Nano tree	Stream.
Nabari	Nano flat	The cliff by the stream.
Sabo	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	do	The grassy plain.
Tasabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Horses in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows [131] them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic 174 period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of [551] the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types. 141 121

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes." 55 192
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT. 141

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 61	Med. $62\frac{13}{16}$	1. $58\frac{3}{4}$	Med. $58\frac{3}{8}$.
2. 65		2. $59\frac{7}{8}$	
3. $60\frac{1}{2}$		3. $59\frac{1}{2}$	
4. $64\frac{7}{8}$		4. $54\frac{5}{8}$	
5. 61		5. $59\frac{1}{2}$	

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it [192] also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133

FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [997] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and [794] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly [552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the [778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [774] [789]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [778] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
● 552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVIII

ON NAMES AND NAME GIVING

"Samaria..... Samaria!.....SA-MA-RIA!" 551
and yet again "O Samaria!" in a more impatient tone of voice. With such calls were my ears greeted as I was passing through the village toward my home one day. I had not heard the call before and wondered what it meant and was all alert, ready to set down a new word. Upon arriving at the hut I asked the chief what it could be, and he told me that Samaria was the name of a little girl. "That is curious," I remarked. "How did she come by such a name?" "Oh," replied he, "I one day heard you speaking about Samaria and I thought it sounded so nice that I borrowed it and gave it to a little girl who was as yet unnamed." Mrs. Samaria is still living and is now a grandmother. She is the daughter of old Mr. Bright, whom I have already mentioned. Penri's wife's name was Orosia and he told me that it was an imitation of the name Russian.

The chief seemed to copy a good deal. One day I 000
came unexpectedly to the hut when I heard him speaking in quite a loud voice. There sat the old fellow, nearly drunk, with a congregation of ancients in front of him, *preaching* of all things in the world! His subject was Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and he was giving it in different tones of voice, making a dialogue of it between God, Adam, Eve and the serpent. I suddenly popped my head into the hut, when there was a mighty roar of laughter! The sermon ended quite in a hurry, and I then had my innings.

After a few years Penri asked me to become name- 553
maker to the village. Sometime later, sixteen women

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [775] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor. 553 775 [753]

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in. 551 777

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards. 553 [753]

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 was to be punished, and so make blunders. And in this way what was meant for one would go to another." Truly an Ainu may say, "He who steals my purse steals trash, but he who steals my good name steals all."

I was also told a name should be euphonious and have a good and happy meaning. Moreover, it must be full and proper Ainu. And so it will be seen that I let myself in for a good deal when I undertook the task of making up names.

One of my first essays at it was a bit of a failure. A certain weak young woman came to me one day and said she was quite certain her name, which I had given her, was making her ill. Its daily influence on her was bad and kept her ailing. It was angry about something, so would I be kind enough to take it off her and bestow a new one. I thought I would then try to work Rebekah in, and so by a slight change made it *Rei-peka*, and this means in Ainu the "fitting name." It was a beautiful shot and the result was very good, for she felt better, she said. And thinking so she was so, no doubt, and improved daily.

Name-giving did not as a rule take place till the child was two or three years old and some particular habit had been formed or trait of character manifested. There was no special public and religious ceremony connected with it. Only just the usual family fetishes made and offered, and a prayer said by the father. The chief would simply enter a hut, salute the gods and people, explain why he had come, and then call the child by the name he had chosen. He would then salute the child, the Goddess of Fire, and the household god and the parents. He made a small present to the candidate. This finished, he would sit, talk, eat and drink of such things as were available at the time. For a boy, the present was a sword-guard, a knife or a wine cup. The sword-guard implied defence from evil, and the wine cup that he was to become a family priest. The girl got a piece of cloth as a rule, and,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553 Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551 better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593 once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551 She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, "It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, [462] while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

---

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.

[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

[45] *SHS* 2: 303.

[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well
[554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo*
[968] *Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki:*

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

---

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

[P. 19 (A)]

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those
565 unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political
64 organization and when they did acquire. from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23 (A)]

A F *175 commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working 177 as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony *648 to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders 439 from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from [464] the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A F [437] The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

A F *175 Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae *648 were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae 439 were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo* 452 *Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

A F 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it [439] was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

A F 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

*175 3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale *648 production was possible and the entrepreneur himself 439 took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as A F the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

*175 These three types of products brought about a *648 change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo 433 who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to ● 554 be independent producers but were actually subject to 437 the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

A
F
*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
*648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
433 and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
554 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
437 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
*648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638]
[669] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A
F
[439]
[431]
A
[622]

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Seia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]
>
> In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the [602] "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
776 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu."—"And how can a little stick talk?"—"It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree—that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
779 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,*—a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
● 554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
342 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

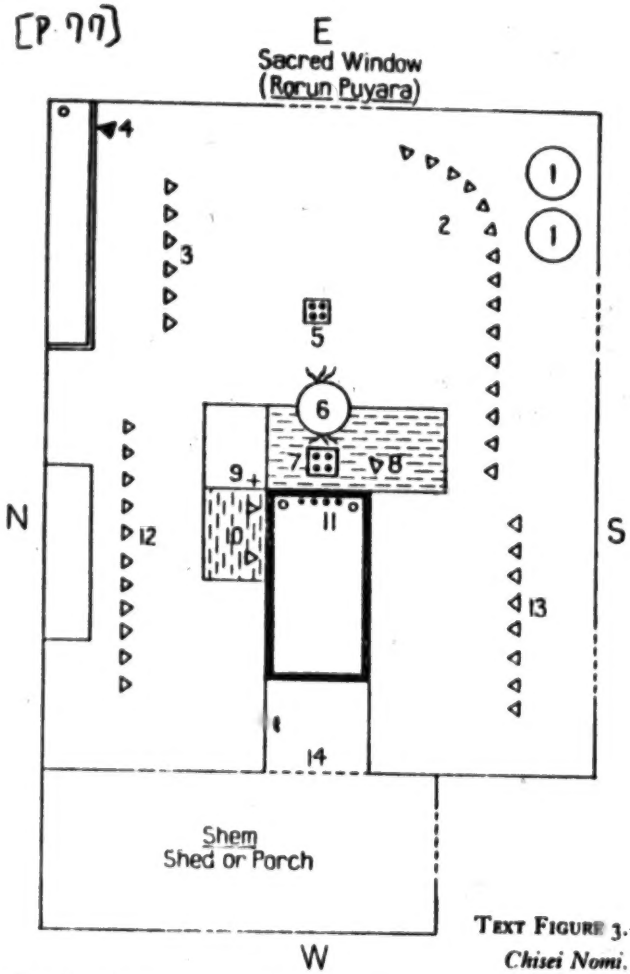
342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 77]

342
527
353
554



TEXT FIGURE 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

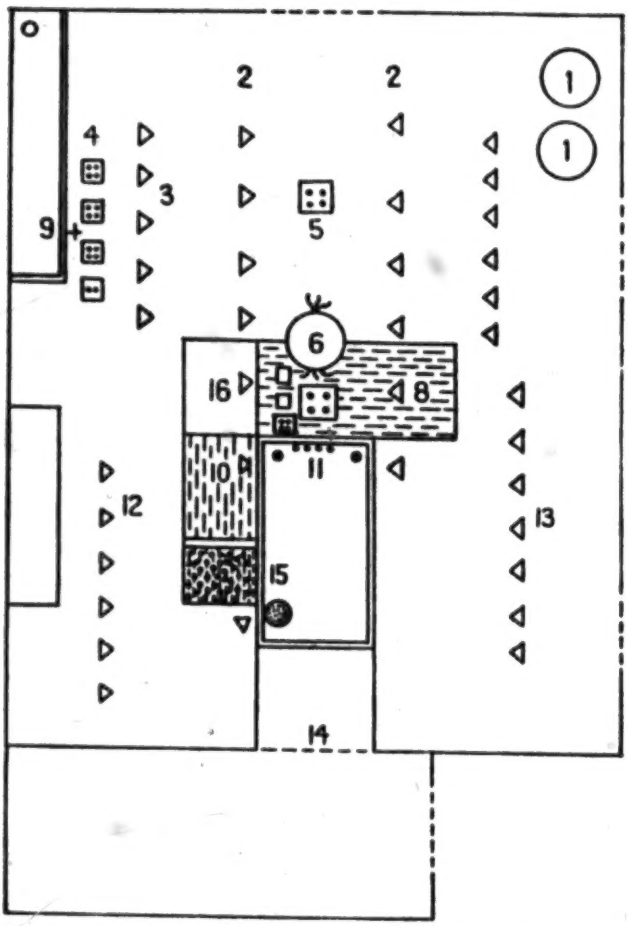
342 527 778 782 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 782 184 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

[P. 83]

342
527
782
554
353



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-horo inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6-Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this [576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and [554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from [782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*ofchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a 264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or 224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. [555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1. [Errata: the word "food-gatherang" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island]. [286]

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

[P.13(B)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[297] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
[492] still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
439 small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
[177] infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
● 556 gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of the death penalty

[18] Takakura Shimichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

423 226 [685]

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

[224] [685]

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [175] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

[671]

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

423 226 [224]

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo* [768] *Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki:*

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare,* existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare,* the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare.* When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

---

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watanishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of *"Usshiu"* usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made [556] for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

[681] power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
[627] problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

[105] The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[962] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
[622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[627] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor
[622] supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> [105] Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
> [421] members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
> [592] support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
> [556] erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
in trading, to control large amounts of property. The
● 556 rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich]
while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those
unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position.
The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū*
called "The song sung by the God of owls himself,
around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
economic power although he was obliged to have
622 proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to
stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a
necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . .
says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with
both wealth and virtue would treat men and women,
old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking
to the gods].

Regulations came more and more to be based on
178 actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and
the chief had no power of control over each individual
except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the
head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone
else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*,
written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family
affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village
chief and the approval of the chief was called for only
when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk.
Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one
of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the
more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those
with a large number of relations should extend their
power over several villages and the pressure from the
Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union
from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power
among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
point where it could support a permanent political
64 organization and when they did acquire from the Jap-
anese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the
Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political
control over the Aimu and the subsequent Ainu attempt
to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 226 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 778] "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over
[231] which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23 (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

● [558] Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 [533] As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[24]). In the second phase the scene of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[24]). This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1, [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3-4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42. 621 476

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there (Fig. 8). And even the party that had gone after bears, if 224 476 [462] [561]

592 man and wife and their unmarried children. The
[591] married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other
[928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. How-
[586] ever, both marriage and divorce required the approval
[622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She
[562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50]
[837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu
[621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the
[567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polyga-
595 mous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

---

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[39] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed 696 down.[40] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[41] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[42] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[39] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*

[40] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 237.

[41] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.

[42] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 241.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A F *648 177 *195 A [484]

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

---

A [765] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [562]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*698
177
*175

Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

A
[184]

A
[484]
[562]
[177]

---

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kozukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

It will be seen in the next chapter how a certain 562 haunted man professed to despise his departed spouse and how he said that now she was dead and buried he never wished to see her again. But it must not be supposed from this example and one or two more I might cite if necessary, that the Ainu men are misogynists, for they are not so. However, they sometimes tell a remarkable story of the creation of Hokkaidō (Yezo), which hits very hard at any talkative woman's capacity for chattering. It is also sometimes quoted by the hearth to children, in order to inculcate the [861] principle of working rather than talking. Hokkaidō, we may remind ourselves, is a fine island about the size of Ireland. It has good, rich soil, great abundance of wood, and much coal and other minerals. It has also extensive plains and is well watered. But the western coasts of the island are much more rugged and precipitous than the eastern, and the legend now about to be cited has to do with this fact. It is as follows.

"The island of Yezo was made by two deities, one 539 of whom was a male, and the other a female, and they 562 were sent by the Creator of the world. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, while to the male deity were assigned the south and eastern parts. For a time they vied with each other in their tasks to see which would get through first. But as the female was proceeding with her work she happened to meet with the sister of Aeoina, and in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat
562 with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and
[181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *supe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

AINU WOMEN DANCING

[P. 14 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562 and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562 in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593 are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604] upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562 the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462 it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [221] sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782] time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304
562

A TATTOOED WOMAN

[p. 44]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

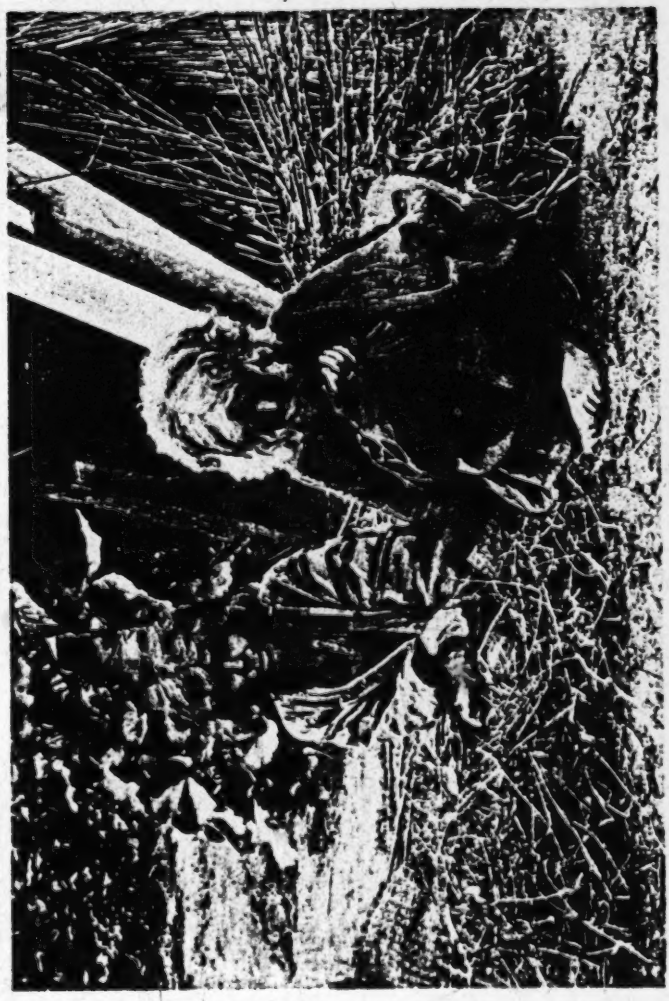
304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so ●562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516



TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-aeramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which
829 followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to
[178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 In the winter time, particularly during the latter
562 part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large
462 salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so,
[461 for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especial-
171] ly after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopping their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow 574
the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of 576
each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told his friend all about his own village affairs first, and then what he knew of me. When this had been done, each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard, at the same time making a little rumbling sound with the throat. This I was told was the correct man's salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson under such good auspices.

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a prearranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how they did it and had been well coached beforehand as to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salution was, I found, quite different. 562
Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife 576
sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently holding one hand over her mouth, though at times she took it away when it was necessary to make up the fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left hand down her side to the full length; after that she drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew this same right hand index finger from left to right

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the
[178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off. 582 583 [562]

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now 585 [584]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-eikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *koku-eikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when
582 the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime
[591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 When children were betrothed quite young, the
562 bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

●562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the hut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769 When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods.
562 Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 The old chief and I had much conversation on these
775 matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

[354]

[276
531]

[562]

Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

273
796
782 Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [695] [682] 684

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

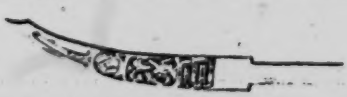
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

[562] Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a 766 village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

766 532



WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 177 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atzis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front, round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the ornaments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

291 177 531

BACK OF ATZIS.

291 294 531 562 294 531 291 [184]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

539 304 the Ainu huts. One day an Ainu clutched one of these arms and pulled it in, when a tattooed pattern on the tiny arm was greatly admired by the hairy conquerors, who adopted the practice from that day.

304 [569] A simpler reason is that the women, not being so hairy as the men, are humiliated by their inferiority in that respect, and try to make up for it by tattooing themselves. In support of this theory may be quoted the fact that women are only tattooed in parts which are left uncovered when clad in their long *atzis* gowns.

The Ainu process of tattooing is a painful one. The tattoo marks are usually done with the point of a knife; not with tattooing needles, as by the Japanese. Many incisions are cut nearly parallel to each other. These are then filled with cuttle-fish-black. Sometimes smoke-black mixed with the blood from the incisions is used instead. On the lips the operation is so painful that it has to be done by instalments. It is begun with a small semicircle on the upper lip when the girl is only two or three years of age, and a few incisions are added every year till she is married, the moustache then reaching nearly to the ears, where at its completion it ends in a point. Both lips are surrounded by it; but not all women are thus marked. Some have no more than a semicircular tattoo on the upper lip; others have an additional semicircle under the lower lip; and many get tired of the painful process when the tattoo is hardly large enough to surround their lips. The father of the girl is generally the operator, but occasionally it is the mother who "decorates" the lips and arms of her female offspring. Besides this tattooed moustache, a horizontal line [531] joins the eyebrows, and another line, parallel to it, runs across the forehead. The tattoo could not be of a coarser kind. A rough geometrical drawing adorns the arms and hands of women, the pattern of one arm being often different from that of the other. Frequently only one arm is tattooed. I never saw tattoos that went further than the elbow, neither did I see any other part of the body tattooed. The four specimens given in the illustration show the patterns most usual in different tribes, though each individual has some slight variations.

Fig. 1 was copied by me from the arm of a woman at Frishi-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau neṭoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutchara and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering. 778 782 [796] [562]

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder. [769] [784] [576]

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1] [776]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562]

[789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
825 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
204 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b). It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59–60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.
796

a. Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b. The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[41]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

52 The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu (a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi* ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle- [782] ment." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

Early Japan AB3

A 105 64 [175] Look at the region along the Ishikari River for example, before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

A E *175 *648 ● [563] The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai* * and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

A E *175 *648 614

JOO Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

* *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

The first thing which struck me on coming to Ainu- 304
land, as indeed it has struck others before and since, 563
was the dreadful tattoo markings to be seen on the women, particularly round their mouths. To me it looked hideous, while by them it was, no doubt, thought to enhance their beauty. Seen at a distance, it makes them look for all the world like men. It is placed on the lips, hands and arms, and in some districts across the forehead as well. The custom will soon be a thing of the past, as none of the children are now being [178
tattooed. It is done by incision as among the Melane- 171]
sians, and not by pricking, as among the Japanese. As long as thirty years ago, and from time to time since, young women have on occasion come and asked me to take the marks out for them if possible. They had begun to look upon the practice as a sign of barbarism and were growing quite ashamed of the old custom. I was sorry for them, but having been cut in with knives, they were marked for life. Some of them even wept when I told them it was impossible to remove the stains. I will give an example of a conversation I had one day with a woman about twenty-five years of age.

Self. You have something you wish to say to me. Please tell me what it is.

Woman. Yes, Sir. I have come to ask you if you will kindly take out my tattoo marks.

Self. But why do you wish to have them removed?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 563 *Woman.* Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark me off from the Japanese as a being apart from themselves and they look down on me as something inferior.

Selj. What makes you think the Japanese look down on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat untattooed people better than they do those tattooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Selj. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it was begun when I was very small and continued till I grew up.

Selj. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise herself to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo marks kept her back. And even when I told her that, did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no greater stumbling block to her than the blackened teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case, she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the young women at times don their ornaments and paint each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is over they go and carefully wash it all off again and return to normal. We have often seen this done in the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 177 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

There are also seven or eight Japanese shanties besides the Ainu huts. At the mouth of the Tcharobets, near the latter village, coal and lignite of inferior quality are found; but this coalfield was not worked at the time I passed through Shiranuka. The remaining twenty-one miles were monotonous and uninteresting. The long *Kossuri* peninsula was before me, increasing in size as I drew nearer; and after having gone through the two small villages of To'tori and Akan-gawa, in the neighbourhood of Kossuri, I crossed the Kutcharo River, on a nicely-built wooden bridge, and found myself at Kushiro, an important Japanese settlement on the south-east coast. From its favourable situation Kushiro is likely to become one of the chief towns in Yezo, though unfortunately it does not possess a good harbour, and is much exposed to westerly winds. The largest number of the houses are situated on a slight elevation above the reef-harbour, immediately south of the river mouth. In the proximity of Kushiro, and just beyond the range of hills which stretches for about three miles from the entrance of the harbour in a northerly, and for about two miles in an easterly direction, is a lagoon, called by the Ainu "Harutori." This lagoon is nearly two miles long, and certainly not more than a quarter of a mile wide. It is divided from the sea by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the water of the lagoon finds its outlet. On the east side of the Harutori coal has been discovered, and it seems to be of fairly good quality; and three miles further, quite close to the sea-coast, coal was dug out some years ago, but the quality was so inferior that the works had to be abandoned.

There is a considerable area of good land in the neighbourhood of Kushiro, and here again it is to be regretted that Japanese farmers do not emigrate to work it. Yezo has a very small population for its size, and I was surprised that emigration from the mainland was not carried out on a larger scale. Yezo is a rich country in many ways. Why do not all the troublesome students, the fiery *soshi* of Japan, abandon politics and futile rows and go and do men's work in that northern region of the empire? They would profit by it, and so would their country. An immense loss occurs every year simply because no one is there to take the profit; and it is a great pity, and almost a shame, to see so much waste and neglect in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among
142 the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the
184 Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and
273 thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

582 Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent,
144 but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large per-
centage die when very young: those who live are generally
492 malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and
558 hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses
151 are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

14 The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-
● 523 breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic 177
breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either 563 ●
race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous 144
and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half- 563
breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds 142
invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. 563
They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to [157]
mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds. [158]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 142 732 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 164 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and
[463] farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[27] ated as follows:

F.J. 175 /122 cont./
G 131 Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited
175 by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,
[361]
[563]

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live
A intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed popula-
G tion of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was
131 explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at
178 that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples con-
563 cerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though
175 mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true,
A then the entire change in the boundary situation between the
[648] Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of
Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a some-
what more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two
has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled
northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as
happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A
G /122 cont./
131 began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for
175
[198]
[563]

4. See above, p. 154.

A
[648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G In summarizing everything that has been said about the
131 Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
175 far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable
G change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
[174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going
175 back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
131 Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
184 particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern
A ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan
E.I.
175
187

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de omdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

A
[113]

K 175 131 167 A 175

/127 cont./ the next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 K [101]

Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

A
K
175
563
484

/127 cont./

with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

K
101
175

5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

A
K
114
101
175
[113]

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of *"Usshiu"* usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the posses- [556] sion of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Eso Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for 105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and 554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those 565 unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan* [557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the 105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have 622 proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet [273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four [627] servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a 105 nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political 64 organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. 000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23(A)]

A F *648 177 *175 185

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

A ●[565] [595]

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

F [657]

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

F 636 175

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

A F *648 *175 251 657 [931]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

A F *648 *175 731 657 [511]

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

A 758 [759] A [756] A [164] [177] A F *648 758 *175

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [565] [562] [291] F [657]

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Nikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the [928] son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidô chô, *Kyûdojin ni kan suru chôsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidô Kyûdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokunu*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

> [622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

● 567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of "*Usshiu*" usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the posses- [556] sion of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Eso Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

A F *698 *175 439

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *698 *175 452 439

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidô, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [349]

A [567]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sôya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurô in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [651]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyôgi no omomuki moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Roki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [567]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

●571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.' 539

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.** [595 592]

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A E [183] [293] [296] According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 431 A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and A [293] be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A F *698 *175 439 [692] [629]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [574] [596]

A [203]

A F *698 *175 [166]

---

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai*, *Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [629] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

576 The wife followed his example. Up she jumped, rushed as far as the door, turned her back toward the departing guest, and gave herself a hearty smack. I could not but laugh in astonishment at all this, and they laughed heartily when I asked if I also was supposed to learn and practice such etiquette. "No," the old man said, "that was a bit extra." Ah, well, there was certainly a cause for anger, but it was soon over. We made the hut ring again and again that evening, especially when I looked at Mrs. Penri and gravely shook my head at her.

●574 576 As it had been settled that I was to be taught etiquette, the process of study began at once. The Chief proposed that we should go the next day and pay a visit to the chief of another village whom I had not yet seen. "Now," said my friend as we were walking along, "you have seen for yourself that when no one is at home a wooden door is drawn before the entrance. A visitor should never remove this, but, unless someone should come out to him, go away again, knowing that the people are "not at home." When the inmates are at home a mat is hung in the doorway. Nor should this be touched too quickly. Upon approaching near to the house, a would-be caller should give a low cough or two or say in a fairly loud voice, '*he-he-he-he-hem.*' Someone will then come out and invite the person in." This is exactly what happened when we reached our destination. The Chief was at home and we were soon met at the door by his wife, who invited us to enter.

As soon as Penri had made the regulation noise with his throat the door opened, and then he entered first and I followed close after. Having carefully removed our shoes, we walked quietly up by the side of the hearth and sat down. But I was at once removed up to the place of honour at the very head of the hearth. Penri sat tailor fashion opposite his brother chief and quietly and with great reverence commenced to rub his hands together by drawing back

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow 574
the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of 576
each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told his friend all about his own village affairs first, and then what he knew of me. When this had been done, each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard, at the same time making a little rumbling sound with the throat. This I was told was the correct man's salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson under such good auspices.

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a prearranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how they did it and had been well coached beforehand as to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salution was, I found, quite different. 562
Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife 576
sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently holding one hand over her mouth, though at times she took it away when it was necessary to make up the fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left hand down her side to the full length; after that she drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew this same right hand index finger from left to right

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

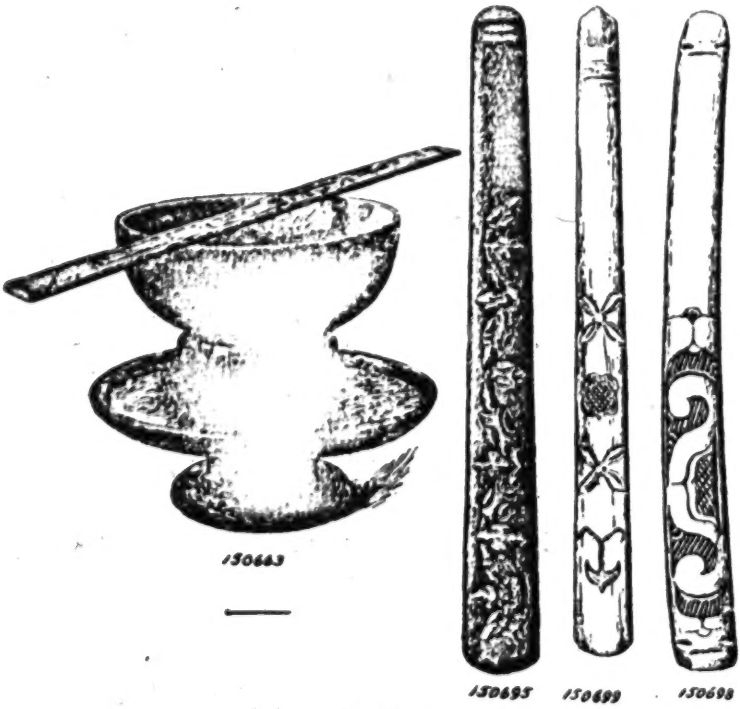
117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354 778 372]

●574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[443
445
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 342 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than [157] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, 123 609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of 136 crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we 229 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

● 594 609 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and [136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows, which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few "bites" my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

285

342

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days 354 are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
518
353
352
789

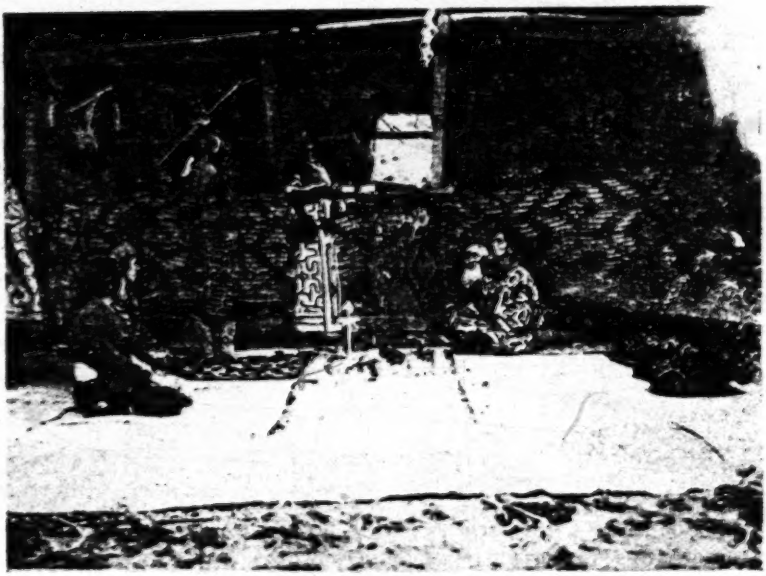


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshotki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. [439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and [177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer [844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

422 [353] [523] [177] [342] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and 422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, 411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least [531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when [755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden 789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value [777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike [773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from [532] *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes 342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre- [513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), [264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the 342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing ● 574 (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with inviaible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562]

 [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu ABC

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
kind of decoration.

[1] The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
● 574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
782 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, [562] imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

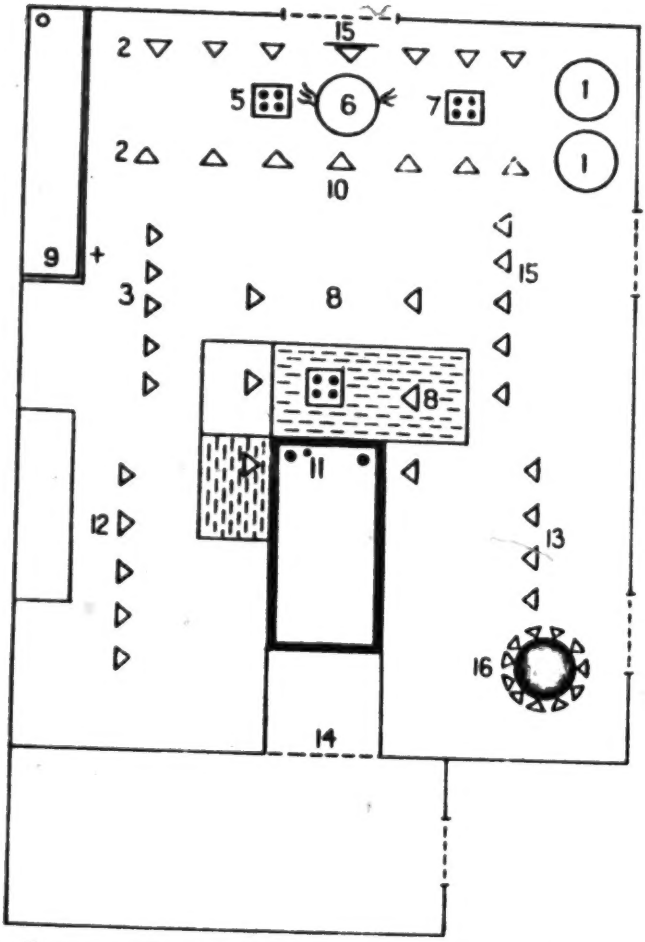
It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 95]



574
769
353
778
342

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa hamui ran wa nitek ha crew, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

538
769
[177]

small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the gl[illegible]ng stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[958]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./

844 [757] [823] the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were ful- [574]
filled and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fish- [182]
idg,[2] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local"--Analyst]
2. [Errata: "idg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[63]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichisatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

A F *175 *648 622 484

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

A F *175 *648 431 622

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

A F *175 *648 574 576

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

A [195]

---

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

A F [183] [203] [206] When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A *175 *648 439 431 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. A [865] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. A [273] There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." A [178] As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

AE
*C48
*175
439
178
527

was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

AE
[576]

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

AE
*C48
*175
439
527

AE
*C48
*175
439
[177]

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

A F *648 [221] *175 A F *648 431 433

since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

F A *648 ● 516 431

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

---

A [516] [431] A [206]

[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

A F *648 ● 576 431

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of nativ . In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

A F *648 527 576 *175

A F [431]

A F *648 *175 576 671

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

A [681]

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[7] *Eso Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

A *648 ●576 527 178

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

A F [657]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

F *648 *175 657 431

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

A 5 *648 *175 657

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

---

[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*698
177
*175

people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."[63] Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Otoshibe and Nodaoi "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekkakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.[64] When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.[65] It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.[66] Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

> It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōya-yoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

> it was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

[63] Ezo goyogakari. . .

[64] "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezochi Kikō*.

A
[576]

[65] The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fūzoku Ryakuki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

[66] See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

[P. 79(A)]

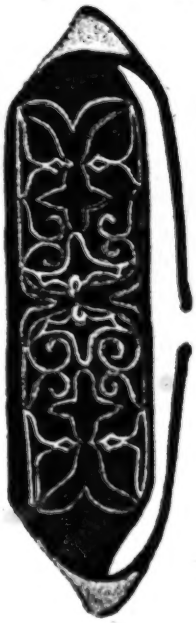
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●576

TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

431
531

BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED



BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

[p. 82]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XII

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

I found Chief Penri to be a splendid teacher, and 576 when I asked him if he would be good enough to give me instruction in the old ancient rules of Ainu etiquette while I was in his home, he was delighted and took me in hand at once. I asked him to do this because I saw several persons at different times inadvertently give offence through ignorance of such knowledge, while others would cause heart-burnings from sheer impudence or thoughtlessness.

One day as I was sitting in my accustomed place on my tub, hard at work, I was surprised to see a very rough looking Japanese stalk in, keeping his dirty footgear on, without so much as saying "By your leave," and go and seat himself near the place of honour by the hearth. His "how do you do" was a quick nod and a sharp grunt. Without a word he took out his tobacco pipe and began to smoke. Moreover, he informed the householders that he intended to spend the night with them. Penri and his wife were very much concerned and asked me in Ainu to try and get rid of him. I then told him that I had hired the house and was staying there and that, as I wanted to be very quiet, I would ask him to seek lodgings elsewhere. Without so much as saying "good bye," the fellow left at once.

This man seemed to have worked my good host and hostess up pretty much, for no sooner was he out of the door than Penri gave the hearth a sharp tap with a stick and said most emphatically, "The beast!" This was as near a swear as he could get and implied a curse.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 576 The wife followed his example. Up she jumped, rushed as far as the door, turned her back toward the departing guest, and gave herself a hearty smack. I could not but laugh in astonishment at all this, and they laughed heartily when I asked if I also was supposed to learn and practice such etiquette. "No," the old man said, "that was a bit extra." Ah, well, there was certainly a cause for anger, but it was soon over. We made the hut ring again and again that evening, especially when I looked at Mrs. Penri and gravely shook my head at her.

574 576 As it had been settled that I was to be taught etiquette, the process of study began at once. The Chief proposed that we should go the next day and pay a visit to the chief of another village whom I had not yet seen. "Now," said my friend as we were walking along, "you have seen for yourself that when no one is at home a wooden door is drawn before the entrance. A visitor should never remove this, but, unless someone should come out to him, go away again, knowing that the people are "not at home." When the inmates are at home a mat is hung in the doorway. Nor should this be touched too quickly. Upon approaching near to the house, a would-be caller should give a low cough or two or say in a fairly loud voice, '*he-he-he-he-hem.*' Someone will then come out and invite the person in." This is exactly what happened when we reached our destination. The Chief was at home and we were soon met at the door by his wife, who invited us to enter.

As soon as Penri had made the regulation noise with his throat the door opened, and then he entered first and I followed close after. Having carefully removed our shoes, we walked quietly up by the side of the hearth and sat down. But I was at once removed up to the place of honour at the very head of the hearth. Penri sat tailor fashion opposite his brother chief and quietly and with great reverence commenced to rub his hands together by drawing back

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow 574
the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of 576
each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told his friend all about his own village affairs first, and then what he knew of me. When this had been done, each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard, at the same time making a little rumbling sound with the throat. This I was told was the correct man's salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson under such good auspices.

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a prearranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how they did it and had been well coached beforehand as to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salution was, I found, quite different. 562
Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife 576
sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently holding one hand over her mouth, though at times she took it away when it was necessary to make up the fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left hand down her side to the full length; after that she drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew this same right hand index finger from left to right

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the general mode of salutation practised by the women. It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way. But such salutations are now being superseded by the [178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

354 778 372

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

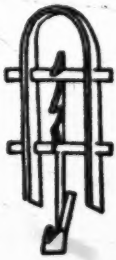
576 ●
264

them by feasting on them. After that the other people had their turn.

264

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eating double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner.

[417]



A POTHOOK

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *fritillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-ra-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
● [576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *sakê* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *sakê* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576] ●
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796

[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Filia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

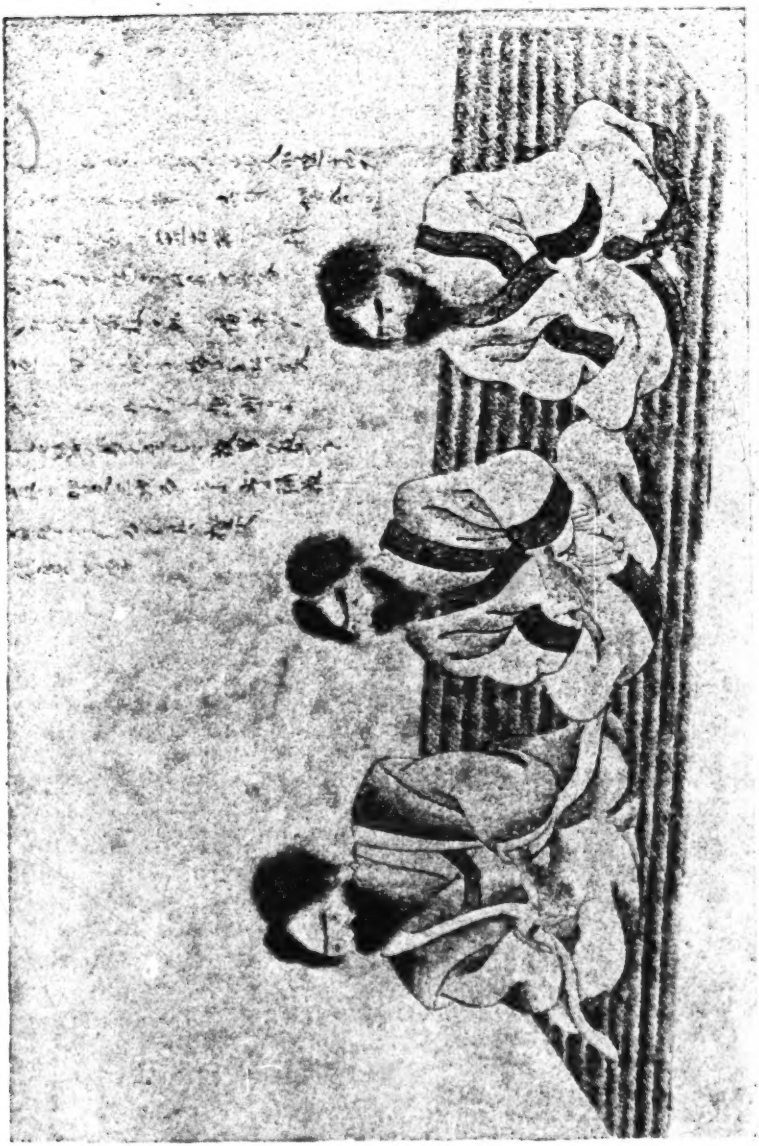
> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302



AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINOS GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (1)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 [189] [153] One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [131] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527
516

AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

527
123
576

The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [292] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men. 527 123 576

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. 527

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process. [276]

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that 527 273 [415]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
273 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[780] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
[273] the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Henry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[292] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it was extremely useful to me. [122]

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for Ainu doorways have no doors. [342]

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrirrurran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

1 2

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARNA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the
152 power of words to compass.

After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune,
576 the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted
533 in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo;* and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they
[576] have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

3.

4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *akashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (a)]

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed—the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
776
778
[184]

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

[576] [782]

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

778
776
[774]

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778
776
796
782

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands. 576●

the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukekashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata and Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water calthrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely. 262

Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petasites Japonicus* (*Koroko-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Ukuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
342 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
● 576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-kwo* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [597] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A
F
*698
*175
439
661

There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

> The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

A
F
[577]

and also:

> The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

A
F
*698
*175
577
661

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

> Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

F
[683]

[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51–52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46–48.

A F was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

*648 *175 577 661

> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [584] [579] There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184] Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. A F Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be [682] poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466] [71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

A F *648 *175 ● 577 661

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

A F *648 439 *175

Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

F *648 *175 624 661

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]: There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A F *648 *175 439

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."[75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*648
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

---

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

157 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country 577 where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, 183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon [685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According 858
to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
● 578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shurou* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichisatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

[P-21 (B)]

681 resented another as to desire to take his life. An
[578] arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment.
627 Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezō Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This
681 can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the
627 dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed.
783 It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each
[524] other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a
681 game. It should also be noted that the removal of
627 hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punish-
[826] ment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
● 578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

toxicated and has been knocking me about. Please come and beat him for me!" I did not like this request, but went in with her to have a look at him. It was indeeed true that he was drunk, and when I told him I had been requested by his beloved wife to flog him for knocking her about, he seemed to think that I ought to do so. Indeed, he began to prepare himself by offering me his back. Seeing this, his spouse exclaimed quickly, "Don't whip him, poor fellow! Of course he may get drunk sometimes, and, after all, he has a perfect right to flog me when he feels like it. Am I not his wife?" And so the matter closed. This is just one sample of my journeyings among the Ainu half a century ago.

593
578

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Now when the flight of the lovers became known, Wenku of the withered arm and Ara-shik of the weak eye raged like demons and vowed dire vengeance. Cunning as an evil, bewitching fox, Wenku called in the shamans and asked them to divine the whereabouts of the couple. Thus did they think to gain knowledge of them and so pursue and find them. But neither by their séances nor divinations could they prevail. The secret was well kept, for the guardian angels of Kutri and Yai-mah were too mighty for them and hid them from view. So after a time they ceased their incantations and let them go. It is true they nearly succeeded, for the two dogs showed much uneasiness and distress for a day or two. They felt the influence of the shamans. But soon they quieted down again and peace reigned around. Yet the enemy would not rest. Their anger burned like fire. The rage of Wenku resembled that of a big wounded she-bear just robbed of her cubs; his fury was like a mighty torrent rushing madly down a narrow gully, or like a roaring wind tearing over the high mountain ranges. Vengeance he would have, said he, even though it cost him his life. So mad, so jealous was he.

Now Wenku had two male friends who were his relations, and they were evil like himself. These, together with Ara-shik, the woman of the one weak eye, conspired together to find out and follow up the tracks of the pair to the very end, and there slay Kutri and bring back Yai-mah to her village. Here Wenku swore to marry her before them all, according to the promise made for him and her during their childhood. Out of a new-born hatred, Ara-shik agreed to the murder of her affianced Kutri. To such lengths did her jealousy carry her. They set out on their quest, and after three months' continual searching discovered their retreat. Oh, the fiends! They carefully hid themselves in the undergrowth by the glade and watched,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

waiting for an opportunity to accomplish their wicked end. The two faithful dogs scented danger and gave warning to their master and mistress. They kept close watch over them night and day. Thenceforth neither Kutri nor Yai-mah ever wandered far from the lake. Instead of wood, they burned dried grass and rushes for cooking their food. There was no need for them to go many yards from their tiny house, for at their very door they were able to catch all the trout they needed for themselves and their dogs. Moreover, deer could be shot at any time from their window, and the lake water was good for drinking purposes. So, too, there were plenty of tubers close to their walls. It was a lovely and ideal spot. They felt secure at home, for the enemy could not approach because of the dogs. Wenku and his companions were all great skulking cowards, while Kutri was brave as a bear and a fine shot with his bow. All knew that he never missed his mark. Yet their danger was very great. Several times did the fiends attempt to approach the lodge, but the brave dogs never once allowed them to come within bowshot of the place.

539
831
578

Meanwhile Wenku and his friends were all well hidden, waiting for a chance to wreak vengeance. One day Kutri wandered, quite unarmed, nearer to the forest than usual. He was thinking deeply and did not notice that he had gone so far from his home, and the dogs gave no warning. Then it was that one of the wicked men shot a poisoned arrow at him which struck him just above his shoulder. In haste he returned to his hut and told Yai-mah what had happened. Thereupon she fell upon his neck with tears in her eyes and a great catching of her breath. She also had a big lump in her throat. Bravely did she, at the bidding of her husband, draw her knife—the very knife he had given her when they first met—from its sheath, so beautifully carved by Kutri, and at his command cut

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful
331 daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to
578 suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[162] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

angered by the sight. There was no pity in their hearts. Wenku in his rage gave a fierce kick to Yai-mah's side, when, lo, the poisoned arrow-head she had drawn from his stricken neck, and which she had cast upon the floor, stuck into his foot. He did not at first notice what it was, for his fit of passion had partially numbed his senses. Soon a tingling sensation was felt by him, and then pain like burning. He looked down and found the arrow-head sticking into his foot. He began to fear, and all worked to save him. But he quickly died, so that his fiendlike spirit went off with a roar to Gehenna. The groan he gave when he died was like that of a mighty dying bear in his death struggles. Long did it echo among the hills.

539
831
578

Ara-shik, the weak-eyed woman, then suggested that the hut be burnt down as it stood, to destroy the dead bodies completely. Her male companions agreed at once and did so. All was entirely consumed. But what of the dogs? They were nowhere to be seen. They had escaped. Having burnt all up, Ara-shik and her friends set off towards their distant homes. They had not gone far, however, before those two faithful dogs, which had been lying in wait for them, pounced out from behind a tree and severely bit them about the legs and arms. Soon the wounds began to swell and become inflamed. They burned like fire so that they could hardly walk. A fever began to consume their whole bodies. Day after day as they struggled on they got worse and worse and quarrelled with one another. They snarled, and scratched, and even began to bite one another. Long before they could reach their homes they died in agonies, foaming at the mouth and barking like dogs. They had been visited by "dog-punishment." They went off one after the other to Gehenna, whining like curs. There they must abide with the demons for ever and ever, in raging jealousy and madness. Their bodies were left to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

foxes and to rot in the forest, for there was no one to bury them. But in the place of the dead they will always see, far away, Kutri and Yai-mah living in joy and peace, and this will add greatly to their punishment.

When all was over the two faithful dogs returned to their old homes, and thus did the people learn that Kutri and Yai-mah were no more, and that their enemies had met with the punishment they deserved.

THE END

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, 301
even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger when looking at an Ainu for the first time, is, as I have already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass, these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, [303]
and Corean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears, foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads, worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he does not know the difference between one and the other. All that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings, and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous to the importation of these worthless articles their ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi.

The large circular earrings are much prized: men and women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know [304]
not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and [305]
imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for bracelets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life. The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in proportion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who possesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortunate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. [578]
For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know how to hate each other! The beads which most take their fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 156

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

101 131 161 208

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

538

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

167 573 691 871 177

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

208 691 871

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 622 used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

A F [439]

A 622 From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

A F [171] In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

A F [579] A F

*175 *648 These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

622 554 156 There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki*.

F A *648 *175 439 441

system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

A *648 *175 ● [579] 439 437

The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayokan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

A [301]

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

F *648 *175 436 439

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3) chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Iqen Zokuwa*

[P. 39(B)]

A F *648 *175 466 laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465] For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

A 465 *648 *175 Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

A ●[599]

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

A F *648 *175 466 661 In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

A F was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* *648 Shimochi of Akkeshi says

*175 Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while 577 others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they 661 would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebel- [584] lious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in [579] creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184] Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. A F Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be [582] poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466] [71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sôya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tôyûki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Utwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidô Shi*, 348–350

A
*648 persons were killed including the supervisor, manager,
*175 interpreter, and guards, and the stores were looted.
●519 The rebels then went to Menashi and instigated the Ezo there to revolt. Here thirty-six of the guards were killed and also the thirteen members of the crew of a contractor's vessel which lay in Churui. The rebels then fortified themselves in preparation for a battle with the clan troops. However, the *Otona* Ikotoi of Akkeshi and Chief Tsukinoe of Kunashiri persuaded the Kunashiri rebels to give themselves up while the Menashi group, following the advice of the *Otona* Shonko of Noshappu, surrendered and the revolt ended on July 17 without a battle. Those found bearing most guilt for the incident, some thirty-seven, were sentenced to death.[77]

A
519
*648
*175
F
*648
*175
178

4. THE DISPOSITION OF THE REVOLT OF 1789

The 1789 revolt in Menashi and Kunashiri compared with that which occurred in 1669 was only a local affair on a small scale and was easily subdued. However, just at this time it was becoming apparent that Russia was expanding south along the Kuriles. This aroused the attention of the more alert and there were those who thought that the Russians, to win the natives and further their expansion, were giving the natives all they asked for and rumor went so far as to assert that the Russians had instigated this rebellion.[78] For these reasons the Bakufu took a particular interest in the incident and sent an investigating commission to Ezo while, at the same time, ordering the Matsumae to be more cautious in the future. The Matsumae clan itself, after the revolt, realized its faults and while cautioning the Ezo not to let such a thing happen again and at the same time ordering them to visit their lord in Matsumae as provided in the rules, also instructed the natives to report any unfair dealings in trade. The contract of Hidaya Kyuhei was cancelled and Murayama Denbei was ordered to look after his natives while a number of improvements were made in the regulations regarding the Ezo. Following is a report sent to the Bakufu in 1790.

F
*648
*175
656
439

IMPROVEMENTS IN EZO

1. Remote areas in East and West Ezo are not to be contracted to outsiders but are to be directly controlled by the clan. Officials shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo and primary attention is to be devoted to winning their favor.

2. Hitherto persons from other clan territories have been permitted to engage in the Ezo trade. Hereafter,

[77] The details of this incident have been omitted since they may be found in *Hokkaidō Shi* and *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[78] In the *Ezo Shinkai Kikigaki* [Records of Newly Opened Areas in Ezo], written in 1805 and preserved in the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University, the 1789 incident is described as follows: "Fourteen or fifteen years ago the people in Moscow, with the intention of getting control of the island, tried to win the favor of the people of Kunashiri which is an island off Hokkaidō, using the Christian religion as a tool. The effect can be seen, for many people in Kunashiri, including the Ezo, have formed into groups . . . and revolt."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

AF
*648
*175

advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.[20] Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (*a*) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,[21] and (*b*) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.[22] It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

AF
[439]

The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.[23] Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

A
●[579]

[20] Ōtomo Kisaku, Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.

[21] *Matsumae Shi*.

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, 481.

[P. 51 (A)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

places; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or 582
brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to per- 581
petuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered [551]
a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been 593
already noticed, and that the various wives lived in 595
separate dwellings and that these females were often [591]
not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Ezo Fūzoku Iran* 2: 1.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
762] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

[p133]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *fritillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off. 582 583 [562]

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now 585 [584]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *swechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *swechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 If the young woman herself or her parents were 591 the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *wirkoak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *wiritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 The people considered their daughters to be mar- 585 riageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-eikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-eikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when
582 the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime
[591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 When children were betrothed quite young, the
562 bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair. 582

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *uare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two. 581 [551]

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had 593 595 [591]

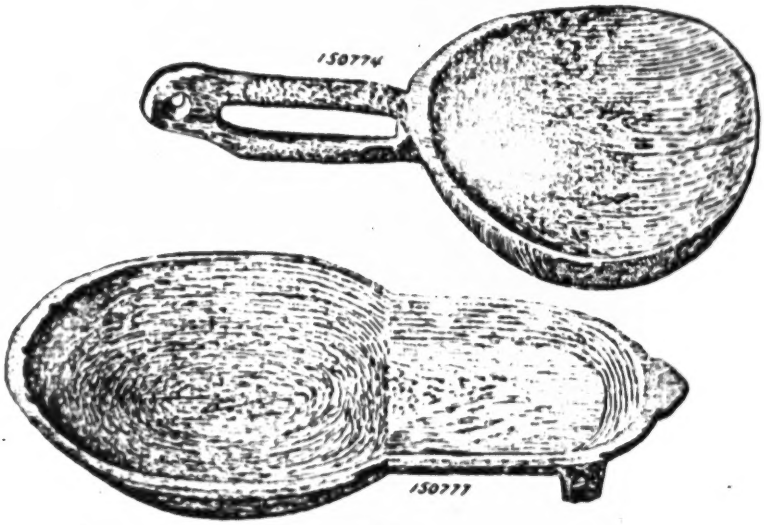
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and 539
handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing 831
each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous 584
fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath [431] as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objec- [582] tions to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they 142
are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant [181]
and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.



[45]

Fig. 68.
RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women [582] ●
grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the 304
mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

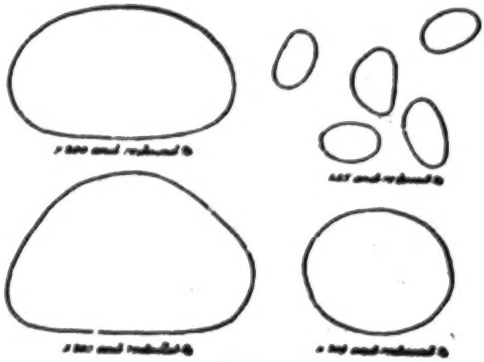


Fig. 70.
OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.
(From photographs.)

This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

161 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them 184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely 301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese [177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

[142] [302] [304]

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in 291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, 327 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

1 [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 614 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [764] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in 462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship (shinnurappa).* When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. 769 At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineal system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*huchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. [582] The marriage regulations discussed above, then, would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *huchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 789 [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

582 [602] [844]

604 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

582

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *hamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *hamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volun- [587] teered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become [611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of his wife: 582

a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as his wife's 1
(from Memroputu)

b) From other river group than his wife's..... 3
(from Asahikawa in Ishikari)

In the *shine itokpa* group in the Satnai valley at ca. 1880-85, which consisted of 3 local groups with 16 households and formed a single river group itself, the proportion of the number of wives who married in from outside the *shine itokpa* group to the number of wives who were born and married inside the group seems to have been much greater than that in the *shine itokpa* group in the Tokapchi valley which was previously stated. The details will be given in Notes 23-24 on the following genealogical charts. [184]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *paseonkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

439 556 in lieu of the death penalty[21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

[583] A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to 226 outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be [685] compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo."[24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [229] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by 582 583 their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a [562] young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off.

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked 585 the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the [584] following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *uwechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *uwechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

● 583 591 If the young woman herself or her parents were the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *uirkwak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *uiritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 585 The people considered their daughters to be marriageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

● 583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus 583
and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an 144
admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, [184]
the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there 539
were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognised a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.**

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] *The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] **It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831
583

ment was delightful to hear. They were overjoyed to find that when busy preparing to set off on their journey together, each had been so filled with thought for the other in little things.

When all was ready and the night of departure had arrived, they came quietly to the rendezvous, each followed by a fine hunting dog as companion. These faithful creatures seemed quite to understand what was on foot, for when their master and mistress took up their bundles and silently moved off towards the mountains they placed themselves in front and trotted on a little ahead, as though to show them the way. Then came the man, with Yai-mah, being a woman, behind. On they went tramping along for twice six days, camping each night in some secluded nook near water. When they started each morning, Kutri's dog alone went ahead, while that of Yai-mah followed close behind its mistress as though to prevent a surprise from the rear. The dogs seemed to know that there might be danger. On the evening of the twelfth day they came to a beautiful glade, in the midst of which there was a lovely tarn, the clear blue waters of which rippled with the movements of trout as they sported on the surface. The land round the tarn was a plain covered with most luxuriant green grass, in which were two big companies of fat deer peacefully feeding. One was a herd of fine bucks, and the other consisted of does with their fawns. Not far off were other small lakes, on which could be seen many geese and wild ducks resting quietly. All appeared to be most gentle and tame. In the light of the setting sun it was like the kingdom of the gods. It was grand beyond description, and there, right under a big elm-tree, which would yield fine bast for weaving into cloth, they determined to build their house and make it their permanent abode.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

They laid themselves down under a tree and slept 539
there the first night, in the open. The twinkling stars 831
came out one by one, and the silver moon, climbing 583
up into the heavens, made the shadows of the forest trees behind them move like living beings as it coursed its way across the skies.

Pau, pau, called the foxes in the distance, and the cries of the night birds, as they flitted overhead just above the trees, were loud and constant. Yet they heard them not. The pine-martens came out of their holes and watched the sleepers with their sparkling, saucy eyes, but they saw them not. A fine fat buck unsuspiciously approaching the place where they lay, soon scented them. He sniffed, stamped his foot on the ground, whistled, and bounded off to report to his family. But Kutri was quite unaware of it. A bear roared not far away but Yai-mah slept in peace. The winds whispered in the tree tops and made a rustling among the leaves of the elms. A moonbeam rested peacefully on Yai-mah's smiling upturned face and softened it by adding to its divine beauty, while Kutri lay with his head pillowed on his arm, snoring with a pleasing rhythmic measure. It was a heavenly sight!

The night passed and at early dawn they awoke to a new day amid the whistling of the striped and red squirrels as they scudded about the tree trunks and branches, and the whirring of the tree-grouse and quails as they rose and flew away. The insolent jay alone seemed to scream defiance. The drumming of woodcocks and the quack of the ducks, together with the song of the skylark, were delightful to hear. It was splendid!

They did not hear the hoot of the owl, and little did they dream of the tragedy which was to follow. And so they abode in a fancied security. But alas, a sad end was soon to come to this peace!

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 133.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by 582 583 their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a [562] young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off.

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked 585 the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the [584] following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *sakê* and say, "We have here and now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Selj. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Selj. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584 to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304 excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. 597] It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825 times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 181 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 831 584 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
831
516
584

KUTRI AND YAI-MAH COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and 539
handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing 831
each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous 584
fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath [431] as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objec- [582] tions to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
631
584

himself was just as obdurate. His aversion to that one-eyed, unlovable damsel was fixed and absolute. There was consequently much unhappiness in his home where bickerings and quarrels were the order of the day.

Yai-mah also had been betrothed when a baby to another child in a village some distance away, Wenku by name, and when she was told that the early betrothal could not be broken off, she wept bitterly and began to pine away. Her proposed husband was a very poor, ill-formed, and fiery-tempered man, and as jealous as jealous could be. He was greatly feared by all and not the least so by Yai-mah herself. This man could neither hunt nor fish, and the very dogs everywhere shunned him. Moreover, as he had a partly withered arm, he was unable to shoot with the bow. He was a worthless drag on his family and the people of the village scorned him. His scowl would shame the worst of demons. Yai-mah had not a particle of love for him and declared she would rather die than become his bride. When he heard this and also that she desired to wed Kutri, he became more jealous than ever, if that were possible, and as fierce as an enraged and hungry man-eater bear. And poor Yai-mah had much trouble and shed many bitter tears. It was indeed a very unhappy state of affairs.

Neither could forget their love for the other, nor, indeed, had they a wish to do so. And so they felt they must meet again. They came together one evening and settled to flee away secretly by night, and go to live by themselves among the mountains, far away from their people. They appointed a place to which each should by stealth carry some necessaries, a few at a time, so as to attract no attention from prying eyes, and hide them carefully away against the hour of departure. Yai-mah took her best embroidered dress, her waist-band, which was ornamented with

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her 831
harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two 584
wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water [301
ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the 415]
way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his [411]
fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they 539
unpacked their bundles in their new home and he pro- 831
duced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her 583
face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 543
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [545
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

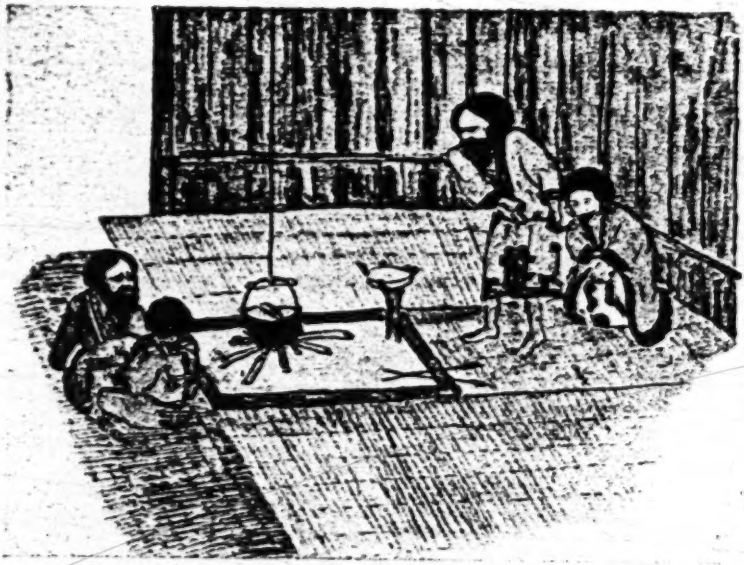
304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

531
585
291

BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by 582 583 their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a [562] young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off.

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked 585 ● the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the [584] following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *suechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *suechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 If the young woman herself or her parents were 591 the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *sirkusk*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *siritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 The people considered their daughters to be mar- 585 riageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-eikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *koku-eikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 583
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [585
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very 58
stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes
a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his
affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and
there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of
closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate
the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids,
no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the
happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom 591
either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for
his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's
hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective
families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The 585
honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride [467]
carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom 342
accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together
as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the
happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and
perched on the forked poles, during which process "family [598]
rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when
the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns
within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds
to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her [304]
arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, 595
for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would
like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 562 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 562 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the [428] son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] [622] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
628] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
431 a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 593
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [595
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way 144 [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 611 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 [591] [768] The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 +604 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi*: grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi*: grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaha*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo*: uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushui* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe*: aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaha ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the
292 Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An
789 old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne*
611 *newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

[587]

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[611]

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is nó sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 611 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 591 568 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 604 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur.*

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[756] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. [928] When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] [622] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there [621] seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese), keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokusu.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *sake*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *uwechiu sake*, i.e. matrimonial *sake*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *uwechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 If the young woman herself or her parents were
591 the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *uirkoak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *uiritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 The people considered their daughters to be mar-
585 riageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or 582
brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to per- 581
petuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered [551]
a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *uare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been 593
already noticed, and that the various wives lived in 595
separate dwellings and that these females were often [591]
not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog. 576

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey. 576 583

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage. 582 [595 836]

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents. 584 585 [591]

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age. 163 853

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent. 586

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin, 764

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

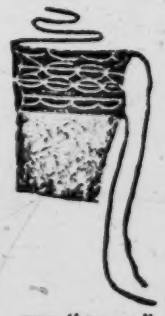
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. 294 [177] [283] [412]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. 292 [591] [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would 291 287 531



THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 611 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 591 168 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 604 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuku*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushui* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar*, *shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuku epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuku esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not 611
clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it 614
by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence 684
occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty [692]
was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If [582]
there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro re- 611
corded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the 292
instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, 789
are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established 587
custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that [591]
a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be [589]
responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters hav- 595
ing the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was per- [611]
mitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the [292]
poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established [439]
trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

[p.7]

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *1*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
	Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)	Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
	Total Number of Member Houses Identified	8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

582 The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the
611 avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

611 It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

611 It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, ill-
602 ness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

582 To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The
591 present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*: "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

●592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki*.
[45] *SHS* 2: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

[P. 18(A)]

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [830] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokutea*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidô, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
592 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-
556

[P. 22 (B)]

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

● 592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for 105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] 554 Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those 565 unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan* [557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the 105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have 622 proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet [273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu- 622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families [627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a 105 nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political 64 organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. 000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very 117
uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it 776
had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, 593
and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her [592]
she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I 539
filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.'

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, [595
I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my 592]
husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.**

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table 1.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Mosesushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman										1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.
Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi Pennai	6 2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi Nyashikeshi Fulka Sarunnai	6 3 1 1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

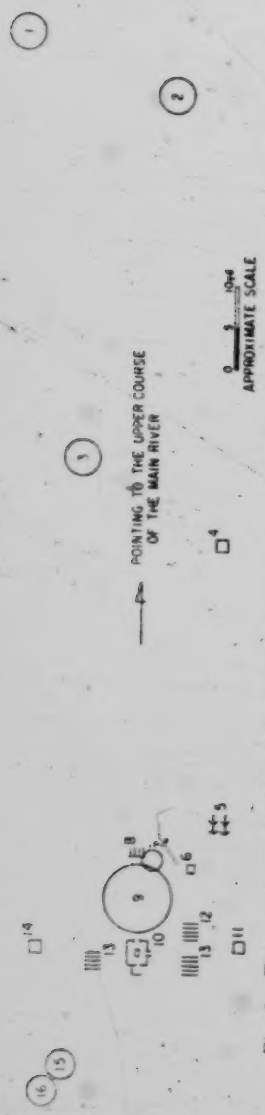


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they 226
usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began 349
to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they [592]
erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change [423]
in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of [132]
thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical 227
in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known 226
to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens 226
of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used [462]
by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon 226
was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to 227
the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[824] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[476] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.
227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
[184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.
221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224
226
476
592

Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[41]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Deer Hunting				Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon)				Bag-Net Fishing Group
		Group	Location of Hut	Deer-Fence Hunting		Hunting in Winter Quarter		Main Stream		Tributary		
				Group	Location of Deer-Fence	Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Weir	Group	Location of Hut	
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Uesah (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

224
226
476
592

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch. 224 476

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work 226 476 [462]

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 [361] Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 614 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 619 [186] River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial group" ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58 of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his *itokpa* (family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important *kamui*), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601 20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
621 23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

very young. 601

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children. 621
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (P) 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male households P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8). [592]

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter (P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601
621

13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

[592] *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their lifetime. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (S) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father (S2) and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1) who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

601
621

6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (*M*) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband[1] (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 households (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

1. [Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

IV

159 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-
592 operative activities among them.
224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from [648] about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both 159
superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also 592
hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They 224
formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer- 476
hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the winter-ing centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir- [226]
fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kap-kotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry sal- [226]
mon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapko-tuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families stay-ing with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk [226]
speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

11: Watanabe B-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.
224
476 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
226 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 42 Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.
224
476 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
[226] shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

(44) 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [221]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593] ●
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy [762] family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

117 I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a play-[136] ground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or 582
brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to per- 581
petuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered [551]
a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been 593
already noticed, and that the various wives lived in 595
separate dwellings and that these females were often [591]
not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553
Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551
better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593
once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551
She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said,
"It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, [462]
while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

toxicated and has been knocking me about. Please 593
come and beat him for me!" I did not like this re- 578
quest, but went in with her to have a look at him. It was indeed true that he was drunk, and when I told him I had been requested by his beloved wife to flog him for knocking her about, he seemed to think that I ought to do so. Indeed, he began to prepare himself by offering me his back. Seeing this, his spouse exclaimed quickly, "Don't whip him, poor fellow! Of course he may get drunk sometimes, and, after all, he has a perfect right to flog me when he feels like it. Am I not his wife?" And so the matter closed. This is just one sample of my journeyings among the Ainu half a century ago.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

157 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, 183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon [685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [[59]] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601 104

8 *yupi*: elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki*: younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo*: elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matippe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *mataki*: younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka it-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ie irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ie-irwak*, and *mat sammani ie-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ie-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku*: nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku*: niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo*: grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo*: great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *uomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-kaikemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ackspo* (or *shiuto ekaiki*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
605 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

● [593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764
ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178
inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291
the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765
the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178
outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291
clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer [539] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other familiés, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or 224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. [555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, 4 [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

182
241
177
771

INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the
[162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers,
361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically
423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and
[184] common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The
621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the
[774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to
825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best
796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa*
[622] *uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim
[114] to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 591 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 [342] [354] The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table *1*.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
	Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)	Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkore	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
	Total Number of Member Houses Identified	8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the [428] son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. How- [586] ever, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokusu.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[558] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

[P. 19 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
*GA8
177
*175
185

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

A
[565]
[595]

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

F
[657]

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

F
636
175

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

[P.56(A)]

A F *648 *175 177 185

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

A [595] A [681] A F [577]

A F *648 *175 576 A [554]

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

F A *648 461 577

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 appeared to them that polygamy was not only good and useful, but a quite proper institution, so why make such a change? It would be an injustice to the women were they to be got rid of! The poor man was much distressed upon hearing this, but there was no help for it.

"Later on, the missionary left that country for a season of rest at home. But he was shouldering a heavy burden and his heart was sore within him, because he had won no converts. Upon his return the following year to the scene of his labours, he was much rejoiced to be met by a native friend who told him that he had, after much wrestling with his conscience, made up his mind to make a sacrifice and have only one wife, and had, therefore, now become a monogamist! This was great good news and the missionary was highly delighted with such a wonderful victory, 'What has become of your discarded wife?' he asked. 'I ate her up,' he replied." And so amid laughter the story ended.

However, one of the Ainu women who heard it was not at all pleased and spoke to me about it afterwards, when I found that she took quite an unexpected yet perhaps, for an Ainu, a natural view of the matter. Said she: "But, Sir, what a wicked missionary that foreigner was!" "Why, whatever do you mean?" I asked. To this she made quite a long answer. "Oh, don't you see, Sir? Was he not the direct cause first of a murder and then of surprising that poor man into an act of cannibalism. I consider him to have been a very wicked missionary. And, why? my own people
• [595] do not, some of them, think it wrong to have a plurality of wives. Has not Mr. So and So four of them? His first two Ainu and the other two Japanese? And does he not sometimes walk out with them all together, he first and they reverentially following after in order?" I must confess that this was news to me. But do not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

A 775
A Gi Go [582 595]
A 539
[p133]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.' 539

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.** [595 592]

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [572]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair. 582

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two. 581 [551]

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had 593 595 [591]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 583
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the 595
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from 591
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

515 indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their everyday rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a 126 trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

● 595 One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

128 Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very 123 talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very 58
stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes
a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his
affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and
there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of
closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate
the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids,
no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the
happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom 591
either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for
his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's
hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective
families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The 585
honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride [409]
carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom 392
accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together
as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the
happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and
perched on the forked poles, during which process "family [598]
rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when
the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns
within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds
to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her [304]
arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, 595
for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would
like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [[150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those 764 who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner 602 but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[595] [1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *hamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *hamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
886 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware." 302 765 826 776

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion. 539 [587] 178

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them! 171 302

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way [597] 144

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

144 of keeping up the numbers of this race. Without it the [59] Ainu would have been extinct long ere this. I have known many of the women come to Sapporo, stay a day or two with us, bring in nice fat Japanese babies for us to admire, and then go off to their homes, happily carrying them with them and registering them as their own native-born Ainu children. No wonder, then, the people resemble one another in many instances.

157 A friend called on me one day a short time ago, who had been to see one of the Ainu villages. In the course of conversation he said, "Are not these Ainu a very sullen and taciturn people? They struck me as being so." To such a person I must say, "No, the healthy ones are far from it, being quite bright." But times are difficult with them. They have to work very hard [511 and sometimes wonder where the next meal is coming 17] from. It is a very hand to mouth existence with many of them. Yet life for these people is not so hard as I believe it to be for many of the poorer Japanese living in the large cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, Hakodate, or even Sapporo itself. The struggle for existence is not so great, and some of the Ainu who have seen for themselves know this to be so. It is generally hard drinking which is the great drawback and arch-enemy. Take away the drink and then the Ainu will very soon be quite a happy, contented, and well-to-do people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake.

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Self. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Self. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker. 584 [304 597]

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore. 825

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[156] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[156] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *huchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta huchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaha*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo,* respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe,* respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.

Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur,* and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaha ir-utar, shine onaha esap utar,* or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar,* or *shine unu korkur.*

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601 104

8 *yupi:* elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki:* younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo:* elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *matakí:* younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka it-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ie irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ie-irwak*, and *mat sammani ie-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku:* nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku:* niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo:* grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo:* great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *itomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ekspo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

593 601 605 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patrilateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 602 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests [605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine kuchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *kuchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 614 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

612 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate
601 this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-mataínu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*huchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-mataínu* were called *ir-mataínu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-mataínu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-mataínu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then,
[582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-mataínu* and *ir-mataínu esap utar*.

614 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single
184 expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *huchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken
601 together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was
614 undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were
602 organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was
602 not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 121
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

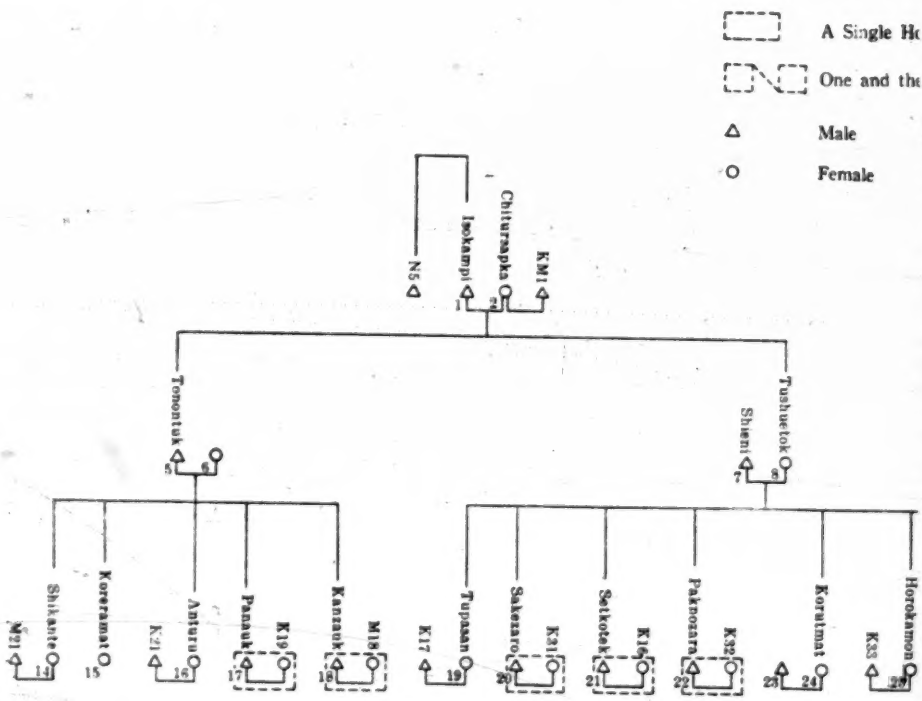
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p 18-A1]

601 Upper Tokapchi Valley[25]

Kuttarashi (K)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 1



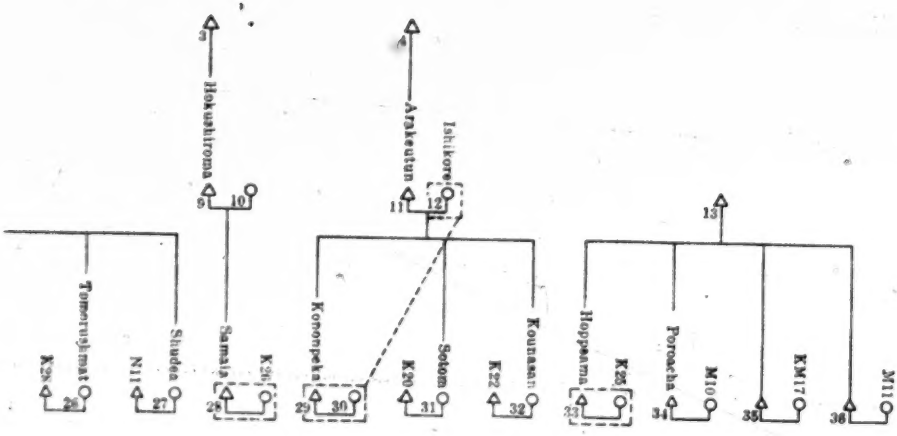
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-A2]

601 •

ousehold

: Same Household

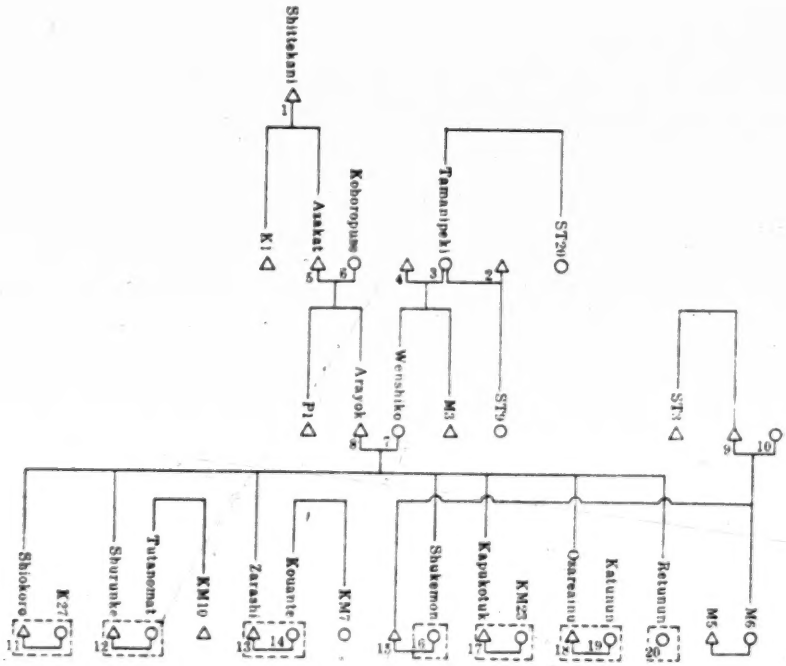


II: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-B]

601 Nitmap (N)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 2

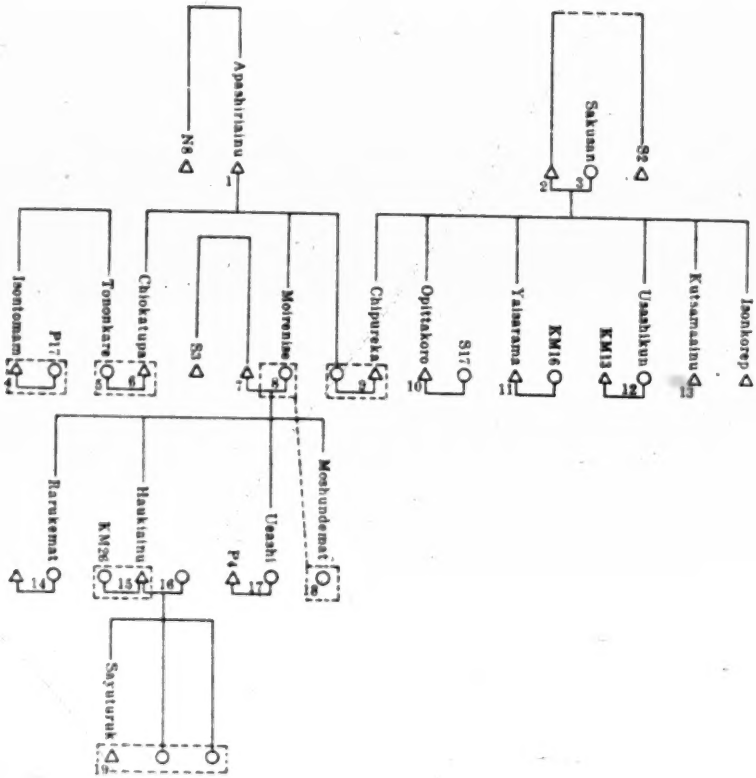


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[18-C]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 3

● 601 Pipaushi (P)

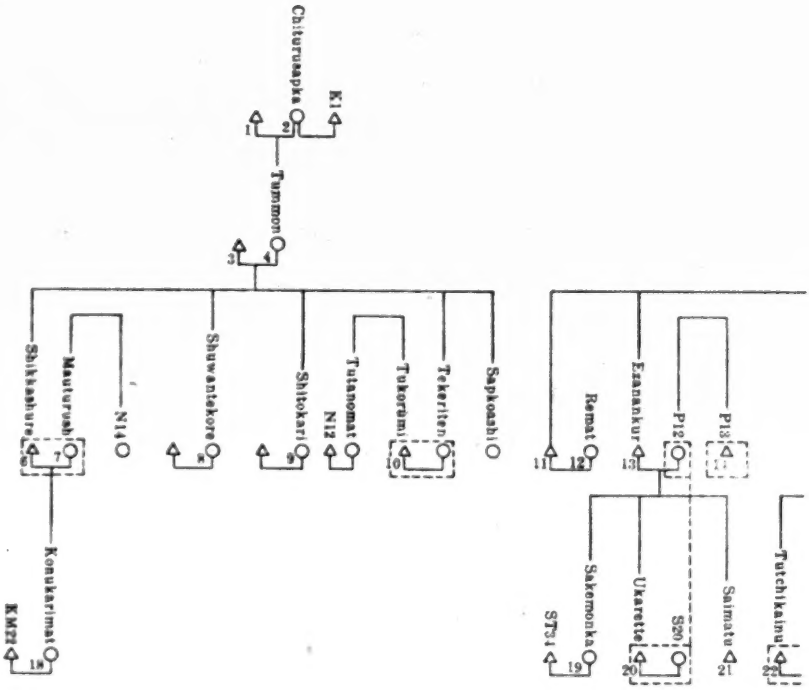


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-D1]

601 Kumaushi (KM)

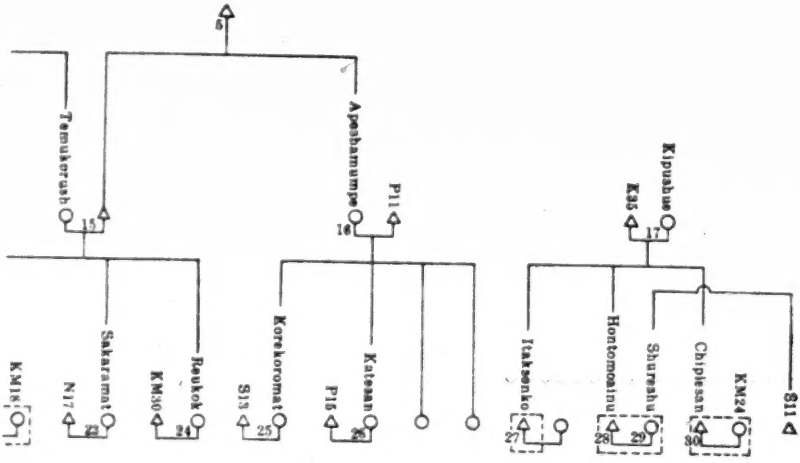
GENEALOGICAL CHART 4



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-D2]

601

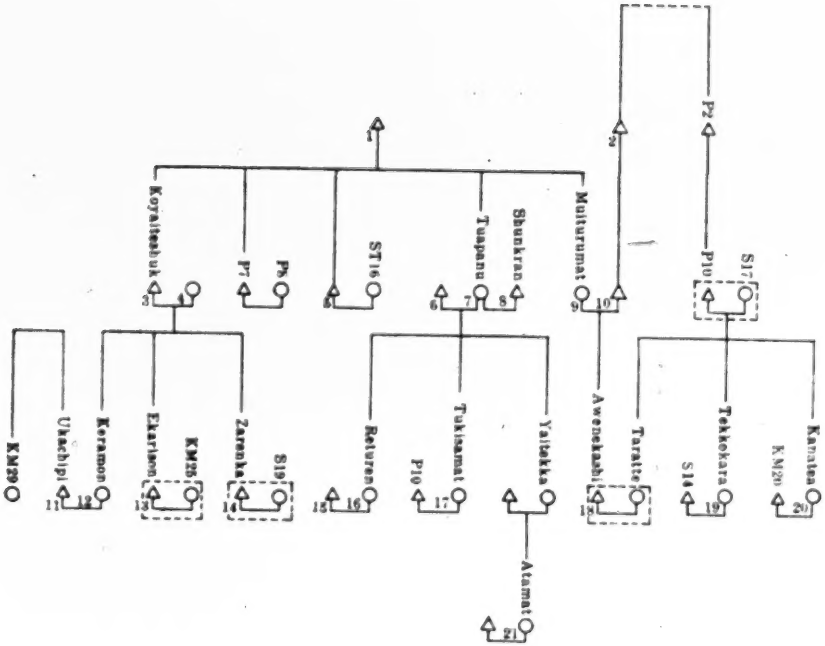


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-E]

601 Sanenkoro (S)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 5



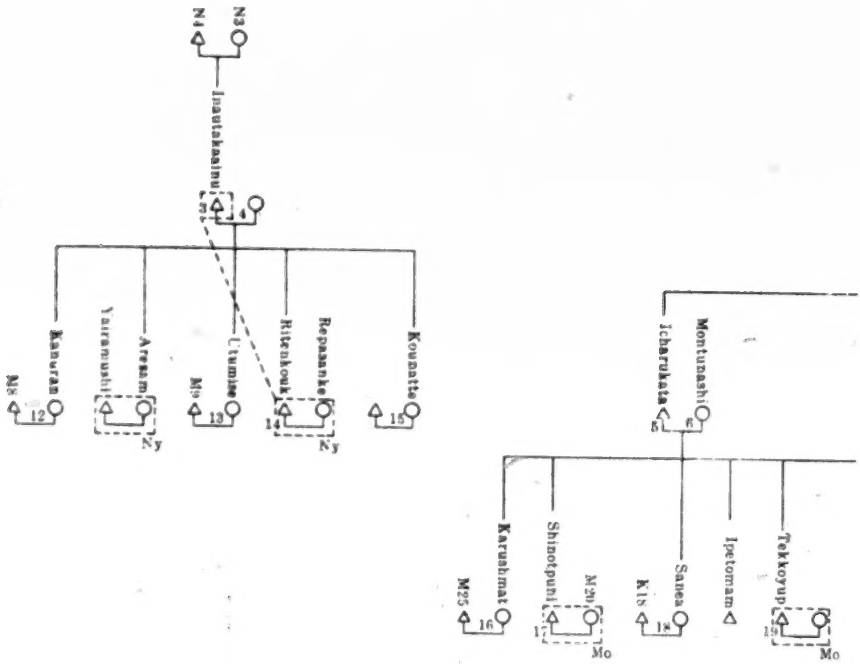
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-F1]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 6

601 Moseushi (M)

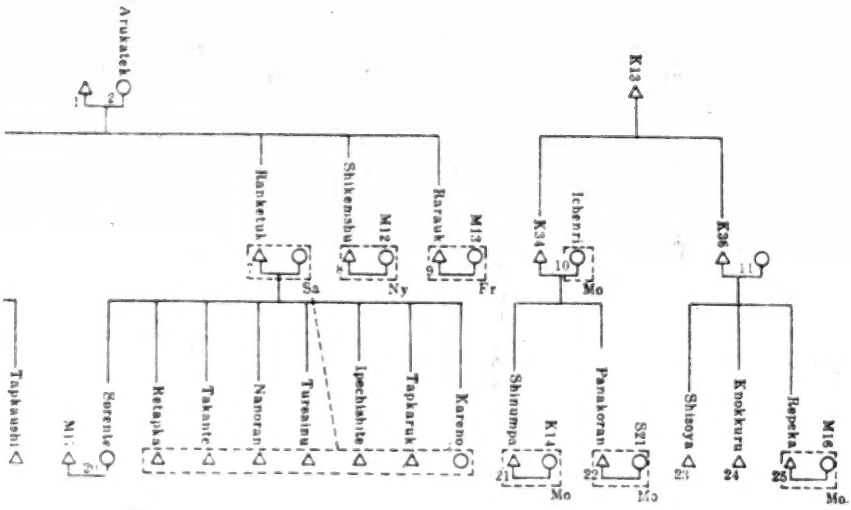
Settlements: Moseushi (Mo)
Nyashkesh (Ny)
Furuka (Fr)
Sarunnai (Sa)



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-F2]

601



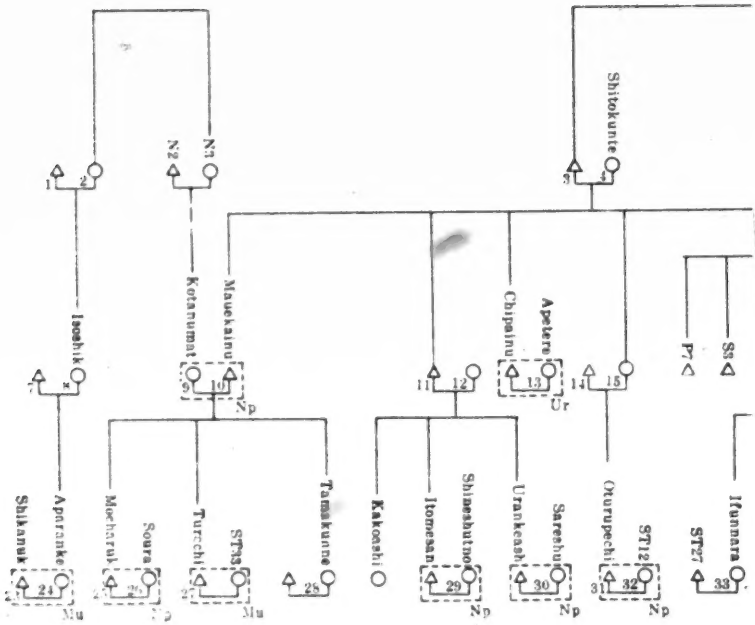
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-G1]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 7

● 601 Satnai Valley (ST)[24]

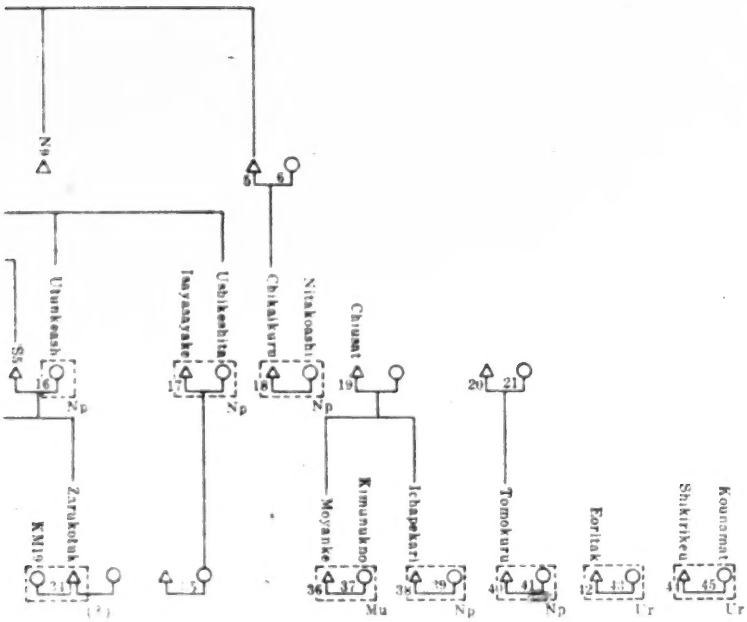
Settlements: Nupokomap (Np)
Munhunki (Mu)
Urekarip (Ur)



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-G2]

601



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

601 621

20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

very young. 601 621

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children.
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (*P*) 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male households P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8). [592]

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter (P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601
621

13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

[592] *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their lifetime. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (*S*) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father (S2) and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1) who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

601
621

6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (*M*) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband[1] (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 households (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

1. [Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

is as follows. There was at Moseushi a native headman who died without any brother or son to succeed him. Then M3, who had come from Asahikawa and married here, was made *utaru sapaha*, head of the people on account of his wisdom and personality. 601 621

1. Either the man himself or his father was native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and came migrating to Tokapchi and married a Moseushi woman. He and N1 were patrilineally related.
2. Female; native of Moseushi.
3. Native of Asahikawa. The then headman. Came to Tokapchi, married a Kuttarashi woman and then became headman of Moseushi. His wife having already been dead, lived with his son (M14). Patrilineal relative of M5 and others. See N3.
4. Female; native of Kuttarashi.
5. An eldest son; native of Shikaripet; had lived from infancy at Asahikawa. Detailed circumstances not known.
6. Female; native of Satnai and grew up at Shikaripet. For more information see note on N15.

7, 8 and 9. All native residents of Shikaripet.

10. Female; native of Moseushi. Married to K34, a man from Kuttaraushi. Widowed, she now lived alone in a separate house by her son's.
11. Female; native of Shikaripet. Married to a man from Kuttarashi K36 and lived at Moseushi.
14. "Ottena" in charge of negotiation with Japanese authorities. See N9.
15. Went as bride to the neighbouring Otopuke river area.
18. Went from Shikaripet to be wife of a Kuttarashi man (K18). Her father M5, as reported, had lived from infancy at Asahikawa; but it is not known whether he later came back to Shikaripet or not.
20. The only one of her siblings that married.

23 and 24. Both brothers married women of Memroput on the middle Tokapchi and lived there; 25 alone was at Moseushi.

(24) Explanation of the genealogical chart concerning the Satnai river area.

Three local groups, each forming a single settlement group, made a corporate *shine ekashi ikiru* or *shine itokpa* group. Nupokomap contained 9 houses, Urekarip 3 and Munhunki 3. Four house-heads out of nine of Nupokomap (ST10, 18, 29's husband and 30's), one out of three of Urekarip (ST13's husband and one out of three of Munhunki (ST27) were patrilineal kin descending from a common ancestor from Satnai. All the headmen in the Satnai river area were drawn from these particular kinsmen, those of Nukopomap, Urekarip and Munhunki being ST10, ST13's husband and ST27 respectively.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601
621

1. Male; native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari. A relative of N2, another Asahikawa man.
2. Female; native and resident of Asahikawa.
3. Male; native of Urekarip. Son of a man from the area of the Tottapet, tributary of the river Satnai.
4. Female; native of Satnai.
5. Son of a man from Tottapet in Satnai.
6. Came as bride from Fushiko.

7 and 8. Both natives of Asahikawa; the man and wife came originally with ST9 as escorts and helpers when she came as bride from 'far-off Shikaripet' to Satnai. They remained and settled down by the side of ST9's.

9. Came from Shikaripet as bride. For reasons not known, went back to Shikaripet, where she died.
10. Male; had always been in Satnai. Reported as the then first headman in all the Satnai area.
12. Came as bride from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi seacoast. She was first married to ST11, on whose death she went home to Perutnai taking her children. When she returned to Satnai, was wife of ST31.
13. Female; native of Satnai.
14. Male; probably from Pipairu.
16. Went to Pipaushi as bride. On her spouse's death at Pipaushi, came home to Satnai with her two children (ST33 and 34) and lived at Nupokomap. At the date was living by herself.
17. Male; had always been in Satnai; resident thereof.
19. Male; had always been in Satnai.

20 and 21. Probably native of Pipaushi, with homes there.

23. Male from Fushiko.
24. Native of Satnai.
25. Soon after marriage moved with his wife to her home, Otopuke, at about the time when Ushino, my informant, also moved from Nitmap to Kene, at the outset of the farming-land allotment programme for the Ainu.
26. Female; came as bride from the Otopuke river area.
28. Went to Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi as bride.
29. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
30. Came as bride from Perutnai near the coast of Tokapchi.
31. An only child.
34. Native of Pipaushi; his father having died in his infancy, grew up in Satnai which was his mother's home, and married there. Changed

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

wives. Several times came to Nitmap to join bear ceremonies but his *kotan* is not clearly identified. 601 621

35. Eldest of brothers and sisters. Went in marriage to the Otopuke area and died young. Was outlived by 3 brothers, Ikuchishi, Fushine and Irusanke, who were all unmarried at the date.
36. Had always been in Satnai.
37. Came as bride from Chirokto on the middle Tokapchi.
38. Male; had always been in Satnai. He and ST37 were brothers. Having lost one child, lived childless.
39. Came as bride from Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi.
40. Probably native of Pipaushi. Siblings unknown. Had 6 daughters and 1 son.
41. Female; native of Fushiko.
42. Male; native of Satnai.
43. Female from Fushiko.
44. Female; native of Satnai.
45. Came from Fushiko as bride.

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

G *601 177 Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G 121 *601 171

G *601 171 We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

A ● 601 171

T [601 171]

Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

G *601 171 T 601 171 [648]

/132 cont. /One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 171 Gi T 601 171 G *601 171 Gi [601 171]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

G /236 cont./
*174
601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak,
101 we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our
174 survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically
● 601 unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is
835 equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides
A with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteris-
[611 tic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pro-
614] nounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and
423 the methods used but there were probably some that
226 extended over the area of several villages judging from
224 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[476] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336–337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached
[888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

582 out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one [602] another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

831 The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for 853 children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children 844 till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn 842 fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

165 There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe 847 exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The [165] greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for [273] alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from [199] the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old 162 men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
602 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

612 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate
601 this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-mataínu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-mataínu* were called *ir-mataínu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-mataínu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-mataínu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then,
[582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-mataínu* and *ir-mataínu esap utar*.

In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single
614 expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group
184 (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken
601 together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was
614 undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were
602 organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was
602 not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

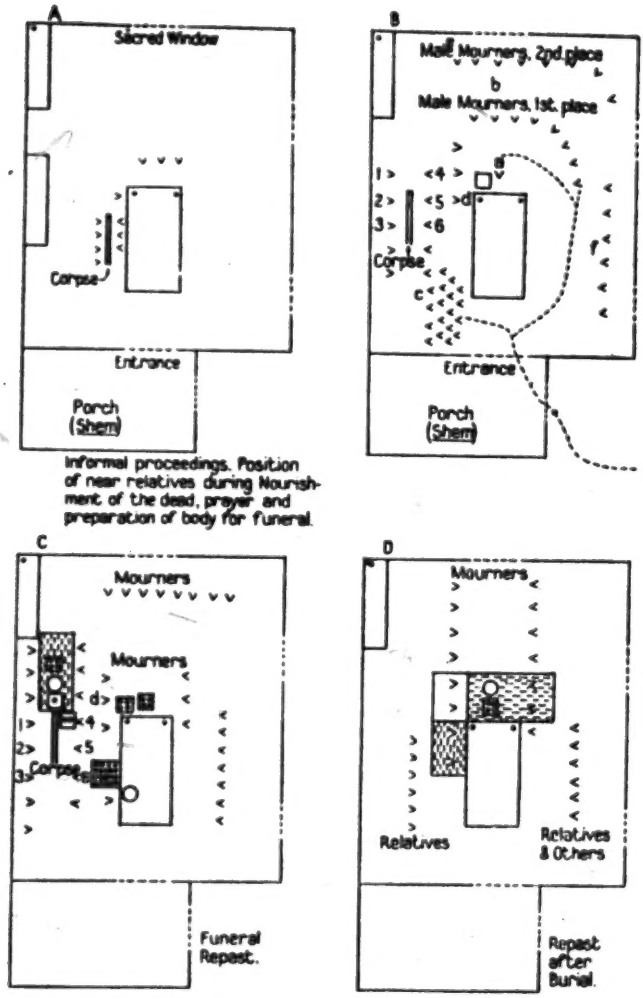
1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327.

[P. 127]

342
764
602



TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those 764 who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner ●602 but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[595] [1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

611 Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[141] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 562 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 562 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[382] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

649 that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

582 611 The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

611 It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

611 602 It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

582 591 To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles
476 of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic
593 species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gatherang[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or
224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the
476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category
[602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p.
[555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single
621 cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gatherang" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan*, (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 home to Rucha with her husband, a Tokapchi man, and their children and,
602 after staying for about four years at a house of their building close by Kazari's, went back again to their area.

621 An ancestress five generations before Kazari, who came from Arumoisan,
609 or Kitami as it is now called, was turned out of home by her husband who was also of Arumoisan. Crossing the mountains with an infant boy, she came over to Otopuke seeking help. Here, after working for some time as *ussiu*, servant, to the then headman of Naitai, she was remarried to an Otopuke man; her son when grown up married a local daughter and settled down as a regular member of the local group.

A few more examples follow which are related to the *anun utari* that came to the Tokapchi river area from the Ishikari. An Ishikari married couple came across the mountains with two sons called Ukachipi and Kotumiseainu, a daughter called Shureshu and an unmarried young man. They came to Nitmap *kotan*, whose headman—by what process or circumstances no one now knows—arranged for them eventually to build a house at Penke Pipaushi, and lived there. Whether the man and woman went back to Ishikari or not is unknown; when Ushino, my informant from Nitmap, knew, they had both already died. Their children who had come to Tokapchi when very young grew up there. Ukachipi married an elder sister of Ekarison of Sanenkoro *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 5, S 11), Kotumiseainu married a woman of Shupusara *kotan* on the middle Tokapchi and Shureshu, the daughter, became wife of Hontomoainu of Kumaushi *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 4, KM 29). The young man brought with them from Ishikari afterwards went home, where he married a local woman; later he came again with his wife to live in Tokapchi and there begot a son. But later he again went back to Ishikari.

There were two families who had come to Tokapchi from Chikapuni in Ishikari where they were to return after a few years. They were Tamanipeki (Genealogical Chart 2, N3) and her husband and Tuapanu (Genealogical Chart 5, S7) and her husband with their young daughters Returen and Tukisamat and son Yaitekka. Little is known about what circumstances or relationship had brought them where they were; but at any rate Inautakaainu (Genealogical Chart 6, M3), who married a woman from Kuttarashi and lived at Moseushi, and his sister Wenshiko (Genealogical Chart 2, N7), wife of Arayok of Nitmap, were Tamenipeki's children by her first husband; Kotanumat (Genealogical Chart 7, ST9), wife of Mauekainu of the Satnai area, was her child by her second husband that came with her to Tokapchi. Tukisamat (Genealogical Chart 5, S17), first daughter of Tuapano, was also married to Opittakoro of Sanenkoro *kotan* in Tokapchi.

There is no doubt about these children of Tamanipeki and Tuapano having married before their parents went home to Ishikari, but little can be

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *paseonkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [221]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

● 604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer [539] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601 104

8 *yupi:* elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki:* younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo:* elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *mataki:* younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka ie-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ie irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ie-irwak*, and *mat sammani ie-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ie-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku:* nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku:* niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo:* grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo:* great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuhu*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machihi*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machihi*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *itomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ackspo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

593 601 605 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patrilateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 602 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests [605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 614 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 796 798 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

614 porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure"
[608] (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an
621 entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's
[428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property
[613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear
621 what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu
[622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma
[115] Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 796 621 608 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*. ....and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 (13) A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934).
531 Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown
[779] and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 (14) Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River
614 area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula
608 of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was requfred to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18.). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." (Ibid.) A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* ahd *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the 621
word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial 614
group" ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* 609
constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The [623]
chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58 of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant [464]
to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the [592]
master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his 621
itokpa family mark and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important 614
kamui), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, 609
heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase* 608
onkami to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1, [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621 622 614

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621 614 114

(15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614 608 778

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [838] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

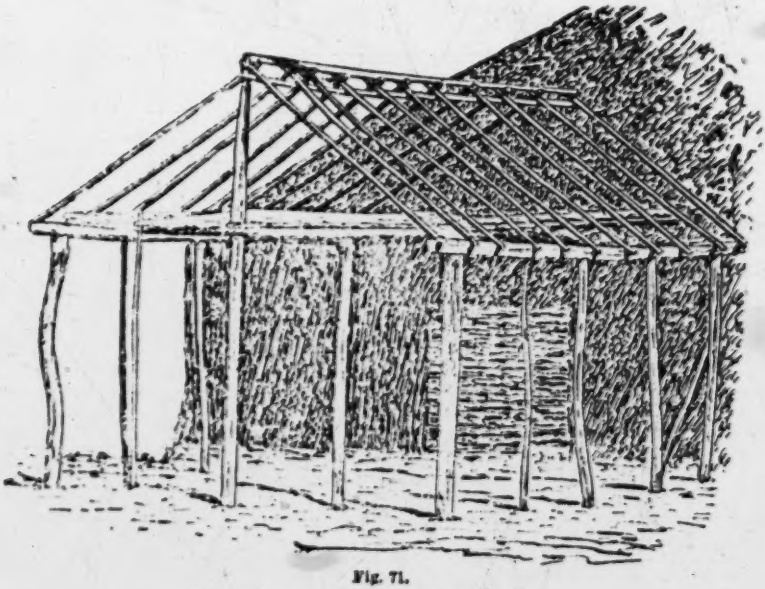


Fig. 71.
FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINO HOUSE.
(From a photograph.)

The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 199

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

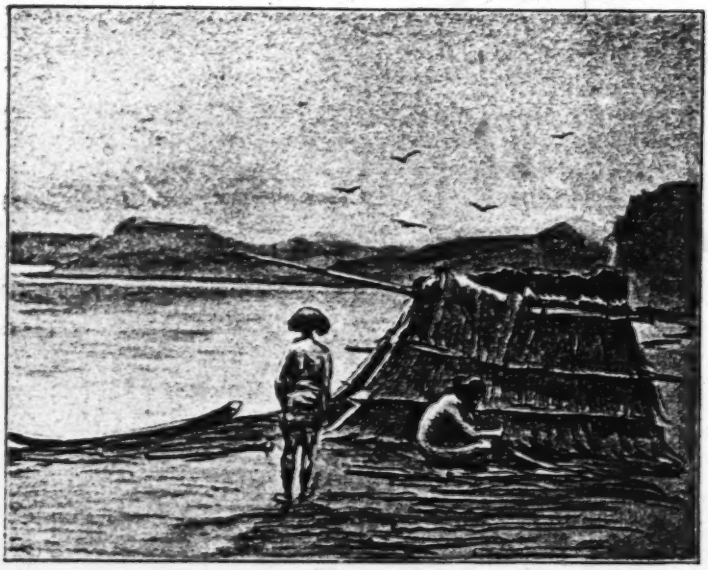
same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [557] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123 609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

knives. They did not pay much attention to me, and this disregard of what would be to others a cause of curiosity and interruption I afterwards found to be a characteristic of the Ainu. They are seldom distracted from any particular idea that occupies their mind at a certain moment. In fact, they are so little accustomed to reflect at all, that it seems almost impossible for them to think of two things at the same time. Of all the existing races of mankind they may be said to be the most purely one-idea'd.

123 609

Stark naked, with their long hair streaming in the wind, they formed a picturesque group. What a chance for a sketch! I sat down on the sand, opened my paint-box, and dashed off a picture, when a young lad, who had taken his share of the fish, came over to see what I was doing. "What is it?" he asked me in broken Japanese, to which question I answered that I was painting the group of them. The news seemed to give him a shock. He rejoined the others, excitedly muttered some words, and apparently told them that I had painted the whole group, fish and all. Had anyone among them been struck by lightning, they could certainly not have looked more dismayed. I never knew until then that painting could have such an overpowering effect on people, except, perhaps, when one has sat to an amateur artist for one's own likeness, the result of which is often one of dumb and blank amazement. Anger and disgust naturally followed. The fish was thrown aside, but not the knives, armed with which they all rushed at my back. The sudden change of ideas had evidently made them exceedingly angry. The grumbling became very loud, and louder still when they saw me complacently giving the finishing touches to the fish, which was now left alone, and not as before shifted about every second. They grew wilder and wilder, until one of the crowd shouted in my ears some words which sounded remarkably like swearing. Nevertheless it takes more than that to stop me from sketching; but . . . "By Jove!" I exclaimed, when, all of a sudden, a rush was made on me. My paint-box, picture, palette and brushes were snatched out of my hands and smashed or flung away, and I found myself stretched on the sand, my late involuntary sitters holding me down fast by the legs and arms. A big knife was kept well over my head, so that I should not attempt

[291]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

to move, while the painting, on a heavy wooden panel, was being mercilessly destroyed by others. "If these are Christians, well I am . . ." were, I must confess, the first words that rose to my lips.

It is, indeed, difficult to describe how and what one feels when, to all appearance, one is going to be murdered—for painting a fish! My first thought, of course, went to my parents. My next was, what a nuisance it was to be murdered with the sun shining in my eyes, so that I could not even see who would give me the "finishing touch." All the events of my life, the bad ones first, flashed across my mind in those few seconds, and then I almost began to feel as if I had made my first steps into the other world, and I could see angels and devils disputing for my company—the devils, of course, having by far the largest claims. The bitterness of death had in some sense passed, when, to my great astonishment, and with a few, but very sound, kicks I was made to understand that I could get up and go.

The sensation of being brought back to life, when one has made up one's mind to be dead, notwithstanding the abrupt manner in which it was produced, was indeed a pleasant one. I did get up, and pretty quick, I can tell you; but only to see my poor wooden paint-box floating half-smashed in the sea, my brushes stuck here and there in the sand, and the sketch utterly destroyed.

My assailants were about fifteen or twenty, and I was alone. Stupidly enough, and relying on the Christianity of the people, I had not burdened myself with the extra weight of my revolver; I had left it with my heavy luggage in the small Japanese tea-house where I had put up, nearly a mile away. The Japanese police-station was at Washibets, another village some miles off. Nothing was left for me but to pick up the few unbroken brushes which were within easy reach and retire; but I was neither frightened nor conquered, and I swore to myself that I would have my revenge. I hurried to the tea-house, took my revolver, and filled my pocket with cartridges, then I ran back to the spot where I had sketched and been assaulted. There they all were as I had left them, one of them mimicking me with the broken palette, which he had fished out of the sea. I had kept well behind

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
609

some thick brushwood, so that they should not see me, and for some time watched them unobserved. The imitation was perfect. The impromptu Raphael's hair was long enough to give him the look of an artist, and he was sufficiently brave to carry on his imitation sketching under a shower of missiles and sand thrown at him by his friends and companions. As he turned his head I recognised in my brother-artist the man who had been holding the knife over my head about an hour before, and also the very person who had given me the soundest kick. Just like a brother-artist! If my sketching had not lasted long, his parody was even shorter. I sprang out from the brushwood screen and caught him by the throat, pointing my revolver at his head, and telling him in Japanese to follow me to the police-station. Another man, attacking me from behind, stabbed me in my left arm, but not very severely, as I saw him just in time to avoid his blow. The sight of my revolver had a salutary effect on my hairy friends, and they were done out of their fun when, keeping them at bay, I told them that if they did not follow me they would all be dead men before they knew where they were. They had seen guns of the Japanese, and they knew the effects of them, so the saucy gentlemen stroked their hair and beard and made signs of submission and obedience. However, I was not to be easily appeased, as it was necessary to give them a lesson to prevent the same thing happening to future travellers; so I made them march in front of me, not caring to have them at my back, and thus took them all to the Japanese police-station, where they were duly arrested. The Japanese are very severe with recalcitrant Ainu, and my assailants would have been unmercifully dealt with had it not been for their wives and children, who came to me begging me to forgive their husbands and fathers for what they had done. I willingly did so, on condition that they should all come and prostrate themselves at my feet, imploring pardon and forgiveness and offering submission, as well as confessing their sorrow. This penitential function was reluctantly fixed by the Japanese policeman—the only one in the place—at a late hour in the afternoon. During the interval, as I fortunately had a large supply of painting materials, I managed to re-paint from memory the scene represented in the sketch

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, [789] and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once [753] you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [131] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobetsu Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless
609 monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than
[157] any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished
123 me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went,
609 and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of
136 crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we
229 drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

594 Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up
609 was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and
[136] uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

apparently thought that I had gone to sleep, for I heard him creep to my side. I could not see him, being in absolute darkness, but though he was evidently holding his breath, I could feel the warmth of his face near mine. He was listening to hear if I were asleep. I kept quiet, and pretended to snore. This gave him courage, and sliding his hand gently along my arm, he came to a pocket in my coat. He began to explore it—but the Ainu are an unfortunate people even when they try to steal. He had got hold of a pocket with no bottom to it—a common occurrence in my coats. The more he explored, the more he found there was to explore. I am fond myself of explorations, and I have no objection to a fellow-being, hairy or not hairy, "prospecting" my empty pockets or my pockets which have no bottom to them. However, my host was not satisfied with the first results of his researches, and with his hand still through the torn lining of the coat-pocket proceeded to investigate the contents of my waistcoat pockets. This was a different matter altogether, and catching hold of him before he was able to disentangle himself, I swung his arm away and hit him hard on the head with my right fist.

"Wooi!" cried he in despair, and half stunned, as he scrambled away as best he could to his north-east corner. By way of apology and excuse, and with a trembling voice, the man from his corner said that he had only come to sleep on my side of the hut, as the wind was blowing strong where he had lain down, and that my side was warmer. A good excuse indeed when you are caught *flagrante delicto* pickpocketing!

The salmon which my host gave me last night for dinner and this morning for breakfast was so rotten, that, hungry as I was, I could not eat it. From Yammakka, in a westerly direction, the way begins with a gentle incline; therefore there is a complete absence of the high and troublesome reeds which I had found in the vast marshy plain I had crossed on my way here from the coast. I intended pushing on to Frishikobets, a larger village some miles off. The old scoundrel wanted to accompany me part of the way, saying that there were two dangerous rivers to cross, and he would show me where to wade them. I fancied that they were as dangerous as they were imaginary, and I started off declining his offer.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

361 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village
511 of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an
609 affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a
[609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they
342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark
189 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

—the Notoro-ko. The Abashiri Lake finds an outlet in a river 133
which goes by the same name of, and falls into the pretty Bay of Abashiri; but the Notoro-ko, as well as the larger lagoon of Saruma-ko, which one comes upon after having passed the two villages of Tukoro and Tobuts, open directly into the sea. The strong current and the tide often block the entrance of these lagoons, and the rising water finds an outlet in a different spot. These lagoons are separated from the sea by a long and narrow strip of sand-hill; and crossing the outlet always involves great danger if the unwary traveller does not choose the right moment. The tide creating a great inequality of level between the sea and the lake, it follows that at the opening of the lagoon the water either throws itself from the sea into the lagoon, or *vice versâ*, according to the ebb or flow, and makes a kind of whirlpool. The Saruma Lake being much larger than any of the others, while its mouth is much smaller, and underlaid with quicksands, the danger is even greater, and the safest way is always to get across in a boat at slack water. The Saruma Lake is about fifteen miles in length and from two to three miles wide. Its water is salt, and large oyster-banks are found in it. It is also a favourite [136]
resort for seal and mallard. In winter they can be killed in great numbers, but in the warmer months they are shy, and very difficult to approach. The south-western shore of the lake is thickly wooded, and has as a background a long range of high mountains with smaller mountains in front of it.

At Tobuts, a small village of a few huts, situated at the 574
mouth of the Saruma lagoon, I halted for the night. There 609
was a change in my diet that day, and I was entertained, or rather I entertained myself, to an oyster supper. They were [062]
enormous oysters, similar to those found at Akkeshi, but not very palatable. However, I was in luck that day, and not only did I have this oyster supper, but I actually was the hero of a tender little idyll. In this country surprises never come alone, and while I was sketching in the twilight to pass away the time, a tall slim figure of a girl came out of one of the huts. She had slipped her arms out of her robe, leaving the latter to hang from the girdle, and her breasts, arms, and the lower half of her legs were uncovered. She was pretty and quaint with her tattooed arms and a semicircular black

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows, which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few "bites" my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window. 285

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty 342 The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of 353 dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an 342 additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an [251] "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days 354 are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the [512] negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made 574 to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take 609 good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier. Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial group" ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his *itokpa* family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important *kamui*), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1, [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

home to Rucha with her husband, a Tokapchi man, and their children and, after staying for about four years at a house of their building close by Kazari's, went back again to their area.

An ancestress five generations before Kazari, who came from Arumoisan, or Kitami as it is now called, was turned out of home by her husband who was also of Arumoisan. Crossing the mountains with an infant boy, she came over to Otopuke seeking help. Here, after working for some time as *ussiu*, servant, to the then headman of Naitai, she was remarried to an Otopuke man; her son when grown up married a local daughter and settled down as a regular member of the local group.

A few more examples follow which are related to the *anun utari* that came to the Tokapchi river area from the Ishikari. An Ishikari married couple came across the mountains with two sons called Ukachipi and Kotumiseainu, a daughter called Shureshu and an unmarried young man. They came to Nitmap *kotan*, whose headman—by what process or circumstances no one now knows—arranged for them eventually to build a house at Penke Pipaushi, and lived there. Whether the man and woman went back to Ishikari or not is unknown; when Ushino, my informant from Nitmap, knew, they had both already died. Their children who had come to Tokapchi when very young grew up there. Ukachipi married an elder sister of Ekarison of Sanenkoro *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 5, S 11), Kotumiseainu married a woman of Shupusara *kotan* on the middle Tokapchi and Shureshu, the daughter, became wife of Hontomoainu of Kumaushi *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 4, KM 29). The young man brought with them from Ishikari afterwards went home, where he married a local woman; later he came again with his wife to live in Tokapchi and there begot a son. But later he again went back to Ishikari.

There were two families who had come to Tokapchi from Chikapuni in Ishikari where they were to return after a few years. They were Tamanipeki (Genealogical Chart 2, N3) and her husband and Tuapanu (Genealogical Chart 5, S7) and her husband with their young daughters Returen and Tukisamat and son Yaitekka. Little is known about what circumstances or relationship had brought them where they were; but at any rate Inautakaainu (Genealogical Chart 6, M3), who married a woman from Kuttarashi and lived at Moseushi, and his sister Wenshiko (Genealogical Chart 2, N7), wife of Arayok of Nitmap, were Tamenipeki's children by her first husband; Kotanumat (Genealogical Chart 7, ST9), wife of Mauekainu of the Satnai area, was her child by her second husband that came with her to Tokapchi. Tukisamat (Genealogical Chart 5, S17), first daughter of Tuapano, was also married to Opittakoro of Sanenkoro *kotan* in Tokapchi.

There is no doubt about these children of Tamanipeki and Tuapano having married before their parents went home to Ishikari, but little can be

known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki 621
and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another 609
man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down. Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was remarried to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

17) The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups 621
whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKA- 622
KURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between 614
settlement group and local group. He states: " This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life") TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms "ujizoku" (clan) (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the patrilineal 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and 614
the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1,[Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 611 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 591 568 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 604 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuku*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *kruskut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar*, *shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuku epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuku esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
602 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
612 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940: 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 776 778 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-mataínu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-mataínu* were called *ir-mataínu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-mataínu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-mataínu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-mataínu* and *ir-mataínu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 121
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 [89] [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro:
[804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *hen*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *hen* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

607 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*r- chi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 292 789 611

4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ehapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

[587]

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[611]

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchihorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is
[759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the
[791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to
[611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to
[554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered.
[192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The
[764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may
[611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being
769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced
[177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu
[103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-
[182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acorn-gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

611 that implies the recognition of matriliny and patriliny by both sexes for different functions. Nor is it what I have called an asymmetrical system,[1] i.e. single unilineal descent accepted by one sex and bilateral descent accepted by the opposite sex. The Ainu system has double unilineal elements, in that both matriliny and patriliny are recognized, but it is unusual in that each sex acknowledges only the line of its own sex. It is asymmetrical in that exogamy is ruled by matriliny, men acquiescing because of their mothers' matrilineal kin group, of which, however, they profess to be ignorant. Such a system is obviously incompatible with clan organization, as no clan could function if composed of a single sex. [614] However, it is not incompatible among the Ainu, where patrilineal territorial grouping, descent and ancestral worship are unlimited for men, while matrilineal descent and ancestral worship for women is limited to the descendants of the great-great-grandmother.

[1] 'Asymmetry in Descent', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIX, January 1922.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there 788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based [115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male [621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which [611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem- [778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities. [562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core 621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict 591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence 608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi* [79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 796 621 608 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari*, and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one
292 and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21).
[831] Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69). 611 292

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3). [114]

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands. 582 611 [292]

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru 611 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *paseonkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611 614]

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

614 [608] porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 621 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's [428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property [613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 621 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu [622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa sho hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

Early Japan AB3

A 105 64 [175] Look at the region along the Ishikari River, for example, before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

A E *175 *648 [563] The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai** and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

A E *175 *648 614

JOO Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

* *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

[P.23(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was 797
nothing if not sincere.

Self. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be- 614
lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, 774
and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
609 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine kuchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separ[illegible]tilineal descent groups known as *kuchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

614 [608] porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 621 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's [428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property [613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 621 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu [622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789
424 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
● 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *hamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *hamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

● 614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

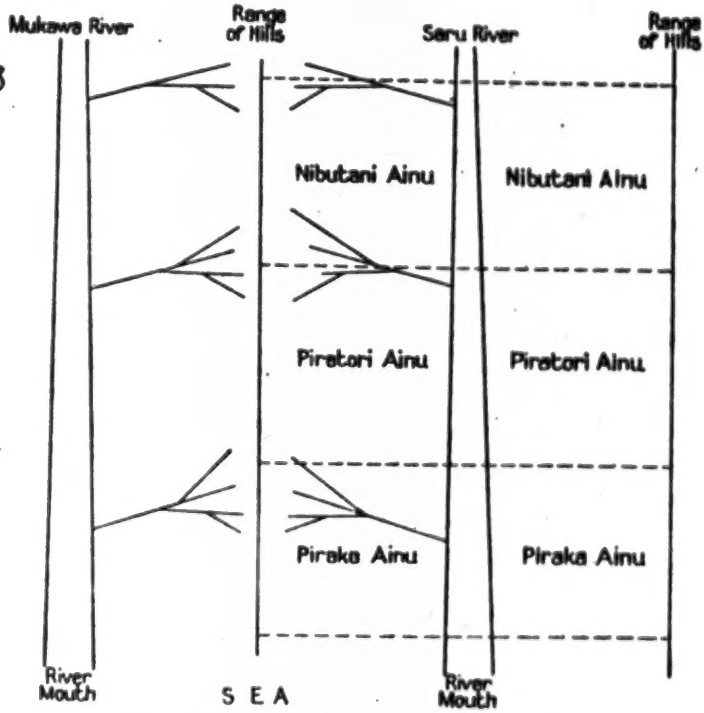
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the
[778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau*
[301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and aconite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

611 that implies the recognition of matriliny and patriliny by both sexes for different functions. Nor is it what I have called an asymmetrical system,[1] i.e. single unilineal descent accepted by one sex and bilateral descent accepted by the opposite sex. The Ainu system has double unilineal elements, in that both matriliny and patriliny are recognized, but it is unusual in that each sex acknowledges only the line of its own sex. It is asymmetrical in that exogamy is ruled by matriliny, men acquiescing because of their mothers' matrilineal kin group, of which, however, they profess to be ignorant. Such a system is obviously incompatible with clan organization, as no clan could function if composed of a single sex. [614] However, it is not incompatible among the Ainu, where patrilineal territorial grouping, descent and ancestral worship are unlimited for men, while matrilineal descent and ancestral worship for women is limited to the descendants of the great-great-grandmother.

[1] 'Asymmetry in Descent', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIX, January 1922.

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

● 614

[For information on female descent groups (Huchi Ikiru), see category 611.]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, being the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 796 621 608 64 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified. 614

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups. [796] [628] [476] 628

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[19]. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78). 619 631 619 823 [776]

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[46]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[47].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group

[361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next

614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley

619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more

[186] (at most) *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the terri-
423 tory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within
619 this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techni-
182 ques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was estab-
619 lished on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river
771 valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its
[776 component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local
614] basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*. ....and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 531 (13) A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934). Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown [779] and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 614 608 (14) Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." (Ibid.) A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* ahd *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the 621
word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial 614
group" (ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* 609
constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The [623]
chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant [464]
to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the [592]
master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his 621
itokpa family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important 614
kamui, or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, 609
heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase* 608
onkami to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang[1] "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be[1] more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1, [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation 621
of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of 622
community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The 614
only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons.

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, 621
from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain 614
any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and parti- 114
cipated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV).

(**15**) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and rea- 614
sons. 608

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a 778
family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

614 778 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special 614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940) 608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi* 184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase* 621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611] his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki 621
and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another 609
man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down. Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was remarried to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

(17) The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups 621
whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKA- 622
KURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between 614
settlement group and local group. He states: "This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life"; TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms "ujizoku" (clan) (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the (patrilineal) 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and 614
the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1, [Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one
292 and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21).
[331] Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the ~~member~~ of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *paseonkumi*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611] [614]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present
writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local
group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from
different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did
privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there
might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different
local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the abori-
ginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local [776]
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.56]

V

TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS

A territory here is defined simply as an area defended and protected by 423
members of a group against intruding members of other groups. Though various types of territories were held by the Ainu, all were concerned with the exploitation of natural resources found thereon. Ainu territorialism was [182]
a part of the spatial structure of their community which had a direct relevance to their adaptation to habitat. The maintenance of a territory could be an important factor in relation to the distribution and spacing of groups and to group activities (cf. BARTHROMIW and BIRDSELL, 1953).

Territories as held by the Ainu fall into two categories: one, the territory inhabited and utilized exclusively by a river group as a whole (p. 16), and the other, inner-territories stewarded as gathering sites by individual groups within the river group, i.e. local groups, cooperative groups and simple families.

The Territory Held by the River Group.

The territory occupied by each river group formed itself on the basis of 423
a *pet* or a river as prescribed by the Ainu themselves and its surrounding 619
area (p. 16). So far as the territories surveyed by the present writer are concerned, this covered an area bounded in partly by mountain ridges forming watersheds for the adjoining rivers, *pet*, and partly by tributaries of the river or adjoining rivers, as seen in the case of Otopuke, Tokapchi, Tushipet, Azuma and Saru[48]. As regards the Shikot the actual line of demarcation is unknown except for that interior part which was bounded in by the crest lines forming the watersheds for the adjoining rivers. As far as the present writer has examined, the actual lines of demarcation of most of these territories, as shown on Map 2, present some difficulty in identification, especially in the lower regions, although it seems doubtful whether such ambiguity had actually existed or the memory has been lost to available informants.

Attention must be directed to the fact that a river group and its territory were not necessarily based on a geographically defined river system as a unit. Sometimes a single river group and its territory evolved around a river system, as with the Azuma; sometimes more than one river group and their territories developed around a single river system, as with the Tokapchi, each evolving around the main stream or one of the larger tributaries.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619
423

Geographically Defined River System	Component River around which a River Group Evolved	Number of River Groups & Their Territories
Azuma River	Azuma	1
Mukawa River	Mukawa	1
Ishikari River	Ishikari Shikot Others unidentified	2 (or more ?)
Saru River	Saru ?Nukapira[48]	1 (or 2?)
Tokapchi River	Tokapchi Tushipet Ashoro Otopuke Satnai	5

311
619
423

Each territory utilized exclusively by the residing river group can be divided according to Ainu's exploitation activity into the following five ecological zones (Fig. 8):

(1) the river and its tributaries,
(2) the river banks,
(3) the river terraces,
(4) the stretch of hillsides along the river course,
(5) the high mountain region around the source of the river.

In order to supply themselves with a set of biotic species needed for subsistence, the Ainu exploited these different areas in accordance with particular ecologies of species and particular techniques for their exploitation. In this manner the territory occupied by a river group formed a nearly or completely self-sufficient unit of Ainu habitat. Sometimes, a failing supply of a needed item within its own area or a finding of better sites without, induced some members of a river group to pass across its boundary. Two of such essential items were the bear and the aconite plant for preparing arrow poison. Except for these, all river groups were self-sufficing in necessary items (p. 85). In short, the Ainu had seldom to overstep their boundaries for gathering purposes. As regards the staple items in particular, such as deer, dog salmon, cherry salmon and edible plants, every river group was at ordinary times sufficiently supplied from resources found within its own territory.

619
423

When for gathering purposes any one was to step into a river group territory other than his own, no matter for what, where and how, the person was required to obtain from some one of the headmen of the river valley concerned a formal permission accompanied with a rigid ritual procedure. And there was possibility of such permit not granted by a headman who had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78–79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)	Cooperative group	
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)		Stable
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanuni*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[60]
(in descending order of location)

621 423 311 [103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[61]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45–46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group 423 served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a 221 period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For ex- 311 ample, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism— [619] territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season.

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these 423 territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources. 423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon 619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission [628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river 619
group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae 628
for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against 423
possible intrusion from outsiders, i. e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part 182
of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by 423
certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i. e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, *zaza*, a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet[54]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas 823
investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the 776
former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui*-spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu koru (or amba) kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and *koru* or *amba* means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning-spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai koru kamui*, which lived in streams flowing into the river[55].

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the 823
name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. 619
The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, includes fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix '*iworu*' to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in Chapter V and Note 45.

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also 823
inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among 776
them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[70]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group

[361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next

614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley

619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more

[186] at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the terri-
423 tory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within
619 this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techni-
182 ques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was estab-
619 lished on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river
771 valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its
[776] component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local
[614] basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 292 [831] It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21). Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

[p. 138]

V

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Meto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1, [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an* (*Otopuke*
619 *iworu* (*iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an* (*Otopuke*) *iworu* (*iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at[1] it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1. [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river 133
into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side 423
that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the 823
upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was 619
Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be 423
concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory rest- 823
ing upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

(46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old 173
Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a 619
brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, [823]
like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi*; those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1. [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

[208]

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21
361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

---

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 622 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the 192 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of ● 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

---

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*
[45] *SHS* 2: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there [621] seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokusetu*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

68 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[962] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state
[621] of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

A F *648 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

A *648 ●621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *648 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

A F *648 177 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Konsei Ezo Ran. . . .*

F
636
*175

ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

A
F
*648
● 621
177
*175

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [Village headman].

A
[622]

A F *648 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho.* To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho.* While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai.* It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [124] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *648 *175 [203] [206]

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621 ●
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [888]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

614 porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure"
[608] (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an
621 entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's
[428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property
[613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear
621 what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu
[622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

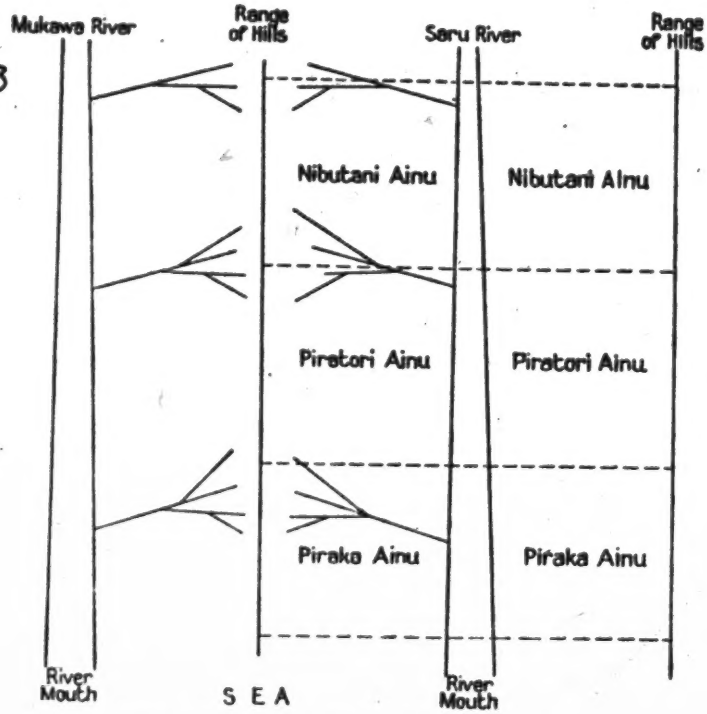
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the
[778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau*
[301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

●621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:
769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

361
103

			Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L.G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Nupokomap	9
		L.G.	Munhunki	3
		L.G.	Urekarip	3

R.G. River Group
S.I.G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L.G. Local Group

361 621 The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[19].

[103] The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

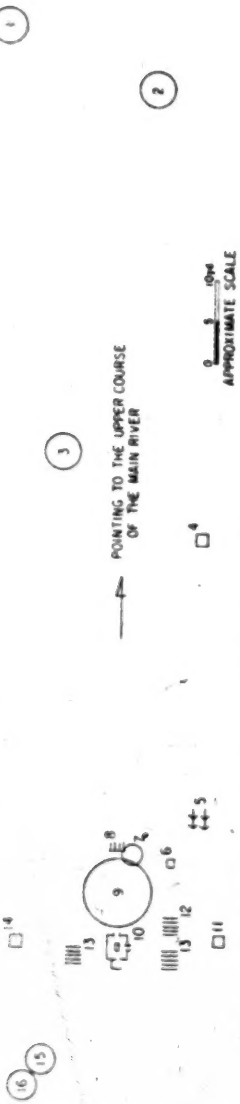


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
621 patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
611 the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[796] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these [621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the 224 476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. [555] 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1. [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[17].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise haru ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai haru ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh haru ushi*)	Cooperative group	
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)		Stable
	Place for deer-fence (*kutehi ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanuni*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

423
311
621

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

423
311
103
621

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423
311
103
621

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

621 423 311 [103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[66]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[67].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, ***hepere koru kuru***, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

l, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group

[361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next

614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley

619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more

[186] (at most) *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

175
361
103

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*. ....and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 531 (13) A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934). Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 614 608 (14) Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18.). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." (Ibid.) A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* ahd *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial group" (ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekashi ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *ucoru* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his *itokpa* (family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important *kamui*), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang[1] "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be[1] more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1. [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621 622 614

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*: The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621 614 114

(15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614 608 778

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of [611]
his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

(16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 home to Rucha with her husband, a Tokapchi man, and their children and,
602 after staying for about four years at a house of their building close by Kazari's, went back again to their area.

621 An ancestress five generations before Kazari, who came from Arumoisan,
609 or Kitami as it is now called, was turned out of home by her husband who was also of Arumoisan. Crossing the mountains with an infant boy, she came over to Otopuke seeking help. Here, after working for some time as *ussiu*, servant, to the then headman of Naitai, she was remarried to an Otopuke man; her son when grown up married a local daughter and settled down as a regular member of the local group.

A few more examples follow which are related to the *anun utari* that came to the Tokapchi river area from the Ishikari. An Ishikari married couple came across the mountains with two sons called Ukachipi and Kotumiseainu, a daughter called Shureshu and an unmarried young man. They came to Nitmap *kotan*, whose headman—by what process or circumstances no one now knows—arranged for them eventually to build a house at Penke Pipaushi, and lived there. Whether the man and woman went back to Ishikari or not is unknown; when Ushino, my informant from Nitmap, knew, they had both already died. Their children who had come to Tokapchi when very young grew up there. Ukachipi married an elder sister of Ekarison of Sanenkoro *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 5, S 11), Kotumiseainu married a woman of Shupusara *kotan* on the middle Tokapchi and Shureshu, the daughter, became wife of Hontomoainu of Kumaushi *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 4, KM 29). The young man brought with them from Ishikari afterwards went home, where he married a local woman; later he came again with his wife to live in Tokapchi and there begot a son. But later he again went back to Ishikari.

There were two families who had come to Tokapchi from Chikapuni in Ishikari where they were to return after a few years. They were Tamanipeki (Genealogical Chart 2, N3) and her husband and Tuapanu (Genealogical Chart 5, S7) and her husband with their young daughters Returen and Tukisamat and son Yaitekka. Little is known about what circumstances or relationship had brought them where they were; but at any rate Inautakaainu (Genealogical Chart 6, M3), who married a woman from Kuttarashi and lived at Moseushi, and his sister Wenshiko (Genealogical Chart 2, N7), wife of Arayok of Nitmap, were Tamenipeki's children by her first husband; Kotanumat (Genealogical Chart 7, ST9), wife of Mauekainu of the Satnai area, was her child by her second husband that came with her to Tokapchi. Tukisamat (Genealogical Chart 5, S17), first daughter of Tuapano, was also married to Opittakoro of Sanenkoro *kotan* in Tokapchi.

There is no doubt about these children of Tamanipeki and Tuapano having married before their parents went home to Ishikari, but little can be

known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki 621
and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another 609
man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down. Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was remarried to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

17 The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups 621
whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKA- 622
KURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between 614
settlement group and local group. He states: " This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life" (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms " uji-zoku " clan (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the (patrilineal) 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and 614
the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1, [Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19. 614 582 [611]

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley. 601 621

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent. [592]

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

601 20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
621 23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

very young.

601
16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath 621
to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children.
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (*P*) 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) [592]
and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male households P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8).

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter (P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

601
621

13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

[592] *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their lifetime. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (S) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father S2 and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1) who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

601
621

6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (*M*) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband[1] (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 households (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

[1] [Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

is as follows. There was at Moseushi a native headman who died without any brother or son to succeed him. Then M3, who had come from Asahikawa and married here, was made *utaru sapaha*, head of the people on account of his wisdom and personality. 601 621

1. Either the man himself or his father was native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and came migrating to Tokapchi and married a Moseushi woman. He and N1 were patrilineally related.
2. Female; native of Moseushi.
3. Native of Asahikawa. The then headman. Came to Tokapchi, married a Kuttarashi woman and then became headman of Moseushi. His wife having already been dead, lived with his son (M14). Patrilineal relative of M5 and others. See N3.
4. Female; native of Kuttarashi.
5. An eldest son; native of Shikaripet; had lived from infancy at Asahikawa. Detailed circumstances not known.
6. Female; native of Satnai and grew up at Shikaripet. For more information see note on N15.

7, 8 and 9. All native residents of Shikaripet.

10. Female; native of Moseushi. Married to K34, a man from Kuttarashi. Widowed, she now lived alone in a separate house by her son's.
11. Female; native of Shikaripet. Married to a man from Kuttarashi K36 and lived at Moseushi.
14. "Ottena" in charge of negotiation with Japanese authorities. See N9.
15. Went as bride to the neighbouring Otopuke river area.
18. Went from Shikaripet to be wife of a Kuttarashi man (K18). Her father (M5), as reported, had lived from infancy at Asahikawa; but it is not known whether he later came back to Shikaripet or not.
20. The only one of her siblings that married.

23 and 24. Both brothers married women of Memroput on the middle Tokapchi and lived there; 25 alone was at Moseushi.

24 Explanation of the genealogical chart concerning the Satnai river area.

Three local groups, each forming a single settlement group, made a corporate *shine ekashi ikiru* or *shine itokpa* group. Nupokomap contained 9 houses, Urekarip 3 and Munhunki 3. Four house-heads out of nine of Nupokomap (ST10, 18, 29's husband and 30's), one out of three of Urekarip (ST13's husband) and one out of three of Munhunki (ST27) were patrilineal kin descending from a common ancestor from Satnai. All the headmen in the Satnai river area were drawn from these particular kinsmen, those of Nukopomap, Urekarip and Munhunki being ST10, ST13's husband and ST27 respectively.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

601 621

1. Male; native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari. A relative of N2, another Asahikawa man.
2. Female; native and resident of Asahikawa.
3. Male; native of Urekarip. Son of a man from the area of the Tottapet, tributary of the river Satnai.
4. Female; native of Satnai.
5. Son of a man from Tottapet in Satnai.
6. Came as bride from Fushiko.

7 and 8. Both natives of Asahikawa; the man and wife came originally with ST9 as escorts and helpers when she came as bride from 'far-off Shikaripet' to Satnai. They remained and settled down by the side of ST9's.

9. Came from Shikaripet as bride. For reasons not known, went back to Shikaripet, where she died.
10. Male; had always been in Satnai. Reported as the then first headman in all the Satnai area.
12. Came as bride from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi seacoast. She was first married to ST11, on whose death she went home to Perutnai taking her children. When she returned to Satnai, was wife of ST31.
13. Female; native of Satnai.
14. Male; probably from Pipairu.
16. Went to Pipaushi as bride. On her spouse's death at Pipaushi, came home to Satnai with her two children (ST33 and 34) and lived at Nupokomap. At the date was living by herself.
17. Male; had always been in Satnai; resident thereof.
19. Male; had always been in Satnai.

20 and 21. Probably native of Pipaushi, with homes there.

23. Male from Fushiko.
24. Native of Satnai.
25. Soon after marriage moved with his wife to her home, Otopuke, at about the time when Ushino, my informant, also moved from Nitmap to Kene, at the outset of the farming-land allotment programme for the Ainu.
26. Female; came as bride from the Otopuke river area.
28. Went to Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi as bride.
29. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
30. Came as bride from Perutnai near the coast of Tokapchi.
31. An only child.
34. Native of Pipaushi; his father having died in his infancy, grew up in Satnai which was his mother's home, and married there. Changed

wives. Several times came to Nitmap to join bear ceremonies but his *kotan* is not clearly identified. 601 621

35. Eldest of brothers and sisters. Went in marriage to the Otopuke area and died young. Was outlived by 3 brothers, Ikuchishi, Fushine and Irusanke, who were all unmarried at the date.
36. Had always been in Satnai.
37. Came as bride from Chirokto on the middle Tokapchi.
38. Male; had always been in Satnai. He and ST37 were brothers. Having lost one child, lived childless.
39. Came as bride from Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi.
40. Probably native of Pipaushi. Siblings unknown. Had 6 daughters and 1 son.
41. Female; native of Fushiko.
42. Male; native of Satnai.
43. Female from Fushiko.
44. Female; native of Satnai.
45. Came from Fushiko as bride.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitatap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bears. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

44 1 Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[685]

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both the habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156). 423 621

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream. 423 621 226

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family. [431]

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 621 226 *un ichan* (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

[103]

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprenhended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 622 192 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

●622 192 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shibankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and *Kozukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kozukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*." *"Bankinneshippa"* comes from *"Dankenne Nishipa"* meaning "the leader" and *"Shibankinne"* is from *"Shi-pankenne"* which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:[39]

Ainuto*pake* or to*pake*
Iki*ripake* (guru)
Utara-*pa* or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)
*Sapa*neguru or *Esapa*neguru (the person who is to become the head)
Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa, pake, sapa,* etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Atpa* (guide); *Punginegurn* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Porochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative, [769] worshipped the common ancestral god.[40] In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.[41] The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.[42] Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word *"Hashio"* probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fūdoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabanekuru* or *Kotankoroponnishiba* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

[39] John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

[40] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōza; Nihon hen* 1: 384.

[41] Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirosada, *Higashi Ezo Yawa* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

[42] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fūzoku Taikei* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

[P. 17(B)]

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

[628] 621 622 [554]

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*
[45] *SHS* **2**: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

[P. 18(A)]

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. [928] When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. [622] The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there [621] seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the basic difference being the number of wives and slaves [567] possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki:*

> [622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

---

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of "*Usshiu*" usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the posses- [556] sion of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichisatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyō Ki*.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
[692] goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[62] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22 (B)]

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for 105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev- 554 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those 565 unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan* [557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the 105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have 622 proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet [273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu- 622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families [627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a 105 nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political 64 organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. 000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F

*175 *648 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

433 554 437

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

*175 *648 [669] The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[24] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[25] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

A F [439] [431]

A [622]

[24] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[25] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

A F *175 *648 622

used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Seia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

A F [439]

A 622

From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]

A F [171]

In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

A F [579] A F

*175 *648

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

622 554 156

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki.*

A F *648 *175 ● 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezō who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

A *648 *175 622 484 [431] In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A [273]

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu";* and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

A F [796]

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

A [302]

those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.[40] This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.[41] In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.[42] Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].[43] However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.[44] In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "musha" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

[40] *Tsugaru Kibun*.
[41] Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.
[42] Ishiba Takakado, Omusha Ko, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.
[43] *Tōkai Yawa*.
[44] Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6 ●
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidô except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 685

> In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F [627] *648 *175 681 ●[622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

[P. 38(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

F 636 *175

ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

A F *648 621 177 *175

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [Village headman].

A [622]

[P. 56 (B)]

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
576 here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
671 in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the
A F *648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
671 abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

A F [931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the
A ●[622] *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A [307] 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F [582] 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F [624] 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all
[659] unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

A *648 576 527 178 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[7] *Ezo Fūzoku Ian* 2: 1.

Feudal Japan AB2

F A *648 681 656 671 *175

the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[30] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was disrespectful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyuuji Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[30] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

[P. 76(B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
988
516

AN AINU CHIEF

[P. 22]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civil- 177
ization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, 178
unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting.

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people 621
never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided 622
the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the [585
sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying 764]
the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen.

The chiefs, together with the people, including the 627
women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the 692
law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly [671]
defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [888]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622 asserted that they traded with the races living in
439 Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much
432 trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

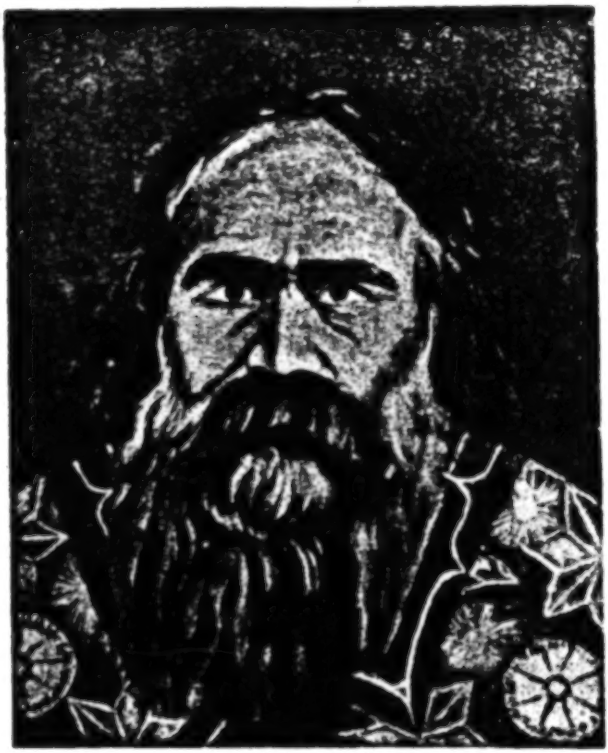
681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the dif-
[761] ferent misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some
[755] cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating
[685] was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it
[684] used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENRI

[p. 58(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IX

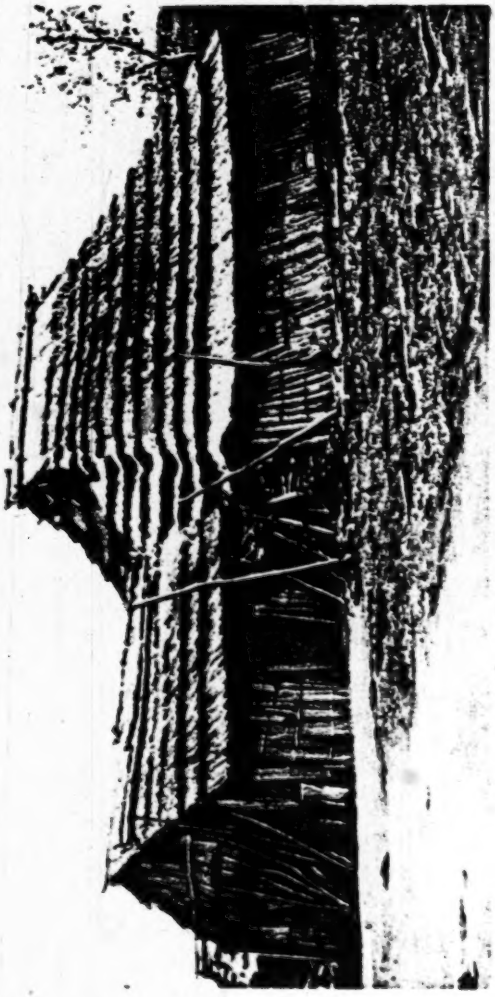
IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
342



CHIEF PENRI'S HOUSE AT PIRATORI

[P. 60(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

101 bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are
101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church
114 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the peo-
[176] ple, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

122 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown
172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi-
174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the
177 archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra.*

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [600] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. 622
Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical 621
and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among [582]
themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations 621
are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for 143
instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities 732
two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children
are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not [844]
treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not 143
know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos 732
are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among 000

614 [608] porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

614 621 (4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's [428] treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property [613] and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

614 621 (5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu [622] apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 121
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*hamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175

INTRODUCTION

648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and
[412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and
291 Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated,
[434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred
[177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu
[623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to
177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal
[464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the
[251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chiset*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri woshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

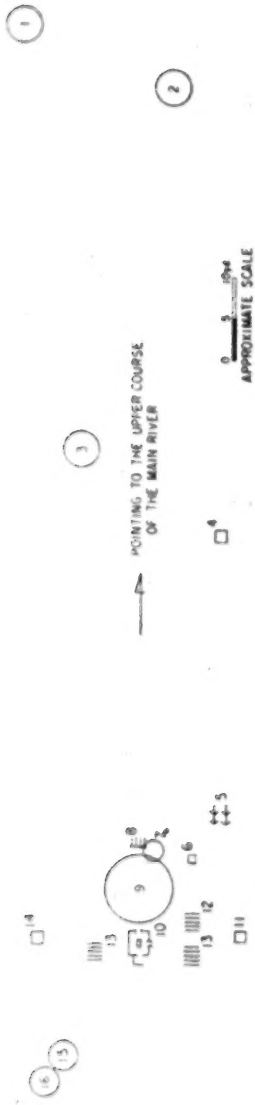


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60–62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72–73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880–85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe - E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant
cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note
10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated
in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up
of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all
male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the
family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole
could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu techno-
logy did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group.
In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43).
Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter
(pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which
the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*,
aneram ushinnu kuru, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*;
kotan (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru*
kuru, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be
the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was
also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions.
He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group
but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises
organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted
to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[796] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 611 621 608 64

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "inherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth 226
to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until 221
the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken [134]
in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, [622] ●
the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one [262]
of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were [476]
carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used 226
effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscend- 512
ing shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a [513]
nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas,
[311] *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

175
361
103

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru, kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang[1] "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan* ?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1. [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621 622 614

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621 614 114

(15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614 608

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57). 778

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki 621
and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another 609
man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain
of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The
women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down.
Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was re-
married to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

17 The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups 621
whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKA- 622
KURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between 614
settlement group and local group. He states: "This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life" (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms "uji-zoku" (clan) (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the patrilineal 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and 614
the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1, [Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

/620 cont./

175 648 439 Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately, escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay [622] their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

/622 cont./

000
G
175
648
622
292

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

A
175
648
622

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

A
175
114
648

SS /622 cont./

Gi 648 178 439

Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

A [648] A G [622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

Gi 178 439 648

SS 174 648 439 178

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
● [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[P.23 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 692 The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 627 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless [623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 562 593 [184] In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce [586 428] any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the 621
word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial 614
group" (ibid.). While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* 609
constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The [623] chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *iworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant [464]
to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the [592]
master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his 621
itokpa (family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important 614
kamui), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, 609
heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase* 608
onkami to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

621 an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more
614 than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke
609 valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a
608 village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the
[623] headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

621 Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between
622 *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group).
614 Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang[1] "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan*?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1, [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

A F *648 *175 439 [692] [624]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [574] [796]

A [203]

A F *648 *175 [166]

---

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *churiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai*, *Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [624] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F A *C48 *175 441

portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

F A *C48 *175 ●624 439 441

The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.[54] But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

F A *C48 *175 439 441

[54] It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "*Uwanorikin*." In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

[P. 39(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 62 177 *175

[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho.* To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho.* While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai.* It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

A [L24] A [431]

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

A F *C48 *175 [273] [206]

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

A F *648 *175 177 627 [692] hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692]

5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 A [624]

6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

F [423] A [177]

A
F
*648
*175

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A
[439]
[431]

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A
F
*648
437
●624
*175

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

---

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A
[651]

Ibid., 889 Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever
576 since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been gen-
671 erous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
A F erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
671 abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
A F preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

[307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[657] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

*648
576
527
178

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[7] *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] ●627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [787] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itô Yûichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P.20(A)]

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
[576] manners and customs such as sitting down without
[689] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon of God for in the very presenting of the gift was implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
[692] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
●627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole word literally being taken as to beat each other with clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

[P-21 (B)]

681 resented another as to desire to take his life. An
[578] arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would
beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment.
627 Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this
fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

681 *Ukaru* was then not merely a punishment. This
can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the
627 dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed.
783 It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each
[524] other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a
681 game. It should also be noted that the removal of
627 hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punish-
ment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair
[826] and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position.
[557] The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
[627] servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidô except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 685

> In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F

[627] *648 *175 681 [622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

A F *648 *175 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 177 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] [301] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A [681] F [826]

A F *648 *175 177 ●627 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

A F *648 *175 177 ●622 [692] hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692]

A F *648 *175 671 681 177 5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A [624] A F *648 *175

F [423] 6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

A [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 692 The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 627 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless [623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 562 593 [184] In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce [586 428] any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me
[162] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places
[164] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 178

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Early Japan AB3

AE 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

EA 628 175 648

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* **2**: 57–58.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

423 226 [685] A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

[224] [685]

423 224 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

[671]

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

423 226 [224]

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 204.

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

[628] 621 622 [554]

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.

[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

[45] *SHS* 2: 303.

[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
[622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E
A

*175 at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the
*648 same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at
439 Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10,
A
F
[668] it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He
A
E
F
●628 reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our
439 ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment
*175 from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade
*648 again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

> Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

---

E
[439] vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses
[485] the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Ezo Koku Shiki.*

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A E *175 *648 439 628

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

E *175 *648 656 439

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

A E *175 *648 439

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

A E *648 *175 226 439

Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

> As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

A E F *648 *175 439 [136]

Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

F [316]

A F *175 *648 628

Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

---

[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 ● 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728
A [411]

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

[P.29(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628] ●
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[162] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIII

STORIES OF LOVE, VENGEANCE AND WAR

The following touching story of love and vengeance was told by an Ainu who lived at Tsuishkari, near Sapporo, some years ago. He was born in Saghalien and returned there to die. The tale shall speak for itself, so what follows is a simple translation of it. 539 628

"In very olden times the place called 'The Broads' had a large population, but as time went on the people gradually died off, till there was but one family with a few relations left alive. It was a very bad, pathetic state of affairs. So few were they that this remnant lived together in one large house and had room to spare. The head of the family was a very beautiful woman named La Belle.

"Now, a well-to-do man who lived at The Hollows came to see La Belle, and was so struck with her incomparable beauty that he at once conceived an ardent desire to marry her, but she would have none of him. So he finally returned to his home in anger, very much disheartened. Alas and alas, the people living with La Belle still continued to die off one after another, and it looked as though they would soon become quite extinct. And they were feeling lonely and depressed. They thought it would be better for them if they were to leave their native place to go and dwell elsewhere.

"Having decided to migrate, they descended to the seashore and all sailed away and came to a place called Hill Bottom, where they landed and built a house to live in. After a little time had elapsed the men said to one another, 'We are becoming extinct rapidly. Let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 us go on to the Ainu villages yonder and take wives to
628 ourselves. We can then raise up children, and later on return to The Broads and rebuild our village.' So spake they. But La Belle, who was the head of the family and who had formerly refused to marry the suitor from that place, could not be persuaded to agree. She met the men in argument and prevailed over them. She was so eloquent. They therefore went off to a place called Big River, and there set up another house. They also built a fine large storehouse which they filled with excellent salmon, well smoked. Thus did they make abundant provision for the coming winter.

"Now, the man called Archer of The Hollows—the man who wished to wed La Belle,—had returned to his village full of wrath and overcharged with a desire for revenge. Here he abode with a darkened brow and with a heart full of ire, plotting vengeance. During the following winter there was a great deal of snow and the weather was exceedingly boisterous. During all this windy, rough weather, La Belle and her company were imprisoned in their pit-dwelling, covered in and unable to get out. While they lived thus in fancied security, the man Archer went down with an axe and cut the supports of the storehouse, so that it fell to the ground. After he had made a complete wreck of it, he returned to his home and waited.

"The wind continued to blow and howl worse than ever after this, and a mighty blizzard came up. It was absolutely impossible for the men to get out of their dwellings to go down to the store for food. By and by they had eaten up all the food they had taken with them into the house, and had become very hungry. At last, however, the storm abated and they managed to dig themselves out to go to their food store. When they got there they were much surprised and deeply grieved to find that the pillars of the storehouse had been cut in two, and the building had fallen down. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fish which they had so carefully stored away had been eaten up by the foxes and pine-martens. They could find but a very few remnants, which they carefully gathered up and carried back with them. 539 628

"Though they ate of it very sparingly, it lasted but a short time. By the time spring began to come, there was no food left for them to eat and they were very hungry. They all sat there in their dwelling in a state of woe, knowing that they were doomed to starve to death. So they—men, women and children—arranged themselves in order, dressed in their best garments, and decorated themselves with beads and other ornaments as though they were corpses prepared for burial. This done, they all lay down together. And so all died.

"After this, the man Archer, the would-be husband of La Belle, whom she refused to have, was ordered by his elder brother to go on a visit to Big River. On reaching this place, he found that all the people had gone to their summer—above-ground—dwelling and had there died of starvation. He then returned to his home and reported what he had seen. When the people of the other branch of La Belle's family heard about it, the men set off bear-hunting in that direction. Upon reaching the house, they saw that it had two separate hearths in it, but the beams were fallen down and scattered one over the other on the ground. And a little way off on the scrubland they found the great cooking pots lying on the ground.*

"By all this, then, we see how bad it was in those olden times for the men to be over-persuaded by the discourse of a woman. These things have the ancient ones reported for the instruction of their children."

*Ainu graves were formerly made in the forest, not far away from the dwellings. At the time of burial, pots, pans and other articles were laid on them for the dead to use in the future world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"And so the battle went on. By and by I perceived that my elder brother and younger sister had met the women who had been speckled does, and had attacked them most vehemently. With great force they struck with their swords. As I was looking, I saw my brother cut in twain. As he fell, he put his hands out towards the earth and raised himself up again. I then went with my sword and struck him twice or thrice, upon which he became a living man again.* 539 628

"Then, riding upon a noise like thunder, he went up quickly into the skies and continued to fight there. I now heard the sound of some other person being slain near by. It was my younger sister who was killed. With a mighty sound she rode up to the setting sun.**

"Then that beastly enemy woman boasted of having slain my younger sister and thrown her to the ground. Then the two, the woman and the remaining man, fell upon me with might and main, but I struck the fiendish woman several times and made her ride upon the sun. She went up to the sun a living spirit. Then the malignant, evil man, being alone alive before me, lifted up his voice and said to me,

"'Because you are a brave man, the fame of your valour has gone to many lands. Now know this, I am called *Samatuye Ainu* (this, the reciter told me, means 'Cutter in twain,' but I believe it is really 'sea-side man'). My younger brother and sister live together and are the defenders of my house. They are exceedingly brave and able people, both of them. If, there-

*My friend told me that when at war in ancient times his ancestors could raise the slain to life again and heal all their wounds by striking them with the flat of their sword blades. Even fifty years ago, and since, I have known of this striking and waving swords over the sick by way of exorcism. In cases of death by accidents, as has already been set forth, the custom is still practised in order to drive away demons.

**Death was sometimes called by the old Ainu "riding upon" or "into the setting sun." Life was called "riding upon" or "into the bright sun," or "shining like the sun."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

*Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"'Oh, my dear sister, listen to me, for I have something to say. The weather is lowering and I am filled with foreboding. You, as you know, have been a *shaman* from childhood. Prophesy now to me, for I desire to hear news.' So spake he. 539 628

"Then the tiny woman yawned mightily twice, and said,* 'Oh, my elder brother, my dear brother, listen now to me, for I have a thing of importance to say. Why are you thus in anticipation of evil coming? I hear from a far-away country. There is news coming from above the mountains of Battle River. The brave Ainu has been attacked by my elder brother without cause. A certain man has slain my elder brother and annihilated his men. The battle has proceeded with vigour. A speckled bird comes flying across the sky from the interior. I wish to speak about it, but somehow it passes by and I see it no more. Oh, it is now crossing the sea! It darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish. It is lovely. It comes straight towards our home. I hear the clashing of swords. They are the swords of the Ainu and their enemies. The battle rages. Blood spurts from big wounds. The sword of my brother departs into the setting sun and is lost. The sword-hilt of the Ainu shines upon the sun. He has conquered the foe. Our home has been hitherto in peace, but is now in the greatest of danger. My eyes are now becoming dark. Pay attention to what I have said.' So spake the little woman.

Now, as she said this I pretended that I had but just arrived at their house, and, knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil outside, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped over the threshold. With one accord they both turned their heads and gazed at me. I saw fear settled under their eye-

*This means that she threw herself into a shaman's trance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 brows. Walking along the left-hand side of the hearth
628 with hasty strides, I swept the little man to the right with my foot, and sat down cross-legged in the master's place. I then said,

"'Look here, you little man of Samatuye, I have a word to say to you, so attend to me well. Has not your elder brother come and attacked us without just cause? Why has he done so? As you have thus stirred up war, you will be annihilated, for the gods will punish you. Listen well to that. It is true that I am but a wounded man, but I will certainly overthrow your abode.'

"When I had said this, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with heavy blows and made the wind whistle. We went up to the ceiling fighting, where I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated about the place. They came as thick as swarms of flies. But I cut them down as men mow grass.

"Presently the little woman said, 'Oh my brothers, why did ye attack the brave Ainu without cause? Was it because ye wished to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the brave Ainu. Mark my words.' Saying this she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass. We fought side by side. So fighting we drove them all out of the house. Upon taking a view of the people outside, I saw that there were but a very few left alive. At the head of this remnant stood the little Samatuye man. Yes! There he was. In a very short time all his people were killed. I then went for him in haste and struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman came to my side and attacked him with her dagger. He soon received some great wounds and was slain.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The little woman wept much and said, 'As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a friendless man. But I was constrained to do so. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O brave Ainu. Listen well.' "

So ends the legend. It began with a war and ends in a marriage. No doubt they lived happily ever after.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushikō and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[19]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local [776]
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources.
423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon
619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission
[628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, 226
a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon 311
in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there 628
was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the 224
foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the 311
groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Collecting Areas.

222 311 314

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an ~~s~~rea[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited. [628]

1. [Errata: the word "srea" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The seheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river 619
group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae 628
for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against 423
possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part 182
of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by 423
certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[66]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[67].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[48].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no [796] access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another [628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. [782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made [431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby [431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local [782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer [685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available [782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[49]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them. 159 592 224 476 [226]

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954). 226 184

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group. 621 [361] [628]

44 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2). 136

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

796 of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to
178 function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940;
796 NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as
[574] follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

[628] The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to
[782] other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance
[562] of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A1]

102
133
631

Map. 1. Rivers of Hokkaido a

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 2-A2]

102
133
631

nd old administrative divisions.

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[15]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local [776]
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 22. Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" tribe concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
532 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *pase-onkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of inter-
[611] marriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
*175
439

the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.[49] This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

F
A
C36
177
439

I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

A
F
*648
*175

1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to

ni Santanjin no gi aitazune sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

F
[A36]

	1802	*1809*
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

[49] *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

[P. 67(A)]

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for
105 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
554 were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benev-
565 olence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
[557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the
105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
622 economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet
[273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

178 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
622 nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families
[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
105 nation because their economy never developed to the
● 64 point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.
000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

Early Japan AB3

A 105 ● 64 [175]

Look at the region along the Ishikari River for example, before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

A E

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

*175 *648 [563]

The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai*[a] and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

A E *175 *648 614

JOO Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

[a] *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

F
*648 except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved
*175 to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo
656 and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers,
439 swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[79]

A
F
*648
*175
[178]
439

The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

A
F
●647
*648
*175

[79] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

AF 649 *648 *175

written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods." [80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

AF *648 *175

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

656

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

AE [681]

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

A [674]

---

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

AF [649]

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki.*

A
F
*648
*175
439

to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to, and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

A
[47]

[P. 47 (A)]

1: Takakura AB6 Ainu

175
●648

/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Early Japan NB3

PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF Clan Government

INTRODUCTION

E 175 The *SHS*[1] delimits this period[1] from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enfoefment from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

EA 648 175 On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654–661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.[2]

E [101]

[1] *SHS* 2: 2-3 [i.e. Revised History of Hokkaidō - - ANALYST]

[2] *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

PART ONE
The Early Period of
CLAN GOVERNMENT

EA 175 C48

This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakkatsu.[2] There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo[3] and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.[4] We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.[5] On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

E [10]

from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

[3] During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remunerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Inarimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

[4] *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin.

Ruijū Sandai Kaku [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kammu. *Nihon Isshi* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

[5] *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

[P. 10 (B)]

A E 175 648

the government [6] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

A [172]

[6] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2–3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C48 A [177]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

EA [221]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

EA 628 175 648

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57–58.

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth [291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrei*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IV

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

In writing about Mr. Anra, the haunted man, I had occasion to mention his persecution by supposed giants, dwarfs and Japanese warriors. I had never before heard of a race of giants from these people, and until some definite tradition is forthcoming, one can not treat of them. But the warriors and dwarfs are different matters. For in all probability, traditions concerning these, and hereditary instinct, among other things, suggested these beings to his subconscious mind, and formed the basis of his mania.

648
175

That the two races, the Japanese and Ainu, were not on friendly terms at the beginning is natural and is proved by oral tradition as well as by ancient Japanese records. Besides reading of massacres in olden times, we are told of many hard contested battles between the two peoples. There are quite a number of mounds to be seen in the north of Japan which are said to contain heaps of the bones of those unfortunate Ainu who were slain in battles there. We read that the aborigines made very determined resistance against the invaders for many centuries after the latter had established themselves in Yamato, and we can very well believe this to have been so. The Ainu were a brave race and very fierce withal. In the year A.D. 720 they are said to have made so strong and determined an attack on the Japanese as to render it necessary to call out the soldiers of no less than nine Provinces to keep them back. In the end, however, they were effectually checked in an assault on the Japanese stronghold and driven back to the north of Sendai.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

148 Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many
173 of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

158 When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown
155 in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Geldi RX

CHAPTER V

THE AINU AND OROKS AT WAR

A G 648

One day, when we were staying at Hakodate, we had Chief Penri with us. On a certain afternoon he went out and returned in a very wrathful mood, "for," said he, "I have just met an *Orokata* (*Orok*) who was very rude to me." "Oh," I replied, "who was he and what has he been doing?" "The beast! He didn't do much," he replied, "but his manner was very condescending and his speech most haughty." "Oh, is that all?" I said. "No," he said, "it isn't. He actually had the impudence to offer me tea to drink!" (Penri of course wished for *saké!*) In this little incident we find another echo of the past, for the feelings these two worthy men exhibited toward one another were of quite a hereditary nature.

The Ainu of Saghalien have for untold ages been in close contact with the Orokata, or Oroks, as they are now called in brief, and their traditions give us to understand that they were not always on very friendly terms with each other. The Yezo Ainu from of old knew of the Oroks, and Chief Penri had no good word to say about them. The Orok tribe, as the legend now to be cited will show, used reindeer as beasts of burden, and not dogs, as the Ainu did.

A 648 539 G 648

"There were six Ainu gentlemen who had their homes at Taraika. One of them one day went to visit the Oroks, who he found kept a big herd of reindeer (*Cervus Tarandus*). Upon entering one of their houses, he sat himself down by the hearth, and his host expressed great pleasure at meeting him. He set before

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A 539 him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared
648 with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.*
G The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly
648 refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

G [262]

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

A [764]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gold: RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A
539
648
G
648

"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Ten-atui*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

A
[342]

*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

women into captivity, where they married them. Yes, they seized the Ainu women of Karere, married them, and had children by them." And so this war came to an end.

A 539 648
G 648

The legend tells us that the Taraika gentlemen were dressed in armour. The word used for "armour" is *kusari*. The *kusari* were coats made of cords and nets covered thickly with adhesive mud or clay well dried in the sun. Sometimes the foundation consisted of salmon skin. Rather bad for wet weather warfare, I should imagine! I have also heard of coats covered with stones tied on with string used as armour. Ainu bows were often made of yew, and though short were quite strong.

After reading this story we may well expect to find a great blood relationship between the Ainu and Oroks. In fact, it is said by themselves that they no longer fight with one another because they are so closely related. Neither likes to begin a fight, they say; yet, "if our friends over yonder desire to begin a quarrel, we are always ready to fall in!"

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, 177
if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and im- [174]
proving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close conti-
guity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must con-
fess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close
contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and other-
wise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It
is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore,
and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them use-
ful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese
swords and curios, which have been handed down from past genera-
tions. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements
and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century
since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not
passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two 177
distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, 648
working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermar-
rying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct
in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though
they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned
to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had
to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is
a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together,
when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one
by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with
the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to
extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a 174
reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that 103
they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only
a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the
evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful
philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably
carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese
characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without
the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings
which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For
example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The
reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of
this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very
misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names
illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino deri-
vations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. 226
Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready to hurl at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This 225
two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large 226
fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone 226
and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of [283]
the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage [648]
the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, [237]
or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir [1] and Urup [2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever. 600

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. [361] Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

657 648 361 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the four brave men, who had suffered agonies for days, and had almost miraculously escaped death in the treacherous currents of the Otkoshk Sea, were certainly not to be outwitted by a handful of hard-hearted Japanese or by a pack of hairy Ainu. They begged for food and could not obtain it, so they stole it, and ill-treated some of the natives who interfered. They then disappeared towards the south. When I put in an appearance, all alone and almost in rags, leading and dragging my tired pony, it is not astonishing that the first thing that struck them was that I must be another escaped Russian, "or bad man from Krafto,"[1] as the Ainu called me.

The reception I received was pretty stormy; but when I understood what the matter was which caused the rioting, I set their minds at rest, and, speaking in their own language, told them that the "bad men of Krafto" were my enemies as well as theirs, and that, should I find them, I would punish them. Not only that, but, to make them perfectly at ease, I gave them some little present of money, which turned them at once into friends. As to the Russian convicts, there was no possibility of my finding them, for they were travelling towards the south from this point, and I was moving towards the north, so I was perfectly safe in passing myself off as a kind of supreme judge.

Shari Mombets is a miserable place. In the house where I put up I was received by a young man, but the owner of the house did not show himself. The next morning, however, as I gave much more money than they expected, the landlord was brought to my room to thank me. The poor man suffered from elephantiasis—the wretched disease by which the head and all the limbs of the body assume gigantic proportions. His head was swollen to more than twice its normal size, and had lost its shape; his body was piteously deformed and inflated, his eyes nearly buried in flesh. The weight of his head was such that the cervical vertebræ were scarcely strong enough to support it erect; and when he bowed down in Japanese fashion to thank me and bid me

[1] *Krafto*, Ainu word for Sakhalin.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head-
177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south. 648 175

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'. 114 648 175

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 175 648 224 226 231 412

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 [412] [294] [434] [243] [177] [622] bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 177 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

APPENDIX 1

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/326 cont'd/

173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114
[113]

1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A, [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

114

the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody. Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175 648

census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 10, scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 5. The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [439] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [464] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 106-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 648 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

7 In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers. [224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and [226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining 175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged 648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 8 Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 9 The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is 648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their 175
social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of 648
intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, 177
for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where [101]
Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire [224]
Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, [226]
1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the 177
contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and 648
Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came 177
by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employ- 648
ment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was 464
decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the [623]
local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a [624]
representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pioaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the [462]
fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go [224]
hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fish- [465]
ing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring 177
Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear 439
skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

[p.90]

10 Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements. Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari, for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487), for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kapai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus: cooking, night-and farm watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The setting of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memiro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under governmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175
167
648

Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
		1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
10	Azuma	1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

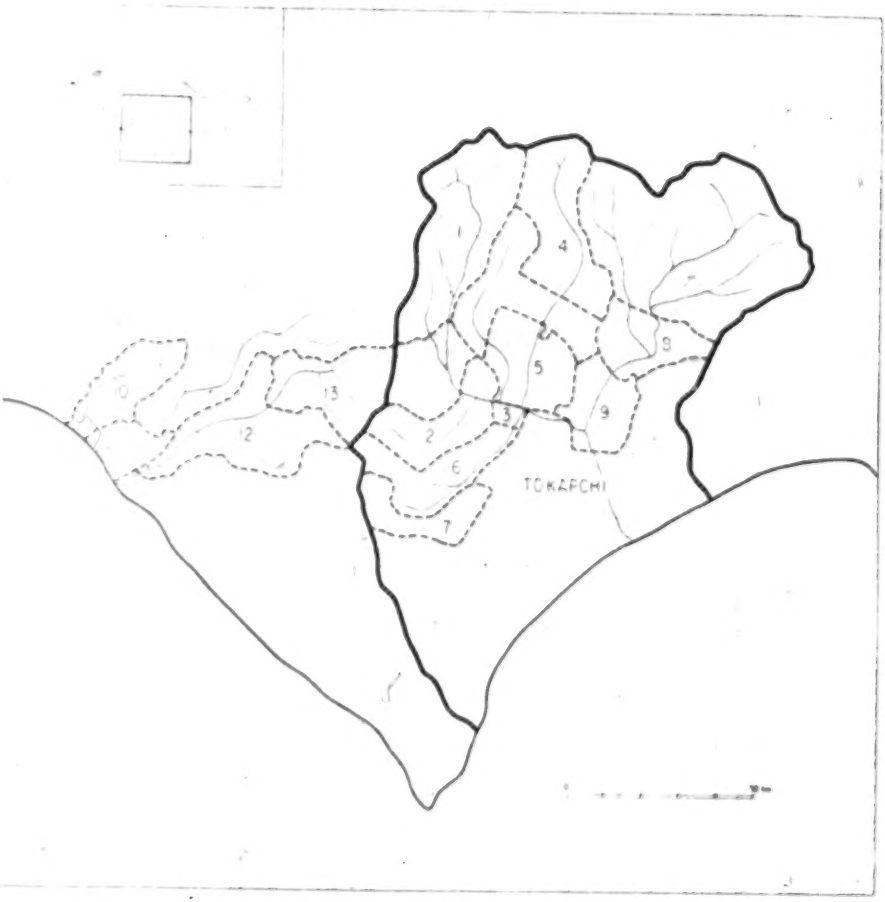
Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
		1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
12	Hiratori	1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant, a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

175
361

For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story Book of Yezo 1790 writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

167
102
175
648



Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six 175 361

[1] [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

IV

159 592 224 41 Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from [648] about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

G *601 171 A 601 171 [648]

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 171 T 601 171 Gi [601] [171]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 171 G *601 171

F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather
648
361
[113]

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J.
636
175
648
464
A
648
464
175

Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

F.J.
175
636
648
466
A
175
648
466

laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--153 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

/74 cont./

originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

F.J 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1).

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

F.J. /75 cont./
175 During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than
648 almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around
469 Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the
226 crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in
A itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was
175 said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on
162
464
648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

FJ
175
636
439
443
648

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy
F.J. their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was
648 abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War,
636 the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements
175 on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

F.J. 175 /122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

G 131 175 [361] [563]

1. "Tō-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinso 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]

2: Schrenck--255 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A
G
131
175
[198]
[563]
A
[648]

/122 cont./
began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

4. See above, p. 154.

evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

G
131
175
G
[174]

In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A
175
131
184

While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

A
175
131
E.J.
175
167
A
[113]

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

2: Schrenck--256 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

A
175
13
[113]
EJ.
175
101

/123 cont./

1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

A
131
175
648
EJ.
648
175

2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

A
EJ.
175
648

in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J. /123 cont. / Many
175 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled
648 across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The
A
[167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince
E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the
[361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in
A
EJ 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the
[177]

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.
A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the
E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were
F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely
175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to
654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

/126 cont./

175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

[113]

1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

A /129 cont./
175
114
101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A Similarly, The
101 archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuā" (Ainu) among the
175 peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to
[648] Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A
[113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A
[113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A
[113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others,
G
[103] among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are
[101] the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G
[113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
174 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
648 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
131 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move
103 farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
433
131

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

ooo 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

/412 cont./

302
171
177
[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302
177
648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom

302
177
413

and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

[113]

3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

T 302 171 179 [131]

/415 cont./

southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G GT SS 302 171 179 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A
G
Gi
SS
T
302
171
177
648

/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G
301
171

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

Gi
[301]
Gi
301

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1/A [See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analyst]

G /451 cont./
323
172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchä River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A
172
173
323
[648]

A
[192]
[114]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

/453 cont./

361 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east
133 of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation
226 for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the
262 Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak,
[361] this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance.
226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally,
648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at
464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175
648
464
113

1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
177

A
[465]
[648]

3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than
Gi the Gilyak.
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings
Gi about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
175 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
226 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
262 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period
264 of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish;
000 and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi
[113]

4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

G /487 cont./ Just
492 as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during
484 the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness
492 to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak,
171 is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other
174 Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly
492 the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the
493 sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are
● [648] treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [171] A [171]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

A 492 493 698 /487 cont./ oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

K 492 493 [113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

K [171]

K 493 171 NS 493 177 171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS 492 114 177 [113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

A 325 114 174 648 /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinzô's Testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

G 174 167 648

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G 174 648 325 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi 325 171 Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G A 224 [411] A 411 439 325 178 A 224 181 433 648

Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

Gi [439]

/620 cont./

175
648
439

Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately, escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually [622] every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

/622 cont./

000
G
175
648
622
292

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

A
175
648
622

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

A
175
114
648

SS /622 cont./

G Gi 648 178 439

Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

A [648] A G [622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

Gi 178 439 648

SS 174 648 439 178

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F
*175 2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his
*648 plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering
669 this country will be taken care of.
728 3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

A F
[436] 6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

A F
*648 Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the
*175 chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east
● [651] coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

---

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

A
F
*648 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Heki-
*175 richi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni
166 had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to
A
[162] a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of
A
F
*648 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese
*175 but also have their cause in the spread of contagious
161 diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa
[164] and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government
A
F
*648 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought
*175 them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in
177 the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to
A
F
the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there
*648 is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands.
*175 Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living
● 651 near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi,* "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in
A
[184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control
A
and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.
F
*648 When all the above facts are considered it seems that
*175 the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native
177 control.

---

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*648
*175
185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
[651]
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *C98 *175

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A [439] [431]

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A F *C98 437 624 *175

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A [65]

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB 2

A
F
*648
*105
457
436

of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A
[C5]

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon:*

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho,* and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[20] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[20] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

[P. 62 (A)]

A F *648 *175 439

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *648 *175 452 439

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [349] A [567]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [651]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [567]

1:Takakura . H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6 Early Japan AB3

A E *175 *648 439 628

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

A E *175 *648 439 628 477

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

A E *175 *648 656 439

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

A E *175 *648 439

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

A F 649 written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

* 648
* 175

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods." [80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

A F

* 648
* 175

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

● 656 The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

A E [681]

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

A [674]

---

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

A F [649]

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki.*

A F *C48 *175 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

A *C48 621 178

On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona.* A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona.* It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *C48 *175

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

A F *C48 177 *175 439

5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran. . . .*

I F 648 797 As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

A [671] A [656]

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

F 779 *648 *175 346 797

F [656] A [769]

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804 [35]

F 779 797 *648 *175 [177]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020–1021.

A [769] [177]

A F 797 *648 *175 776

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondô also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F 671 *648 656 *175

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F A *648 681 ● 656 671 *175

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

F A [773]

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshôken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondô Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyô* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F [778]

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyô* . . . that on July 23 Kondô Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F A [797] [776]

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

F A *648 681 ●656 671 *175

the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was disrespectful to the EZO.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
576 here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
671 in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate
A F the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by
*175 the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
671 abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
A F preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

[307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all
[657] unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

*648 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
576 changes from that of the previous period. Previously
527
178

[7] *Eso Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

A *648 576 527 178

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

F [657]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

F *648 *175 657 431

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

A 5 *648 *175 657

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

---

[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 ● 651

Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."[11] It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.[12] The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorourusho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

A F *648 *175 251

1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

F A *648 *175 251 651

Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

[11] Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozaemon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozaemon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Ōtona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

[12] Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni taisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92-93.

[P. 70 (A)]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A
E
*698
*175
758
[931]
A
E
*698
*175
●657
759
965

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations

were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever. 600

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. [361] Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the 657 648 361 184

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

•659 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

182 221 [143] [202]

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

291 184

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. 648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1] 241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu 241 177 182 [771]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan No 2
A
F
*648
*175
185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
[651
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

[P.54(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*698
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*698
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

---

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami. . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

[P. 72 (B)]

A E
*648
*175
439
[184]
[291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

---

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

A E
*648 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as
*175 being told,

439 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are
661 obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

A E
[436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

A E
*648 3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the
*175 Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who
226 had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in
439 hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the
661 productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow
[423] for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shô to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shô) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tôyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

A F *648 *175 466

laborers increased, a new position called *"Kozukai"* was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465]

For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

A 465 *648 *175

Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

A [509]

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

A F *648 *175 466 661

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those *175 living in the mountains could not expect to feed them- 467 selves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since ●661 they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which A [511] they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *648 Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various 661 ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep 439 these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to *175 preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho,* the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, A [191] in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511] [65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi,* No. 276: 901–902.

A F *648 *175 439 661

There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

A F [577] and also:

The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

A F *648 *175 577 661

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

A F [683]

[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51–52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46–48.

A F *648 *175 577 661

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [68A] [579]

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184]

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island.

A F [687]

Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466]

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 577 661

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

A F *648 439 *175

Lesser samurai such as the [illegible]ges or horse handlers made their incomes from trips [illegible] merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. O[illegible]e such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

F *648 *175 624 661

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A F *648 *175 439

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."[75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2

E A

*175 at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the
*648 same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at
439 Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

A F
[668]
A E F
628
439
*175
*648

Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

E
[939]
[985]

vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Ezo Koku Shiki.*

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aim AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728
AF *175 669 *648
A [411]

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

[P.29(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *175 *648 669 728

2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.

3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

A F [436]

6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

A F *C98 *175 [651]

Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

---

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

A
F
*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
*648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
433 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
554 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.
437

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDÔ

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
*648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638]
came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae
made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted
● [669] Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly
prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] How-
ever, very little else is known of the control system
aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction
became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably
changed the political relationships between Ainu and
Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says,
"There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from
Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some
who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to
give them orders but me." This seems an exaggera-
A tion but it is a true picture of conditions in that area
F suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669
revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and
[439] Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their
trade and began when that trade opened. The ex-
[431] change of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good
will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and
highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor.
A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the
presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui."* *"Kamui"*
means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means
friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly
relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he
was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he
respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands
at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became
vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became
subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became
an independent power they had behind them the back-
ing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated
in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence.
When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No
A matter what the order may be from the lord, we all,
[622] regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs
who had previously been on equal terms with the
Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona"*: a
Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-
governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidô Shisô* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidô), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tôyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshôken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shô* 3: 126, 164.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be 226 compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota* [685] *Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [224] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them [685] was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> 224 There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid [224] description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokou Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

A F *648 *175 177 627 [692] hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692] 5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 671 681 177 A [624] A F *648 *175

F [923] 6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

A [177]

A F *648 576 431

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

A F *648 527 576 *175

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of: (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

A F [431]

A F *648 *175 576 ● 671

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

A [681]

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

A F the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
576 here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
●671 in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
A F erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*648 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
*175 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
671 abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
A F preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

[307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

A F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[659] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[7]

*648 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
576 changes from that of the previous period. Previously
527
178

[7] *Ezo Fūsoku Ison* 2: 1.

Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

I F 648 799

As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

A [671] A E [656]

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

F 799 *648 *175 346 797

F [656] A [769]

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804 [35]

F 799 797 *648 *175 [177]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

A [D64] [177]

A F 797 *648 *175 776

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F 671 *648 656 *175

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F A *648 68 656 ●671 *175

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

F A [173]

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F [778]

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F A [797] [776]

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Rudal Japan 182

F A *648 681 656 ● 671 *175 the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681 Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was distasteful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

1:Takakura, H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

159 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, 183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon [685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According 858
to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [787] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242-243.

I:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F 649 * 648 * 175

written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods." [80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

A F * 648 * 175

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

656

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

A E [681]

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus

A [674]

crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

---

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

A F [649]

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki.*

[p. 45 (B)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 577
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
● 674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

[P.71(B)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
[184] dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[29] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
[492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
[177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair or the nose. There were other penalties for minor [681] offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

[439] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

681 [518] 627 resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

681 627 783 *Ukaru* was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each [524] other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of 681 627 hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair [826] and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[962] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 685

> In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F [621] *648 *175 ●681 [622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
C49
*C48
*175

written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods."[80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

A
F
*C48
*175

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

656

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

A
E
[681]

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

A
[674]

---

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

A
F
[697]

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki.*

A F *648 *175 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

A F *648 *175 177 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

A [304] [301] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattooes are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

A [681] F [826]

A F *648 *175 177 627 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

A F *648 *175 177 627 [692] hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692]

5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 671 ●681 177 A [624] A F *648 *175

6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

F [923] A [177]

1:Takakura: H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of: (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai.*) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

[P. 68 (B)]

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents," and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan 182

F A *648 ●681 656 671 *175

the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

A F 671 177 *648 *175 [622] 681

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was distasteful to the Ezo.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

A F [671] [171] A [681]

[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could 687
not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia.

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were 681
applied as punishments on occasion. Thus,

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a sus- 681
pected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit 272
down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there 273
till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me
[762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places
[184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends [562] upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The 765 period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in 681 rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his [682] release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen.

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence [695] or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his [682] nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has sup- 114 posed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the 224 Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent [136] quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 577
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; 697
neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
[576] manners and customs such as sitting down without
[689] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon of God for in the very presenting of the gift was implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled among persons there was no question about the distribution of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
[622] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole word literally being taken as to beat each other with clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatusawa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

A F *648 *175 577 661 was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [584] [579] There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184] Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menāshi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. A F [682] Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466] [71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622 asserted that they traded with the races living in
434 Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much
[437] trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the dif-
[761] ferent misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some
[759] cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating
[685] was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it
[688] used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

● 682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could 682
not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia.

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were 681
applied as punishments on occasion. Thus,

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a sus- 681
pected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit 272
down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there 273
till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [685] [682] 114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 577
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [780] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

● 683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that. "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed 696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*

[60] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 237.

[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.

[62] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 241.

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three
[692] nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed
696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in
684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which
184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East]
562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punish-
684 ment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*
[60] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 237.
[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.
[62] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241.

[P.20(B)]

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair or the nose. There were other penalties for minor [681] offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as [439] utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

A F was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* *648 Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

*175 Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

577 661

A F There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebel- [584] lious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in [579] creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A [184] Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island.

A F Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be [682] poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

---

[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

A F [466] [71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622 asserted that they traded with the races living in
434 Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much
[437] trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the dif-
[761] ferent misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some
[755] cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating
[685] was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it
[684] used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally 593
beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's 562
Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no 586
"divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could 684
make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is 582
about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 64 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says: 423 226 [685]

In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning. [224] [685]

According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23] 423

There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished. 224

While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says, 423 [175] [671]

There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear 423 628 423 226 [224]

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair or the nose. There were other penalties for minor [681] offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In ● 685 addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.[63] According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive[64] or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.[65] Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,[66] but there is really no clear distinction.

[A39] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyū Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Ezoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

[63] *Ibid.*, 240–241.
[64] *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.
[65] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241–242.
[66] Hayashi Kingo, Ainu no genshi shakai (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

A F *648 *175 177

1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

A F *648 *175 ●685

> In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.[51]

A F [621] *648 *175 681 [622] A 681

Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.[52] Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

A F *648 177 *175

[51] Italics are mine.
[52] See p. 21.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the [illegible] living in Eastern Siberia, and with the K[illegible] and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 627
younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [681]
consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners 224
had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
●685
417
291

A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

685 During one of my walks with Chief Penri in bygone days, we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub, and, going to it, found two people, husband and wife, who had lost the points of their noses.* And this marked them off as people apart. They paid great deference to the chief. I asked Penri about them afterwards and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside with them in the communities. They were boycotted. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts!" he said. These two were my first personal shaman acquaintances.

756 I met this worthy couple again many years after in Sapporo. They had built a little lodge just outside the city, near the road, and they were getting a living in the city by dancing and begging. One day my Ainu servant told me that a person had died in their lodge and would I care to go with him and see them? Upon going I found one or two friends had gathered there and thought it would be a good time to give an address. I spoke in Ainu on the Christian's hope. This pair of shamans, sitting there by the hearth, looked so earnestly at me and seemed to be so much interested in what I was saying, that I warmed up and kept at it for quite a long time. The man had his shaman's stick or wand in his hand. At length I saw him cast his eyes down and strike the hearth vigorously. And with a grunt, his wife also took her eyes off me. I then closed the meeting and returned home. As we were walking along, my man burst out laughing and said "Did you notice the pair of them fix their gaze on you, Sir?"

*Their photo is given at the beginning of this chapter.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea [825 787] as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

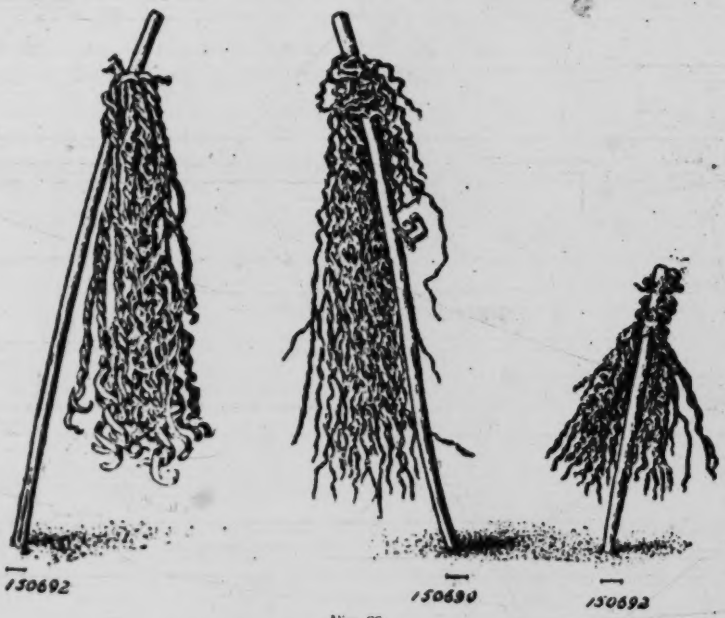


Fig 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, [685] but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

157 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, 183 if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon •[685] caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth [671] speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

11: Watanabe E-4,5 , (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

776 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[628] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
[782] for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
[431] would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amounut of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the near-by
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
[782] hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that
[685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[782] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[685]

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both the habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperatiye group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *nusa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

T Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui* [262] *haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shionbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tozabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Aimu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries. 128 127

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of 292 789 [582] [123]

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience. [688]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
[692] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows: "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and made to atone after which he was set free. The disposition of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*." in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in accordance to the offense and give it to the injured party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense has been committed through error, the chief of the village would examine the case and impose a fine on the party to blame and present this to the other party." It is evident that those in power could abuse this custom and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke* over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became corrupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shutouchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes: "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals *Tsugunai* was offered and if it was refused the one was beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichigatusowa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyū Ki*.

[P. 21 (B)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According 858
to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

A
208
691
871

Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

208
191

Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

T
634
101
131
K
634
101
131

In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

T
K
[167]
T
K
[162]

T
634
101
131
161
K
634
101
131
161

The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

T
433
634
K
433
634

The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed 696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 189 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukari* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*
[60] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 237.
[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keiri* 7: 28.
[62] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 241.

The payment of atonement came not only
681 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
manners and customs such as sitting down without
[576] regard to custom,[67] looking into a house through "God's
window,"[68] speaking the name of the dead,[69] talking
[689] about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,[70] or disturbing a sacred place.[71] *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
[622] tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[695] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō*
Junkōki [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows:
"When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and
made to atone after which he was set free. The dis-
position of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*."
in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing
judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in
accordance to the offense and give it to the injured
party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense
has been committed through error, the chief of the
village would examine the case and impose a fine on the
party to blame and present this to the other party." It
is evident that those in power could abuse this custom
and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke*
over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
"mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
627 word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was
called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became cor-
rupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shu-*
touchi along with *Tsugunai* was an important method
of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes:
"When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals
Tsugunai was offered and if it was refused the one was
beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he
bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The
Hokkai Zuihitsu states: "This was used when one so

---

[67] *Tōkai Yawa*.

[68] Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116–117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

[69] "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishima Hikki*.

[70] "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shiran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatsuwa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

[71] "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyō Ki*.

681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
627 problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
[692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
[962] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor.
[241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
[233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the
[439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
[622] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
[621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
[361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group
[166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
[628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed
[556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
[469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
[622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
421 members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
592 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
556 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22 (B)]

A F *648 *175 439 [692] [624]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [914] [996]

A [203]

A F *648 *175 [166]

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *cburiko* and *hotsubi* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [624] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1 (Illustration No. 1

A F *648 *175 177 627 [692]

hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

A F [692]

5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

A F *648 *175 671 681 177 A [624] A F *648 *175

6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administrating directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

F [423] A [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

627 692 The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 627 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless [623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 562 593 [184] In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce [586 428] any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting 695 [787] the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [695] [682] 114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
[184] the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

● 695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-
[789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*
778

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most [692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was based on precedent and it seems that the various trials and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed ● 696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily carried out by the chief but was left up to the group and only when a case concerned the entire village or could not be settled by the group was the chief called upon for his decision. There were no set codes of punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed according to precedent and custom. For example, in 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records, the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East] 562 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death with a club and cast into sea." While there is some doubt that this was the standard punishment we find in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks, "When a married woman committed adultery her hair was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not 684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered to be given to the other party as a token of apology and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed, the culprits were punished by law. However, at times, there would be an arbitration and the parties would be reconciled with the payment of atonement." According to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru* which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However, if it happens and becomes known to the husband he immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*
[60] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 237.
[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.
[62] *The Ainu and their folklore,* 241.

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [780] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P. 20(A)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

F
A
*648
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*648
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Bunridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips. 231

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1] 114 144 127 266

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised." 157 181 266

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there. 197 184

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

/126 cont./

175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

[113] 1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 ● 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

A [411]
[P.29(A)]

AF
*175 2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his
*648 plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported
669 immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.
728 3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

AF
[436] 6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

AF
*648 Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the
*175 chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east
[651] coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

---

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A
F
*698
*175
758
[731]
A
F
*698
*175
657
752
465

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations ——— were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, 342
where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace 273
there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming 731
feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal 342
of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. 273
Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, 117
no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol 273
in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was 778
the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them.

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all 731
these things, and he told me they were set about as a 778
defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death.

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this 824
kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and 778
poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons [777]
of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 [789] [753] One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as ● 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. 627 Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical 621 and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among [582] themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations 621 are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for 143 instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities 732 two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not [844] treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not 143 know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos 732 are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

563 The head is in most instances of an abnormal size; the frontal
142 bone is generally more sloping than with the thoroughbred
732 Ainu; and though the skull be wide from one temple to the other, it is not spacious enough from the frontal bone to the back of the head. They have heads so shaped that the animal propensities are in excess of the moral and mental faculties. In thoroughbred Ainu I found the bumps of amativeness, philoprogenitiveness, and tune very well developed. In the half-breeds these bumps hardly show at all, and in some cases the back of the head—where the two first bumps are found—is almost flat.

563 "Ainu half-breeds never live to be very old. They are often
164 affected with rheumatism—*kaki*, a disease peculiar to the Far East—leprosy, and consumption, and they suffer from these diseases much more than do the pure Ainu. I found leprosy quite common among half-breeds—while I have seen but few Ainu affected with it. In most instances, though, leprosy had only attained its first stages—contraction of fingers and subsequent dropping off of the three phalanges, ears, and nose; but this may be explained by the fact that the sufferers in general succumb before the disease attains its more serious character, when the whole body is visibly affected by it."

153 Precise laws as to the degree of quickness of perception, power of reasoning, and learning of the Ainu race cannot be given, for, as I have mentioned before, almost each individual would require a special rule for himself. My readers may have noticed that, while some Ainu were but little above monkeys, others were sharp, and gave answers very much to the point. This may apparently be regarded as a contradiction on my part by people who have neither lived with savages, nor studied the temperament of beasts. But it is not a contradiction. There are in this world clever monkeys and stupid monkeys: some can never be made to learn any tricks; others will learn them in no time. Intelligence is instinctive, and not acquired, though of course it can be greatly developed with education; thus, the Ainu are instinctively intelligent, but I wish my readers clearly to understand that their intelligence does not go much further than that of an intelligent monkey, though of course the Ainu have the advantage over beasts of being able to talk, and therefore, to a limited

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
807 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. [755]

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *kuttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

352 All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was
●744 just one empty whisky (*sake*) barrel which I used for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

744 A long time after this, when I was talking to
825 another friend about these creatures, he told me they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, "consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lod- 117
ged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744] ●
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netōba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752
before I became aware that he had lost the points of
two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he
informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a
fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a
narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in
my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off
into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the
bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore
quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the
ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In
this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Never-
theless, both members festered and would not heal for
a long time. But in the end, although they got better,
I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong
feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added,
"The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of cour- 117
age and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut
his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could
no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake
kind. Whenever we were travelling together along
narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114
wished me to walk in front to scare away these ver- 784
min. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore
thick boots through which no snake could bite. At
night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of
smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he
waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokeush rorumbe,* i.e., "making

[782
778]

A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 776 824 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 776 823 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges. 752 776 823

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 drown him. With regard to this matter my friend said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

776 "Should one see a very large red stone in a river,
823 let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to the stone with libations of saké.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of disease. They came into the world in this way. 773
Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the
deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in [753]
order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and
rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for
a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing
came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these
were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire.
No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once
turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones
became demons which originated some kinds of ill-
nesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their
sticks and got flints which they struck together. These
made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

[172]

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now
about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their
flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those
which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and
those which were thrown into the sea turned them-
selves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were
quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole
time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God
would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine
which should live upon dry land and which should be
banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused
them to have a race and so settle the matter. They
assembled at the appointed time and place, where they
strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race,
and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773
over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825
common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539
firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; more- [753]
over, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with 553
them. Should the name of a departed one be applied 775
to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of [753] the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor.

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or un- 551
lucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune 777
if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in.

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked 553
if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the [753]
matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards.

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

be wise to pass remarks them or ask any questions, so 825
I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527
appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753
about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262
for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *iske-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

CHAPTER XXXIX

WARRING UPON TREES, AND THE "WILD DANCE"

An English lady, who had been a nurse during the 080
late most lamentable World War, told me that when stationed in Dublin with some troops, an Irish woman came to see the doctors there, as she was very ill. Her case was diagnosed in hospital, the result being that, as a malignant internal growth was found, she was told that unless she was operated on at a very early date and the evil taken away, she could only hope to live a very short time. This, of course, rather upset her, but she said she would not consent to any operation taking place. "The growth," she said, "was given me by God, and if it is His will that I shall suffer and die on account of it, I shall be quite content to do so. Nothing that He has given me shall be taken away, but I will carry all to Heaven with me. But be mutilated I will not." And so she soon died and was buried.

"East is," certainly, "East, and West is West." No 753 ●
one would ever get an Ainu to believe that God sends sickness of any kind, except on very special occasions. They all believe that, as a general rule, it comes from demons. So these people are constantly waging war with the demons of disease in various way.

Mr. Arrow was one of my oldest Ainu friends. He was a very good man and much respected by his own people. I knew him intimately for more than forty years. One day he became very ill and his doctors told him that he could not hope to live many days longer. Just before his death, he called his relations

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he returned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my district, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." 753
"How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164
●753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men
should meet together and go to the villages up and
down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

826 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
787 volunteered the following lore. "When one has pal-
755 pitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to
hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
●753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 757 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them 123 609 why they had assaulted me.

One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, 531 and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once [789] you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life [753] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539
rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to
die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp
sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538
repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or
on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am in-
clined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese [177]
ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533
by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves,
and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533
illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755
spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [753]
when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

755

EXORCISM

[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

[783] [782]

755 801 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115]

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

[791] [126]

755 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

753 [114]

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram kore*) with good *kamui*. [158] [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

060

EXORCISM

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
●753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

APPENDIX I

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated. 158 786

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . . [776] 158 786 648

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it 158 755 [791 753 776 778] 158

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[278] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is '*ichashkara*,' i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called '*imosh*.' When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called "*tolpuh-un-chiri*," i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 his life gradually fade away with it. O demon named *toikunari tumunichi*, hear me, and quickly take his soul and turn it into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said with earnestness, the man will soon die—yea, his body will rot with the tree and he will perish from off the earth."

Another method employed is to make fetishes of the guelder rose and ask it to carry the soul of the enemy to Hell as soon as possible. After this the fetishes should be buried upside down. Further, "should a person wish to bring down evil upon another by means of magic, he should make a boat of rotten wood. When this has been done, he should make images of two men, also of rotten wood, and place them on board. He should then say the following prayer: 'O ye demons, I have made the images of two men, one of whom represents my enemy. Pray take his soul and thrust it into Hell. Take it right away to *Uchiura mochiri*, yea, carry it off to that place.' Should he do so, the man will quickly die. One of the two men is not an enemy but the boatman," or the old Styx ferryman.

My informant also told me that there were some very bad women who would practice magic on their husbands. Thus, for example, should a woman desire to get rid of her husband by death, she may kill him in the following way: "Let her take his head-dress, wrap it in a bag in the shape of a corpse ready prepared for burial, then dig a hole and put it in it. She must then pray thus: 'When this head-dress and bag rot, let my husband also die and rot with them. It is for this I have now buried him. O thou demon *Toikoshimpuk*, by name, hear me. Be quick and take his soul, and make the man into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said, her husband will die in a very short time."

Trees also, of some kinds were used for purposes of magic; such, for example, were the elder, poplar, guelder rose and others. When any of them were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

quired to work against an enemy they were worshipped as follows: "O tree so-and-so, O thou demon tree, I worship thee now and make my request unto thee. Listen to what I have to say. There are men persecuting me and I now tell thee their names. Hasten thou and take away their souls, and make hateful demons of them like unto thyself." 754

Such were some methods of magic used by this very remarkable people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771
people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* 754
one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic. [789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 this, he said, had taken place through the evil influence of a wicked demon. But as I did not believe him, I took no notice. He then went to my father and said the same to him. My father replied, 'If, by your divination, you are sure that my son has been bewitched, it will be well for you to ask your gods to drive out the demon who acted through her.' And so the shaman performed before his gods. Nevertheless the woman would not make any confession. Rather, she denied and straightway went off to a certain village and fetched her husband.

"When he arrived he said to me, 'Ask the shaman whether this woman really did cut the clothes and so bewitch you.' But as I did not for a moment think she had done so, I said I would not ask him and stayed in bed. After this the woman's brother called me to him and said, 'Your garment has been cut. Is it not a fact that you are in love with some other woman?'

"I was very angry at this and replied, 'Look at me. I am all the time ill in bed. With what woman should I have fallen in love? I believe this cutting to have been done by some thoughtless child or other, and so have taken no notice of it, but the shaman says that a certain woman did it. I quite disbelieve him and so I want to let the matter drop. Why do you come to me after this manner? Let it all rest.'

"After this the woman and her brother turned upon the shaman, who became very angry and said,' 'Do you, indeed, deny it? As for me, I am inspired by the gods and know all your evil deeds. It is because you are utterly depraved that you speak to me in this way. Now, as you behave toward me in such a manner, I will punish you in the same way as was done in olden times.' So saying he arose and called out in a loud voice, 'I will put fire into this woman's hand.' I thought he said this to frighten her and so remained quite still. The shaman thereupon actually took hold

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told 754
him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.'

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and 177
he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, impri- 754
soned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross."

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two sculls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the 539
origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes
755 have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I
783 came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

but fail bite him. He will watch all the time for an opportunity to kill him." 754

Continuing, my informant mentioned the following incident and said that it showed how snakes really did answer prayer. "Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the objects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a path when, without the least warning, an adder bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick and struck the reptile on the head and killed him. He then heedlessly threw him away among the grass. The man who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell ill and died. The fact was that they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of wood through its head. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do so, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and possessed both of them, so that they died. This was all done in answer to the prayers of a wicked man who asked help from the adder."

One day, as I was on my travels with a good Ainu friend, he pointed on ahead to a woman who was coming our way. He told me to be very careful, for she was a dangerous witch who was herself bewitched by snakes. I found out from him that she kept the image of one carefully put away in her private box in her home, which she at times took out for purposes of divination and witchcraft. Through it she could curse one to death and also foretell future events. By it she could tell the reason of any sickness or trouble and [756] discover remedies for them. Of course, at a price. She was also able to tell what was going on at a distance. She was a wonder to all around and greatly feared. We met her and we had a little conversation together. She appeared to me to be all right, but had a very bright eye and firm mouth. We very soon became friends and remained so till she died. She admitted later that she had tried to influence me by her

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

754 wiles, but somehow I was too much for her. She could by no means get me into her power! I did not even know she was "trying it on."

Ophiolatry was most practised when an addition was being made to a family, but more particularly when any difficulty was being experienced in the matter. What astonished me most was the fact that, although the snake was looked upon as a demon who caused all such troubles, yet he was worshipped and asked to remove them. This was genuine snake-worship and it was the way the Ainu took such bothers to headquarters! The devil caused the troubles, and he was regarded as the one who should take them away. But on these occasions, it was not the real body of the snake which was worshipped, but an image of one, made of sedge (*Carex*). This was called the "divine image." It was set up by the fire and worshipped ardently, and even sometimes placed upon the shoulders of the prospective mother. After this image had been duly used as a means of reaching the real demon snake, the men reverently took it and handed it to a woman, who carried it to the patient and laid it beside her. She would also rub her down with it sometimes. After a little time had elapsed, this same image was taken back to the men, who after having again done worship before it and to it, devoutly carried it to the sacred north-east corner of the hut and placed it beside the household god.

Snakes were also worshipped in cases of being bitten by any of these reptiles. At such times a sedge image of one was set up by the hearth, where *saké* was offered to it and prayers made before it. If the demon heard the prayers, accepted the libations, and wrought a cure, the image was again produced, worshipped, thanked, offered libations and presented with sacred fetishes in the shape of wood shavings. It was then carried outside and placed among the skulls and other offerings and set up there. But if the patient died, the image

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [777]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXII

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SÉANCE

I have met many shamans (wizards), male and 756
female, during my sojourn in Ainu-land. And it ap- 754
pears to me that the more effete the race becomes, the more wizards there are cropping up. They are all inimical to what I have been trying to teach. They are a class who believe in the agency of good and evil spirits, and fancy they can, by the aid of their magic rites and verbal spells, bring good or evil upon people as they will. If any get sick, or die, or the rain fails so that there is a drought, or it rains too much and spoils the garden crops, or there is a flood, or any calamity whatsoever befalls the Ainu, these wizards lay it to the score of large numbers having become Christians, because, they say, by accepting Christianity they have forsaken their old gods and given up some of their ancient customs. And this frightens some people.

One hardly knows what to call the shamans in English. Wizards, witches, medicine-men, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, all of these combined seem to be comprised in shamanism, and the shamans are certainly devil worshippers. Although the name "shaman" is not used by itself among the Ainu, yet "to perform the acts of shamanism" carries it, for that is called *e-shaman-hi*, i.e. "act the shaman." I believe *shaman* itself means really "heart" or "mind grabber." The present day common term is *tusu-guru*, which means "double-lived one." Why this should be so will appear later.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. '*Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

●754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292 778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said, *'Pish! pish!'*

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time *swish* came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due."**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

[754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotized. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 754 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not ? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

barking "*pau, pau,*" like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787
and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754
are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825
this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539
this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825
upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come. 539 825

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening. [754]

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous [754 789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
789 the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like serving-men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

621 asserted that they traded with the races living in
434 Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much
[437] trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

681 The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the dif-
[761] ferent misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment; and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some
[755] cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating
[685] was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it
[688] used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

682 For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is
particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the
individual for whom it was made. The following is a
prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *sura*. These *sura* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "legs." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 778
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[188] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and his friends that the eagle is after him, and so he quickly comes to heal up the mischief he has wrought. I find, too, that eagle claws are sometimes scraped and the powder given to sick people to drive out the demons of disease.

755
758

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 278 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Kousa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 784 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he returned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755 ●
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my district, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." 753
"How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164
753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
●755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men
should meet together and go to the villages up and
down the rivers, and take from each hut a small por-
tion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-
parsnip. When they have secured these, they should
bring them to an appointed place, where the men should
sit down and pray. After the prayer they should
carry all to the seashore, then reverently make feti-
shes and place them by their side. When this has been
done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye
demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon
us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay
attention! We have with one accord met together
and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various
kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have
afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take
their departure. We present these articles of food
for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine.
O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays,
have the demons of disease taken away from our vil-
lages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony per-
formed, the sicknesses will speedily take their de-
parture."

826 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
787 volunteered the following lore. "When one has pal-
pitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to
755 hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sick-
ness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation
comes, he should at once rub the place six times and
say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now
brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should
take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into
six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place."
Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that
one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *eremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
● 755 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay 755
hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them 757
raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *nitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *nitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great 821
efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for 755
example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his 756
malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

"When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] 539
rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abeten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538
repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese [177] ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533
by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533
illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755
spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, [753]
when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
490 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
550 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each
533 girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490 are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

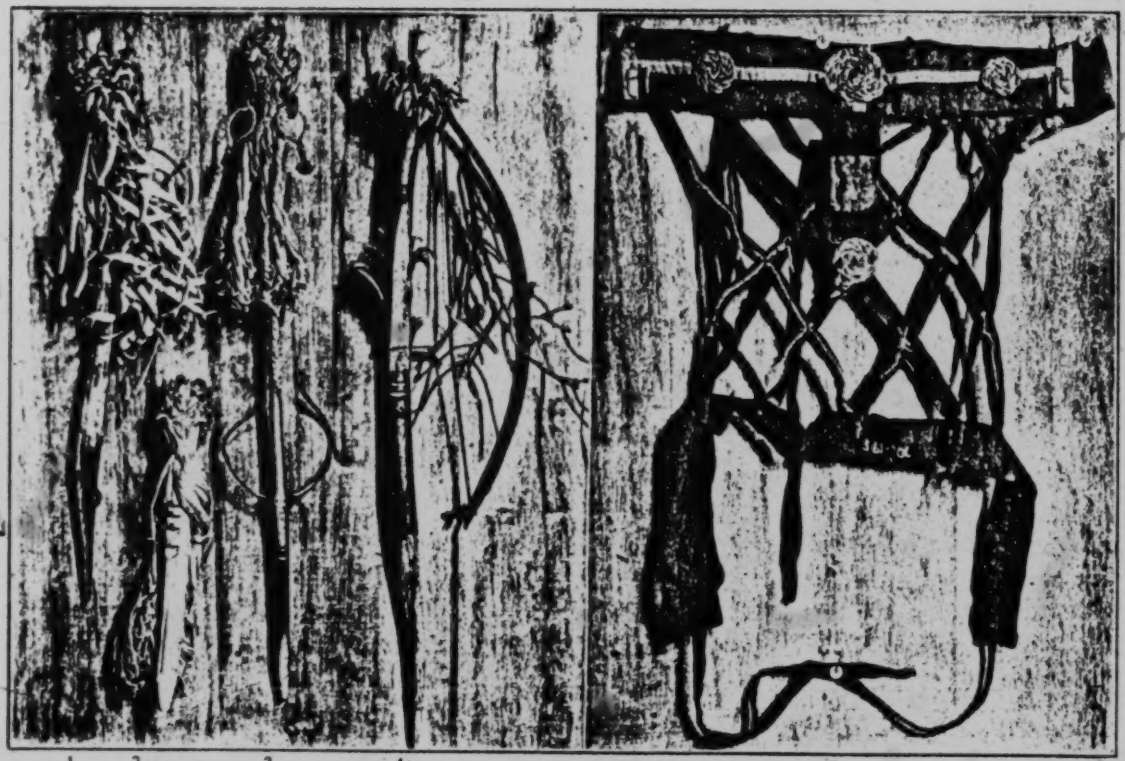
Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798
155
531

[Facing P. 427]



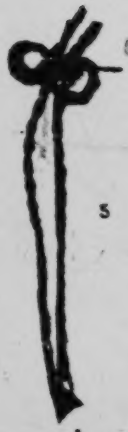
1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with plaited shavings appliquéd in the shape of magic coils and strings.

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798
796
155



1 2 3 4 5 6

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing P. 428]

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*, and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 779

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

● [755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

776

EFFIGIES

773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of
[755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

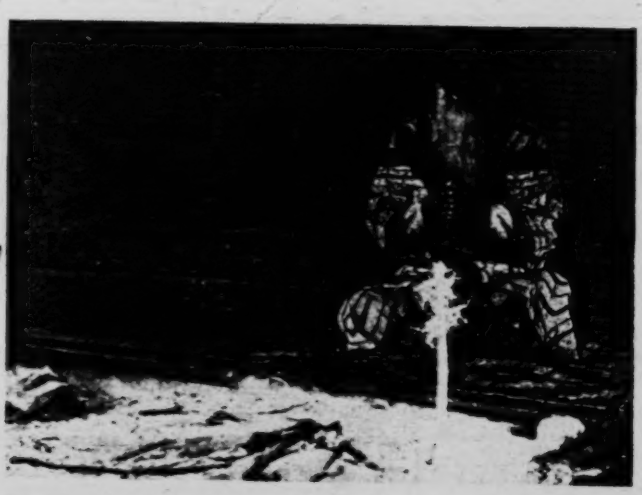
The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
● 755
516
[352]



[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
[531]

Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (c)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
778

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 ' 01]

756
755
778
←
756
755
292
531
516
→

756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

Fig. 1. An *inu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Inu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *susa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

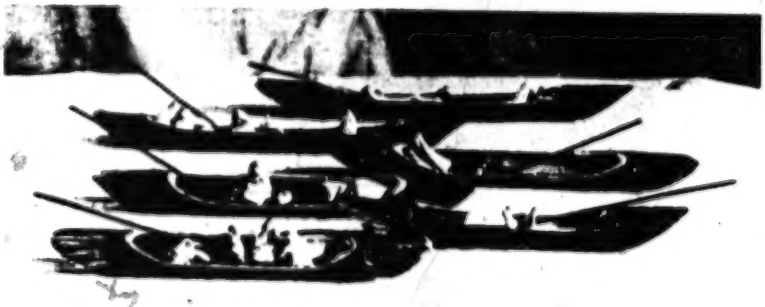
Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

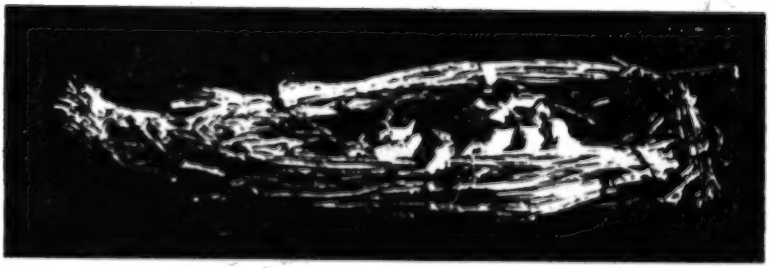


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *hashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
[791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

755

EXORCISM

[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

[783] [782]

755 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as 801 Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115]

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

[791] [126]

755 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they 753 live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114]

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. [158] [776] [825] [787]

There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

EXORCISM

755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

060

EXORCISM

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 776 825 [778] of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

755 782 825 The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning [783] home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 825 776 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 776 782 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as 755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755 844 [354] [782] [825] [237]

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
192

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

278 and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase
[776] Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of
[782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe; he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX 1

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The 791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called [775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a [825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

● 755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking 158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or 782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu 791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755 ●
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782
845
776
755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782
845
539
755
776

1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782
845
539
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

R2
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [875] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Ainu! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
204 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
142
302

A SHAMAN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

not fall bite him. He will watch all the time for an opportunity to kill him." 754

Continuing, my informant mentioned the following incident and said that it showed how snakes really did answer prayer. "Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the objects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a path when, without the least warning, an adder bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick and struck the reptile on the head and killed him. He then heedlessly threw him away among the grass. The man who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell ill and died. The fact was that they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of wood through its head. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do so, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and possessed both of them, so that they died. This was all done in answer to the prayers of a wicked man who asked help from the adder."

One day, as I was on my travels with a good Ainu friend, he pointed on ahead to a woman who was coming our way. He told me to be very careful, for she was a dangerous witch who was herself bewitched by snakes. I found out from him that she kept the image of one carefully put away in her private box in her home, which she at times took out for purposes of divination and witchcraft. Through it she could curse one to death and also foretell future events. By it she could tell the reason of any sickness or trouble and [756] discover remedies for them. Of course, at a price. She was also able to tell what was going on at a distance. She was a wonder to all around and greatly feared. We met her and we had a little conversation together. She appeared to me to be all right, but had a very bright eye and firm mouth. We very soon became friends and remained so till she died. She admitted later that she had tried to influence me by her

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
685
418
291

A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXII

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SÉANCE

I have met many shamans (wizards), male and 756 ●
female, during my sojourn in Ainu-land. And it ap- 754
pears to me that the more effete the race becomes, the more wizards there are cropping up. They are all inimical to what I have been trying to teach. They are a class who believe in the agency of good and evil spirits, and fancy they can, by the aid of their magic rites and verbal spells, bring good or evil upon people as they will. If any get sick, or die, or the rain fails so that there is a drought, or it rains too much and spoils the garden crops, or there is a flood, or any calamity whatsoever befalls the Ainu, these wizards lay it to the score of large numbers having become Christians, because, they say, by accepting Christianity they have forsaken their old gods and given up some of their ancient customs. And this frightens some people.

One hardly knows what to call the shamans in English. Wizards, witches, medicine-men, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, all of these combined seem to be comprised in shamanism, and the shamans are certainly devil worshippers. Although the name "shaman" is not used by itself among the Ainu, yet "to perform the acts of shamanism" carries it, for that is called *e-shaman-hi*, i.e. "act the shaman." I believe *shaman* itself means really "heart" or "mind grabber." The present day common term is *tusu-guru*, which means "double-lived one." Why this should be so will appear later.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

685 During one of my walks with Chief Penri in bygone days, we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub, and, going to it, found two people, husband and wife, who had lost the points of their noses.* And this marked them off as people apart. They paid great deference to the chief. I asked Penri about them afterwards and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside with them in the communities. They were boycotted. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts!" he said. These two were my first personal shaman acquaintances.

●756 I met this worthy couple again many years after in Sapporo. They had built a little lodge just outside the city, near the road, and they were getting a living in the city by dancing and begging. One day my Ainu servant told me that a person had died in their lodge and would I care to go with him and see them? Upon going I found one or two friends had gathered there and thought it would be a good time to give an address. I spoke in Ainu on the Christian's hope. This pair of shamans, sitting there by the hearth, looked so earnestly at me and seemed to be so much interested in what I was saying, that I warmed up and kept at it for quite a long time. The man had his shaman's stick or wand in his hand. At length I saw him cast his eyes down and strike the hearth vigorously. And with a grunt, his wife also took her eyes off me. I then closed the meeting and returned home. As we were walking along, my man burst out laughing and said "Did you notice the pair of them fix their gaze on you, Sir?"

*Their photo is given at the beginning of this chapter.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Yes, weren't they interested?" replied I. "Interested!" he returned. "They were trying to hypnotize you. But they were quite unable to accomplish their end. They had not the slightest power over you. You beat them!" It may have been so; I can not tell. Anyway, my man believed it. Strange to say, I could never after that day get near enough to speak to them. When they saw me coming, they always ran clean away. They were as much afraid of me as my servant was afraid of them! 756

I now no longer wonder that the Ainu shamans are called "persons with double life," for with them the subconscious life is regarded as the double one (objective and subjective). On a certain occasion I was passing a hut, when I heard a great noise coming from it. On stepping in, I found a wizard hard at it performing his magic spells. He was sitting at the head of the hearth holding a wooden wand in his right hand, beating time and emphasizing his words with it. He also at times beat himself with his hands. He had a fox-skull, decorated with fine fetish shavings, sticking out of his bosom. He was busy exorcizing. He was sending the demon of sickness from a suffering woman, and trying to find out the cause of it and tell of a remedy. And the people believed him, and also feared him. The shaman was in a trance and much excited. His eyes were wide open but they appeared to be glazed over with a sort of film, and he seemed to be looking far away into the world of spirits, without seeing anything material. As a matter of fact, he was self-hypnotized. On such occasions they tell me they see nothing but with the mind, and are quite unconscious objectively of what they themselves say. The careful listeners only understand their words and allusions. The shaman becomes the mouthpiece of his inspiring gods, who speak through him in a sort of dirge. As they do not speak to him, but only through him, he often does

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 not know himself what he is saying, and afterwards he does not remember (so he says) that he has spoken.

I saw the same man again one evening, standing by the head of another very sick woman who was lying on a stool by the fireside. Several women were sitting round the patient, holding her tightly with their hands, as though trying to keep life within her, and the shaman swaying to and fro, with an earnest look on his face and his eyes flashing light. He was trying to send the demon of sickness away. Some of the women about the sick one filled their mouths with water and blew it over her face and body. They also every now and then gave vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and weeping. Some held lights and others turned out the pots, pans and tubs and swept the house clean from end to end. In so far as I could see, this was the only good part of the performance.

757 I stated above that the shaman I saw at his work carried a fox skull in his bosom, well decorated with fetish shavings. Such skulls are for the purpose of divination. When in one of the interior villages I came across a man who was very angry because he had lost a *yen* (about two shillings). He had strong suspicions that a married daughter who lived next door had stolen it. Being a shaman in a small way, he called his daughter before him, so as to divine whether she was guilty or not, as she would not, of her own will, confess to the deed. Every married Ainu in the olden days kept a fox's skull on hand for divination, and was not at all backward in using it. This is how it happened that the father so quickly began to divine. The following is the way the ceremony was conducted:

The accused woman was brought into her father's hut and made to sit in front of him. He then reverently and with great ceremony produced his fox's skull, prayed before it and the fire, told of the loss, and asked for a true answer to be vouchsafed him. He next

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay 755
hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them 757
raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *sitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *sitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great 821
efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for 755
example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his 756
malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 787 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

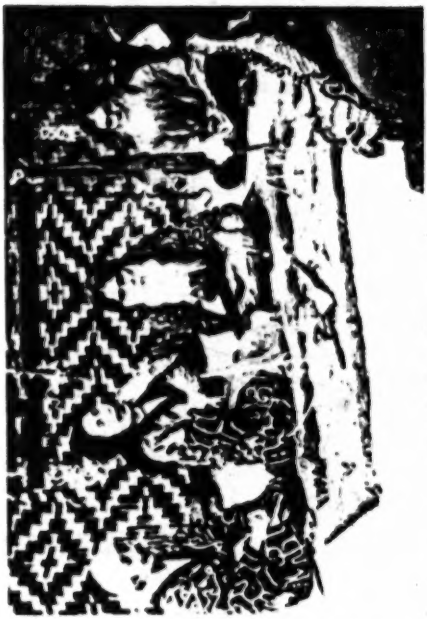
sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. 1, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

756
755
778
←
756
755
292
531
516
→



756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[756] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I was seeking information about tattooing. So I said to her. 304 888 [115]

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *euchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom. [757] ●

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper 304 [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fetishes and offered apologies; nevertheless, the man got no better at all. Later on the sick man had the following dream.

"In his dream a snake was seen, which said, 'O man! listen well to me. When you were getting firewood, you cut and killed a snake, and I am his brother. We are angry for our brother, and so have sent you this illness. And, although you have made fetishes and prayed, you have not recovered your health. For what we desire to have offered us are fetishes made from walnut wood; therefore make some of this tree and offer them to us; if you do so, we will make you well.' So spake he. After that the man woke up and told others about his dream. And so the men made fetishes out of walnut, and, offering them to the snake, made prayers. And then the man got well. This is how it came to be known to the Ainu that snakes like walnut fetishes. The reason why these creatures are called 'grass root' is because they move about among the roots of grass." Snakes are called "rope" by some.

825 "When the summertime has come and while it is very hot, the skins of the snakes peel off, and then the people say, 'Inasmuch as it is now very hot, the divine snakes have taken off their clothes; their skins have peeled off.' So they say.

[757] "Should there be a wart upon the foot or hand of anyone, if he will take the skin of a snake and rub the place with it, a cure is certain to follow. Or, should the insteps or back of the hands crack, then, if the skin of a snake be burnt to powder and rubbed into the places, they will be healed immediately.

"Snake skin is a woman's charm. Sometimes snakes come to the granaries and stay in them for a long time and leave their skins among the grain. When a skin is found there, it is treated with great care and respect. The men seeing it say, 'From now on, the year will be fruitful and this granary will be

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isho-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay 755
hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them 757
raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *sitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *sitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great 821
efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for 755
example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his 756
malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaluye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [519]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes 755 taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe; he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage 757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] [824] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./

844 the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every [957] family. [833]

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
844 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned ~~that trade~~ which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

A
F
*698
*175
●758
[931]
A
F
*698
*175
659
759
465

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and his friends that the eagle is after him, and so he quickly comes to heal up the mischief he has wrought. I find, too, that eagle claws are sometimes scraped and the powder given to sick people to drive out the demons of disease.

755

758

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the subject the belief that his body is perfectly free from disease. Of course in this case it is a stronger will acting on a weaker one, which, so reinforced, is able to overpower the physical trouble. Again, I may be allowed to state that savages and barbarians, though affected with horrid diseases of all kinds, do not seem to suffer from them as much as we do. If an Ainu man breaks his leg he does not think for a moment of lying in bed for the regulation forty days; first of all, because he has no bed to lie on; and next, because the confinement and inaction would simply kill him. He may lie down on the hard ground for two or three days, after which time he crawls about as best he can until nature makes his broken bone right again. He does not worry himself much about it. Wild animals do the same. If, then, the Ainu, and with them savages of other countries, do that, why should not I, a human being like them, do the same?

Freed from the encumbrance of my baggage, I set off on a good horse down the north coast, and moving from east to west. My baggage now consisted of a crutch which I had made for myself, a stick, a couple of Japanese *kimonos*, and a few sketch-books.

The travelling was extremely slow, and I shall not dwell at length on this part of my journey, for it has no interest in connection with the Ainu, as I met with scarcely any. On a practicable and pleasant track leading all across the hills beyond Oshoro village, a lovely view of the cliffs between that place and Yoichi, lying to the west, is to be had. In some parts the scenery is really grand. Coming down on the other side of the hill, Momonai and Kawamura, two fishermen's villages of some importance, are passed, and further west, through a picturesque and narrow entrance of rugged volcanic rocks, is Yoichi, a large village, which was entirely burnt down last year, but has since been built up again. The road to Iwanai branches off at Kawamura, across the Shakotan peninsula. This peninsula is partly volcanic, partly composed of tertiaries, on which metal veins are found, especially along the course of the Yoichi River.

About three miles from Yoichi a small flax factory was being built as an experiment by a Mr. Tokumatz Kuroda, in the employ of the Mitzui Company. Twenty-five miles further

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

A F *648 *175 251 657 [731]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

A F *648 *175 731 657 [511]

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil-cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

A 758 [759] A [756] A [164] [177] A F *648 758 *175

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [565] [562] [291] F [657]

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

A F *698 *175 758 [731] A F *698 *175 657 ●757 465

forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations

were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku: You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōietsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs.

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return! 776

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, the killing of an animal does not imply the extinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect. 761 775

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin. 522

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761●
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783]
all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom [illegible]e which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

higher forms, paradoxical as it may appear, it is looked 761
upon as both spirit and matter, substance and attribute, at one and the same time. It is not the essence that changes but its manifestation. The personal spirit itself is the principle of life behind the life—the very indestructable quintessence of being. Unless one knows this to be their faith, he will find that there are many little things in their daily life which he cannot hope to understand.

It is this faith, indeed, handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, that has produced such an enigma among us. An enigma which cannot in the nature of things last much longer in this age of progress. There is now no place left in the world for either material or spiritual atrophy.

I used to think that this people had a very great fear of death, but during my long sojourn among them, I have had to modify my opinion on this matter considerably. That some do fear it immensely is as true with them as with other individuals among other [184] races, for I have been with many of them at the time of death and seen that it is so; but then there are many others who do not seem to dread it at all. I will give just one concrete example.

I went to a certain village one day where there were many Christians. As soon as I arrived I was told that a poor woman was then in the act of dying from pleurisy. I asked why they had not sent for the doctor, and was told that he was away and would not be back again for a week and that they could not afford to send to a distant village for another. Would I come in to see her? As her pastor, I did so of course. When I got in I was greatly surprised to find her sitting by the hearth, well bolstered up with mattresses. She could hardly breathe, as she suffered agonies when she tried to do so. I counted sixteen women sitting about the hut, very busy indeed making garments in which to dress her corpse before burial. This was going on

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of 776] the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

completely paralyzed. The members of his family would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people said they were sure he was dead and that his answer had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day. 761 [764]

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse. 764

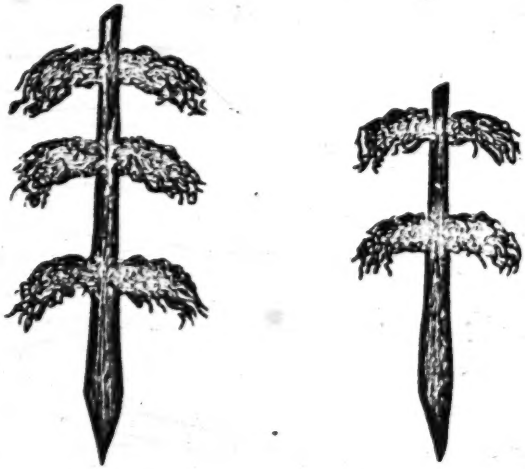
A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave. 184 764

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *hew-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 775] The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769, 562 When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 775 The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

makes a poison which they called *Chikoptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *remat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

EFFIGIES

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
● [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
776 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

as their power grew so did the tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[76]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[76] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me [762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places [184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy [762] family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

117 I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a play-[136] ground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake. 462 562 [762 597]

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri [482 417]

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES

1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful
831 daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to
578 suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[162] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
● [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
776 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 ● [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

I F 648 n9n As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

A [671] A E [656]

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

F n79 *648 *175 346 n97

F [656] A [769]

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804 [35]

F n79 n9n *648 *175 [177]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

A [D69] [177]

F *698 797 *175 792

Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith [41] and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers." [42] The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yawa* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakiudonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done." [43] Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

A [177] [264]

F *698 797 *175 792

> the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

F [795] [577]

[41] (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Itsuka* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tonashikine Ikutsuku Pirikano Keutomo Otsuta Shitsukasuman Nehita Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

[42] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 15.

[43] *Kokutai* No. 1.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

A 539 him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared
648 with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.*
G The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly
648 refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

G [262]

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

A [764]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war. A 539 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him. G 648

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground. A 764 184

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty. A [441 171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [671]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 he had been and why he desired me to lie so close, he informed me that he had been to officiate as chief at a funeral, and the people did not like strangers to see where they hid their dead away. Knowing something about their thoughts on death and burial and what was supposed to happen after, I let the subject abide then, intending to find out more at some future time. The opportunity came with the death of Chief Penri's mother.

[761 764 609]

I had been away on furlough in England and when I returned I went off again to Piratori to visit old friends and scenes. There I heard of the death of my old friend—Penri's mother—of sugar and tobacco fame. She was dead and buried. Though it was not customary for the Ainu to talk of deceased persons, I thought that I might perhaps venture to inquire about this old lady, for she and I had really become very good friends, old witch though she was. I broached the subject and got along very well till I asked to be allowed to visit her grave. The chief demurred at this and said he could not take me. At last, however, he consented to show me the way. Off we went, but he would not go to within some sixty yards of the spot, and I had therefore to proceed alone. There he stood far off, watching and directing me. The dear old man was actually afraid of his old mother's ghost! He excused his timidity with the following piece of lore: "If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore take warning. Beware!" All I could see at the grave was a post set up at the head and a few broken utensils scattered about over the place. The branches covering it were from the unlucky elder tree.

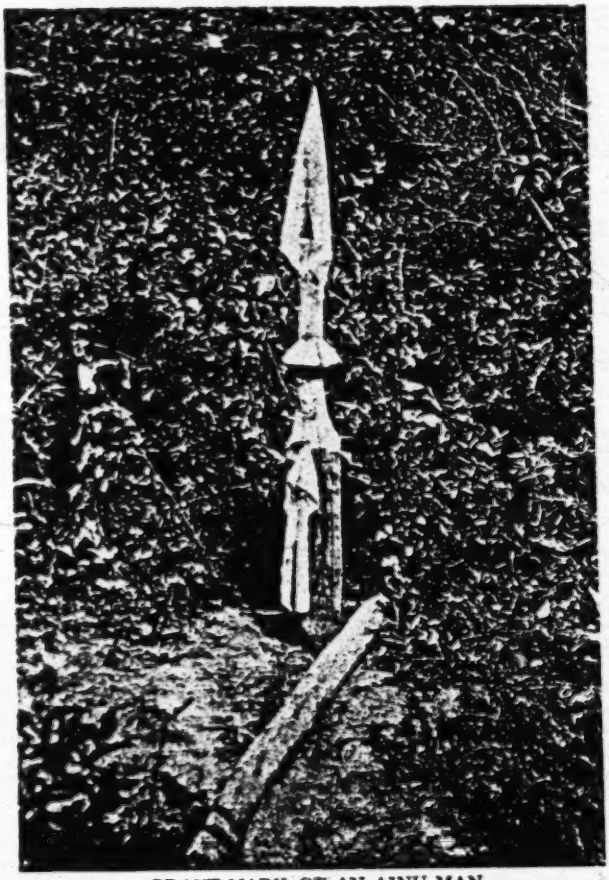
761

[764]

Self-preservation is undoubtedly among the first laws of nature. Penri knew this and acted upon it largely, for I found that he had not merely a kindly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764



GRAVE-MARK OF AN AINU MAN

[P. 154(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

completely paralyzed. The members of his family 761
would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people said they were sure he was dead and that his answer [764] ●
had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day.

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best 764
clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse.

A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at 184
Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I 764
gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *amen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

[415]

A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *saké* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat 764 ● and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same.

After these viands have been properly arranged, [776] the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions.

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now [775] offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell."

After the food, which is called *pakchai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 Part of the millet cake is then eaten and the remainder hidden in the ashes upon the hearth, each person burying a remnant. After the burial of the body, these remnants are collected and carried out of the hut and placed by the fetish cluster by the east-end window. This feast is called "The bad eating and drinking" and the "Farewell eating." This death feast is one in which the dead are invited to partake together with their living friends and is really an expression of natural affection. There is nothing to fear in the corpse, and the dead will show no hostility to any, so long as they are treated well. I have heard of pipes of tobacco being placed in the mouths of the dead when they have been known to have been very fond of smoking during life.

So soon as the ceremonies have been finished, the corpse is rolled up in a mat which is turned upside down, fastened to a pole and carried to its grave by two men. The pole used for carrying is usually of elder, for this tree is supposed to be unlucky.

Some years ago when some of the Ainu who had become Christians died, a great question arose as to whether the body should be put into a coffin and brought into church before burial. Meetings were held and it was found that the older people did not like the idea of being screwed down in boxes. They prefered the mats. As for going into the church, that would never do, so the elders said, because as soon as ever the body was taken out of its former home, it had started on its long journey to Heaven and must not on any account turn aside. The Ainu have a very curious religion and they act up to it in a very literal manner.

The mourners follow the dead in single file, the men leading; each carrying something to be buried with the body. Whatever the distance to the grave may be, it is the custom, in some districts, to rest three times on the way. The grave is usually dug about three feet deep.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism. 764 [783]

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that. 177 764

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 593
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [595
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 lying at full length, with household implements and weapons; but no food or drink is offered, nor is either placed on the grave. The coffin is placed in the ground, with the head to the east. Each mourner throws earth upon it and a rude monument is erected.

It is difficult to find the burial places, which are in desolate, unfrequented spots, seldom visited by the people. Dr. Scheube remarks that the Ainos give no thought to the departed and seem to have a dread of visiting their graves. Several forms of monuments are represented in Fig. 83, standing at the head of graves, which, however, were not

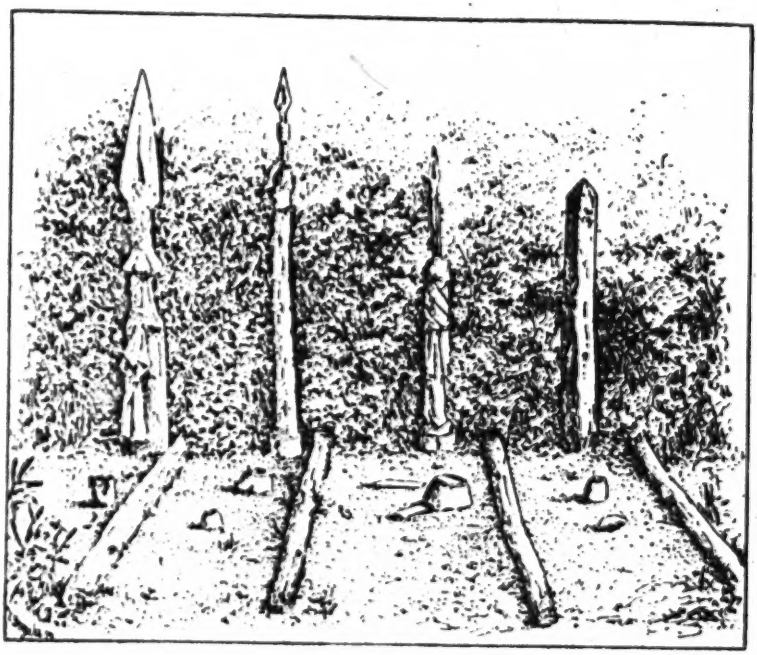


Fig. 83.
AINO GRAVES.

grouped together in the manner shown in the picture. Each grave is marked by an upright post and a recumbent log. The one on the left is from Urap, not far from Hokadate. The drawing was copied from a photograph. The two in the middle are from Dr. Scheube's plate.

The straight post with a rude X and pyramidial apex represents the form of several monuments, which I found under the guidance of a Japanese near Tokoro. A long tramp through tangled underbrush, soaked by the recent rain, brought us to a lonely spot behind the village. The posts were at the west end of the graves, and the X mark faced the west. It was not on the side overlooking the grave, as it is shown to be in the drawing.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are [562] plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The 765 period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in 681 rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his [682] release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen.

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence [695] or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his [682] nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has sup- 114 posed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the 224 Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent [136] quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

it to take a sketch. The tombs were so many trunks of trees cut and carved, and with one branch left on one side (*see* Chapter XXI.). One tomb particularly was more ornamented, and it had a flat-shaped monument, roughly but well carved at its head. An object resembling the bottom of a "dug-out" covered the body, and this was also carved. At each of the four corners a wooden blade was stuck in the ground. From the stench I should think that the body was only a few inches underground.

Fate had punished me so severely of late for faults which I never committed that I thought myself now entitled to commit a fault for the sake of squaring accounts. One of the small wooden blades, nicely carved, would just go under my coat. I decided to steal it. To my mind it was hardly a big enough crime even to balance the last accident I had had.

I turned round to see that no one was looking. I put down my paint-box, crawled to the grave, took the blade, put it under my coat, and, ashamed of myself for committing the outrage—though with prepaid punishment—I scrambled up on my pony as well I could, and hurriedly left the place. I rode back to the ferry, a long way off, and went across to Ishikari, and catching a moment when no one was watching me, I quickly passed the carved blade from under my coat into my baggage.

"What a good thief I would make," I thought to myself, when to my horror I remembered that in the hurry of leaving the graveyard I had forgotten my paint-box in the very same spot from which I had taken the blade!

If any Ainu had gone to the graveyard and found it, I would get into a nice mess! During the night I felt more than uncomfortable about it, and at dawn the next morning I got the tea-house man to bring my horse and set me on it, for I said, "I wish to go and see the sunrise from the other side of the river."

The landlord thought it rather funny, and funnier still when he saw me coming back a couple of hours later with a paint-box lashed to my saddle, while he said he was sure I had started without one.

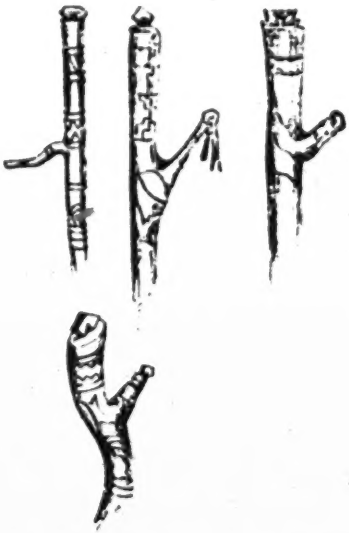
"Did you not see it this morning?" said I with assumed innocence.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then come the graves. The Ainu are very jealous of these places of eternal rest, and good care is taken to hide them either in the midst of a forest, on a distant and almost inaccessible hill, or in some remote spot, difficult to find or reach. 764

Each village has its own semi-secret graveyard, in which all its dead are buried. Occasionally, when the site of a graveyard has become known to others than these local Ainu, the place is deserted, and a fresh place of sepulture is chosen. The manner of burial is as follows. The body, wrapped up in a *Kinna* (mat), is fastened to a long pole and carried to the grave by two men. All the villagers follow, each carrying some article which was owned by the deceased. A grave is dug, wide and long enough to hold the body laid flat. In it are placed the bow and arrows with their quiver, the knife—from which, for the sake of economy, the blade has been pre-

[531]



WOODEN MONUMENTS OVER MEN'S GRAVES.

MONUMENTS FOR WOMEN.

viously removed—and the drinking-vessel which belonged to the deceased, if he were a man. Women are usually buried with some beads, earrings, and furs. All these articles, carried

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

[562] Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a 766 village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

766 530

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu 766 philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn 532 or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is 765 once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as [764] we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to 531 every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789
424 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate. 614 602

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules. 114 602

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization. 114 124
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female. 611
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes. 614 114
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group. 614
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 622 764

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H., and L. Plotnicov. 1962. Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. American Anthropologist 64: 313-327. 113

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shinurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

● [764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
532 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
778 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
776 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-
184
[796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
[292] Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

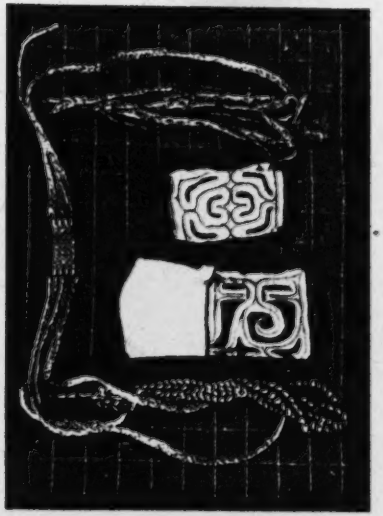
[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has
[533] not been found.—B.Z.S.

[2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

?:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.



3.

4.

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
531
352
516
764
576

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSI* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

764 [264] [177] provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed, *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news [203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends. [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 764 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 764 291 [439]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara, Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

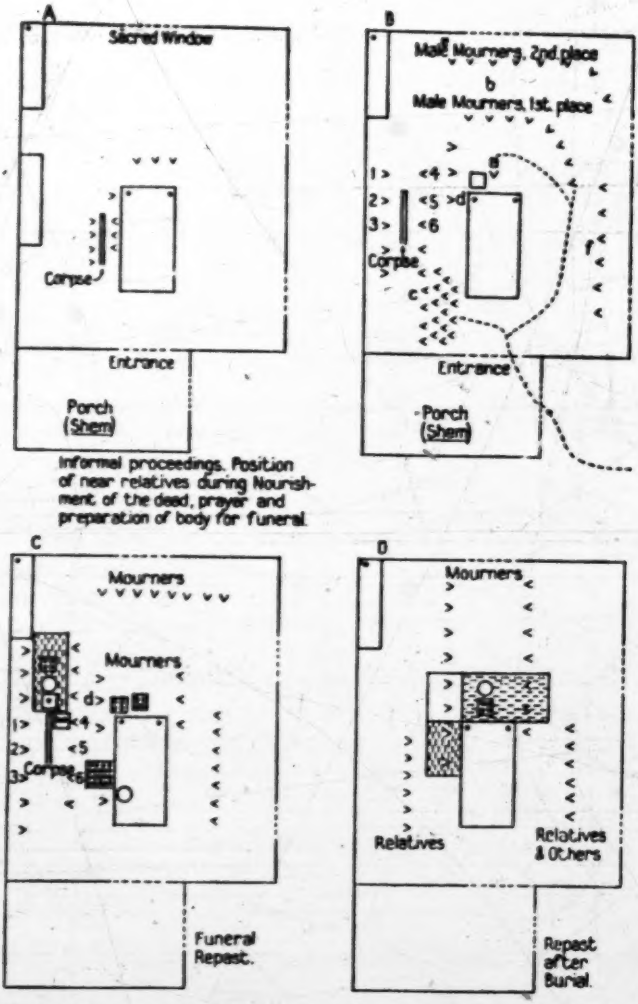
[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *et-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 127]

342
764
602



TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

764 602

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[595] [1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders [782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a 264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives.

764 [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales.

[765]

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman.

[823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 [789] [783] When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 778 [184] [532] *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid. 765 [515] [783]

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind. [576] [782]

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side. 764 178 291 [593] 765 178 291 [302] [292]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

765 184 [291] [302]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is
[759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the
[791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to
[611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to
[554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered.
[192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The
[764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may
[611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being
769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced
[177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu
[103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-
[182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[764] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

1:Takakura. H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786–787.

[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

[55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 177 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [484]

A [765] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224]

[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [562]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 ●765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men. [562]

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo. 765

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen. 681 [682]

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children. [695] [682] 114

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe- 224 [136]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
765 part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
539 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
177 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (λ), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers 302
are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides.

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her 965
head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again 302
she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again.

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are 302
never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such 304
a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed.

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when 539
the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race 304
of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives. 764 [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales. [765]

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman. [823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.
[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 783 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed. Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the [778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard, [775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away [776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to 768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide 768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a 184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is 178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789 775 184 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an [731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

765 184 [291] [302]

●765 DEATH AND BURIAL

184 formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may
302 announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her
[912] hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

771
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are
264 first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of
782 the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk.
771 There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

●766 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass
782 through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Admiral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

846 This private ceremony is called *Rere-oshiraya* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 783 Water is a great symbol of purification with them and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near, [766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

[562] Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a 766 village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

766 530

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (**X**), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *svastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (**XI**). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] ing wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uetekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[173] [174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

● 766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ihema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead. [789] [783]

764 778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] [532] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to 1 foot in diameter with

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead [768] of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

> [622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

[P. 19 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 were left standing up by the frame. They were about six inches in diameter and were very smoothly trimmed off level at the edges and tops. I have often seen them used for chopping small things. The chief sometimes used that in his corner of the hearth for cutting his tobacco leaves on, and for beating bits of dried fish on before toasting them at the fire. But they were most often used as rests when making and shaving fetishes, or when forming sticks into ceremonial moustache-lifters or arrows for baiting bear cubs with, at the famous bear festivals. At present, however, the custom of having them is dying out, as the houses are now [178 being built after the Japanese fashion. Today some ● 768] of the huts do not have them at all. These two small posts were regarded as the special personal fetishes of the male head of the family. Should the house not be burned down at the time of his death, they were pulled up and reverently burned upon the hearth and others substituted for himself by his successor.

342 As for the wood used in making them, I was told 339 that the very best is the sacred *pungau*, *i.e.* "lilac" [137 (*Syringa japonica*). This is said to be hard and strong and is sometimes used for making fetishes for the best of the divine Spirits. The wood of this little tree well withstands the decomposing effects of damp earth, so the chief pillars of the huts were formed of it. So also were the shafts of arrows which were used with the spring-bows set out in the open by the tracks or runs of wild animals. Nails and pegs and skewers were made out of it by the old people.

342 There are no chimneys in Ainu huts, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. They do not always work, and the smoke is often a great trouble to one's eyes and throat. To those sitting close upon the ground it is much better than for such as may be standing or sitting on anything two or three feet high. Still, it is fine for any fish or meat which may be hanging in the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

most distant point from the door and the window. Occasional callers are received on the side nearest to the door.

The few Ainu who possess mats on which they sit during the day hang them up at night round the hut, probably to protect themselves from the liberal ventilation, which even those who are used to it find trying when a gale is blowing or the thermometer is very low.

There is no particular spot inside the hut set apart for meals, and the refuse is either thrown into a corner of the hut or flung outside the door and left there. It is difficult to say whether the inside or the outside of an Ainu hut is the dirtier, Heaps of stinking refuse are accumulated round the dwellings, and in summer-time these heaps are alive with vermin—mosquitoes, flies, *abu*, and black-flies. It is quite sufficient to move a step from the door to see a cloud of these noxious insects rise, and each one of them will have a bite at you.

Inside the house you are no better off. *Taikki* (fleas) are innumerable, and of all sizes, not to mention other well-known but usually anonymous enemies of the human skin.

The first night I slept in an Ainu hut, though I was provided with insecticide powder, I was literally covered with bites. With my fondness for statistics I proceeded to count them, and only from my ankle to my knee I counted as many as 220. The rest of my body and my head were covered in the same proportion, but I gave up the attempt to ascertain the exact number—the task was too overwhelming. My skin, however, got so inflamed by these bites as to produce fever, which lasted two or three days. After that time I never again suffered to such an extent, perhaps owing to the fact that no free spot was left to attack, or may be from that curious process called acclimatisation.

The Ainu huts are built entirely above ground, and are used alike in winter and summer.

In olden times the hut was always destroyed at the death of its owner, or when abandoned; but in the former case the custom is seldom practised now, and in the latter they are merely left to decay.

It is singular that migrating Ainu, coming across an uninhabited hut, never live in it, but build a new one for themselves.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atsis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

587 own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

591 611 At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

589 591 568 The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

601 602 The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.
Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur.*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui.*

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
● 768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

/326/

172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of
[171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background
[30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to
[168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The
173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves,
223 the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening ~~served the~~ eagle who was allured

622 192 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shibankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and *Kozukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kozukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*." *"Bankinneshippa"* comes from *"Dankenne Nishipa"* meaning "the leader" and *"Shibankinne"* is from *"Shi-pankenne"* which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:[39]

Ainuto*pake* or to*pake*
Ikiri*pake* (guru)
Utara-*pa* or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)
*Sapa*neguru or *Esapa*neguru (the person who is to become the head)
Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa, pake, sapa,* etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Atpa* (guide); *Punginegurn* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Porochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative, worshipped the common ancestral god.[40] In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.[41] The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.[42] Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word *"Hashio"* probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fūdoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabanekuru* or *Kotankoroponnishiba* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

[39] John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

[40] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōza; Nihon hen* 1: 384.

[41] Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirosada, *Higashi Ezo Yawa* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

[42] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fūzoku Taikei* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

[P. 17(B)]

Feudal Japan AB2
Tsarist Russia R2

I F 648 797 As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read: A [671]

A E [656] 1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read: F 779 *648 *175 346 797

F [656] 1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.

2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.

A [769] 3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.

4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804 [35]

F 779 797 The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex- *648 *175 [177]

---

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020–1021. A [769] 177

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
[342] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
● 769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769 562 When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 775 The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

makes a poison which they called *Chikeptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *remat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

761 775 [278]

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

769

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 When the men are about to perform the ceremony of ancestor worship, which they call *Shinnurepps*, they first of all procure the inevitable *saké* and some willow sticks with which to make fetishes. Then they meet in the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and after having worshipped "Grandmother Fire" and the great "Grandfather" in his corner, they address every deity they can think of, make six fetishes of sticks, shaved backwards as a sign of mourning, and after having offered some to the household gods, carry the rest reverently through the door way, with *saké* and food, to the big fetish cluster, and there set them up. The women follow the men, carrying a few wine lees. An Ainu next takes the lees and mixes them with the saké, at the same time offering this prayer, "O ye our ancestors, now dwelling in Hades, we send you saké, fetishes, and wine lees; accept them and rejoice. Your grandchildren have met together especially to offer these things. Rejoice! Watch over us and keep us from sickness. Give us long lives, so that we may continue to offer such gifts." After this prayer has been said, the men return to the hut and have a drinking carouse. The women, however, remain to pray to the souls of the departed ones, eat the lees, and offer drops of saké. This part of the ceremoney is called, *Shiwentep inau epuni* which means "Women's offering to fetishes." It is also called *Shiwentep Kamui nomi*, i.e. "Women worshipping the Divine Ones."

On asking why this ceremony took place, I was told this: "The Divine Aeonia said, 'If the people do good while upon earth and not evil, though they may die young, they go to the good place. There they live as here and have fine hunting. It is good for the people upon this earth to offer food, lees, and saké to those who have gone before to Paradise. Not to do so shows lack of filial respect, and this is bad indeed. Those

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

who have departed still live and take an interest in those left behind. They should therefore be worshipped. Unless respect is paid them, they will come to this earth again and bring misfortune. When, therefore, ye have food, remember your ancestors. This will please them, and they will send you good health and prosperity.' So spake the Great Teacher." Thus, then, do we find that the souls of the departed were worshipped in days gone by, and true necrolatry current among the Ainu race. Echoes of the custom are still heard among them. 769

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 times thy original ancestors made fetishes to me, which I accepted. Then all was well with them. I am a descendant of the gods of the midlands. Yes, their daughter am I. I could not endure that any wrong should be done thee. I have therefore brought my younger sister for thee to marry.' So spake she.

"Having said this, she rose up, took my hand in hers, and led me to her house. Near her dwelling she laved me much. She took me from streamlet to streamlet and washed me in each. I reckoned up and found that she had dried up six streamlets in laving me. Then the beams of light shot forth from my body in radiant beauty. After this we went into her house where she clad me in most precious garments. I was indeed a fine, handsome young man. She then made a farewell speech, saying,

[769] "'After I have departed from you, set this my divine home in order. Thou art but a man, mortal and not divine. Now, in payment for thy wife, do thou henceforth make fetishes for me like unto those formed by thy ancestors before thee. They are to be thank-offerings. If thou doest this, season by season, all will be well with thee. When thou leavest this house, go to thine own home. I will see that very beautiful heaps of precious things shall come to thee.' Having spoken thus, she took her departure.

"As she went off, it was with a mighty sound, a sound which reached from shore to horizon and over dale and mountain peak. It was as though the gods were disporting themselves. We then lay down to rest. When I awoke the next day at dawn, I found myself in the home of a god, and there were piles of precious things reaching from the floor to the angle in the roof. And I saw my new wife, a divine woman, sleeping quietly by my side. When I arose she got up also. I then went farther up stream to a bend, and from a nice tree cut a stick which I made into a fetish. It

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 614 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 [614] 462 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 769 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] hange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering. 778 782 [796] [562]

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder. [769] [784] [576]

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, 'Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1] [776]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 823 [769] anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
527
782
[292]
[789]
[582]

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

342
527
782
177

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342
527
782
273
[769]
[796]
[115]

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

342
527
782
554
[516]

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

[177]

TiMunro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*uhakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
● 769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
kind of decoration.

[1] The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served cere-
273 monially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
[782] with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

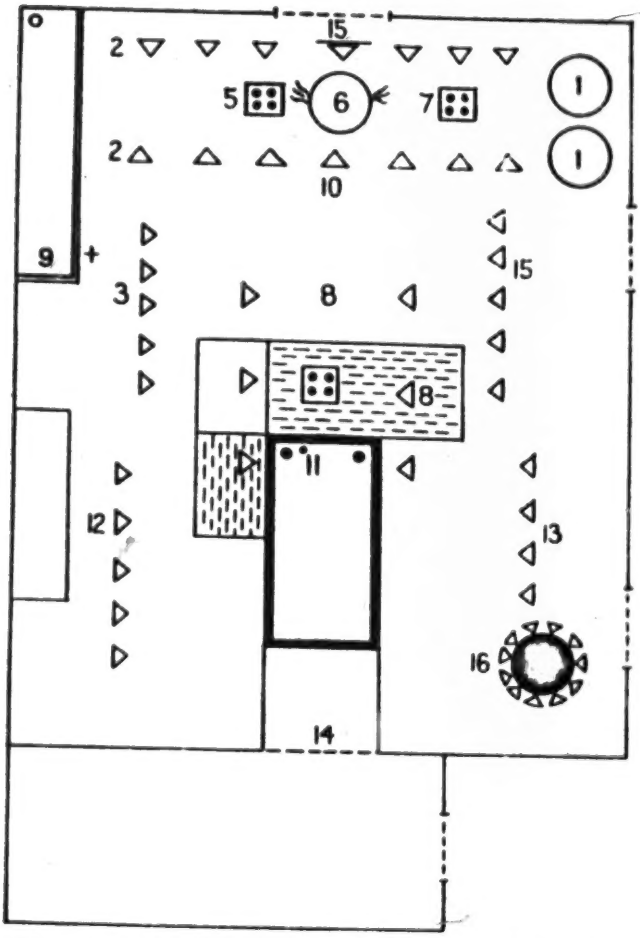
273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down some-
887 times in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
[533] is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
[562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
[558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the
535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and
574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their
769 previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
[533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

[P. 95]



574
769
353
778
342

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

535 273 574 769 [533] drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 769 574 273 887 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by [782] the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa kamui ran wa nitek ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *taphara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

538 p
●769
[177]

small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages. 769 551 [182]

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted. [782]

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups. 614 301 [428]

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1). 292

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult. [184] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
● [769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

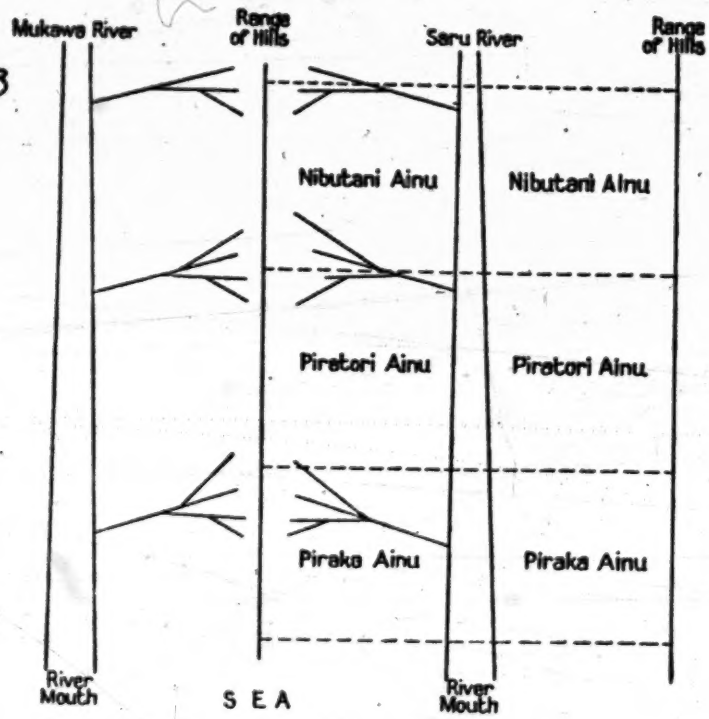
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population. 776 769 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid. 776 769 611

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage. 769 776 [782] [778]

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors. 614 611 769 [423]

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as 611

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acorn gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the 789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old 769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [975] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[239] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

(52) The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1).

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *komuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual.

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men.

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 53 It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari kara kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
●771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE FIRE GODDESS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

798 this made the people laugh and injured his influence and reputation materially.

771 Chief Penri told me that sometimes angry Ainu women would steal and hide away or burn their husband's fetishes, and this was a bad kind of sacrilege, for the gods, missing these offerings, think they have been neglected and so, instead of bestowing their favour, send evil upon them. With such a deeply religious people as the Ainu—a people so full of that disease of religion we call superstition—this meant much, and it was not pleasant to them to be called "infidel" or "godless one."

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771
people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* 754
one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic. [789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature. 771 774 776

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight 769

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them." 824 224

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said, 776 771

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of 782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Teshkaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches..	11
Width of middle	do....	28
Length, about	feet...	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 716 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against [778 297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem" and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 805 527

[p. 281]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau,* I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
776 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
171 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. 648 177 [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1] 241 177 [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu 241 177 182 [771]

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
192 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisum*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
771

long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

[192]

[1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

THE INAU

978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive [771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such. 776 619 423 [782]

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[79]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization. 776 182 771 [772]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the terri-
423 tory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within
619 this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techni-
182 ques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was estab-
619 lished on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river
771 valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its
[778] component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local
[614] basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." 772
Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is 773
all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a 000
previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account 82
for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he 772
added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land 539
and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of [775]
this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appear- 828
ed to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY TO HADES

Speaking of Heaven and Hell, one day a man said to me, "The place to which good people go after death is called the home or land of the gods. There people live in a state of supreme happiness. Though they may be far away under our earth, they yet take a lively interest in what is going on among men living in this our upper world. *Pokna shiri*, i.e. 'the lower world,' is the place to which all spirits go upon leaving their earthly bodies. 772 775

"In the centre of this land there are three roads, the first leading to the upper world in which we now dwell. It goes right to the very centre of Hades, and every person born into this world must traverse this road at some time or other. The second and third roads also start from the middle of Hades and lead, one to Heaven and the other to Gehenna. Watch-dogs are stationed at different points along these roads to direct people on their journey. As soon as the soul of a man gets to the place where the first watch-dog is stationed, the animal informs him that the Creator has sent word through the Goddess of Fire as to where he is to go. If he has been good during his life upon earth, he passes along to Heaven, at the gates of which place gods and men meet him and lead him in. But if it be the soul of a wicked person, a message has been received to say that he must go to Gehenna for punishment. If, however, the spirit denies having done evil, the Goddess of Fire is summoned and she causes a great picture to arise before him, in which is very

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 775 clearly depicted his whole previous life. Nothing more is needed, for he stands self-condemned and there can be no escape." One wonders if this picture is not the man's memory! Why not?

The word which I have translated by Gehenna is *Teinci-pokna-moshiri*, i.e. "wet underground world." Here the wicked are punished. What that punishment consists in seems to be doubtful. Some say it is very hot there, and others very cold. Some say the very bad people get frozen up in a block of ice in this place, and others that they will live suffering indescribable agonies in fire, which fire exists in the very centre of the world. While good animals go to Heaven with their good masters, evil animals go to Gehenna with their wicked masters. And the Ainu seem to believe that it is a case of "like master, like man" there.

Not only do the people believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious, personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no more death or sorrow. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will be marrying and giving in marriage. But there will be no more pain and suffering. The living fully expect to have bodies in form just like the present ones, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing, their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether have a very material existence.

A curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they are supposed to regard persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They can visit this earth in the form of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling. 772 775

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind. 772 775 539

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom
775 he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was
539 somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVI

ON COSMOLOGY AND THE DEMON OF THUNDER

When talking with me on the subject of cosmology, the Ainu used never to forget to bring in the subject of the place they named *Chiroma-moshiri* or the "Lowest world." It is therefore very evident that the subject of Tartarus figures in their mythology and cosmology. It is my intention to take up this matter now. It is not for a moment pretended here that in every respect the lowest world of the Ainu and the Tartarus of Homer are the same. Tartarus, as described in the Iliad, is a deep and sunless abyss, as far below Hades as heaven is above the earth. It is enclosed in iron gates into which Zeus hurled those who rebelled against him and thus repudiated his authority. Later writers undoubtedly considered it to be a place of punishment for the spirits of the wicked, and the poets of later times considered the name to be synonymous with Hades. 772

In so far as I am able to judge by what the old Ainu told me many years ago of their ancient lore, together with later-day interpretations, the people did not mean Sheol or Hades, where all men go at the time of death, when they spoke of this place. In their tongue, Hades is called *Pokna moshiri*, 'the under-world.' Nor did they mean Gehenna, where the wicked are punished, for that is called by them *Nitne kamui moshiri*, 'the world of devils,' and *Teinei-pokna Moshiri*, which means 'wet underground world.' Tartarus, in their idea, is not the abode of men in any condition. They consider it to be the bounds of this material creation. The word

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meaning to "cast into Tartarus" occurs once in the Christian Scriptures and refers to the place where we are told that the angels when they sinned were not spared but cast down to Tartarus, and committed to the pits of darkness. Thus it will be seen that the Ainu idea of Tartarus differs from the meaning of that place as gathered from both the Iliad and the Scriptures.

Yet, though their conception of Tartarus seems to differ from the Greek and Christian representations in some respects, it is found to agree with them in others. As regards *place*, it is thought by them to be situated at the very confines of all created worlds. There are supposed by some to be six worlds beneath this upon which we dwell. The very lowest of these is called 'the lowest world' (*Chirama Moshiri*). I can find no word better suited to designate this place than Homer's Tartarus. But as regards the nature of this land, it is not supposed by the Ainu to be a place of darkness, though it may have iron gates. It is said to be a very beautiful country, as full of light as this world; and it does not seem to be the prison house or abode of fallen angels or any other living beings, whether they be gods, men, or demons. The thunder demon, after having waged war upon this earth, is said to have proceeded to do so in heaven, because this world was unable to stand such a grievous conflict. The Creator, Who resides in heaven above, was much distressed at this, and sent the demon to fight in the 'lowest world.' Here the thunder demon was slain, but as no god or demon can actually die, his spirit again ascended to its original home, namely, the clouds of the lower skies. Such is one Ainu tradition—vague indeed, it may be thought; still it is a tradition—concerning Tartarus.

There is another tradition or legend, however, which appears to militate against the above-mention-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereka Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

192 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or
196 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact trans-
192 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are
192 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

195 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise*; associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise*; a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san*; open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma*; and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi*; a skinning spot, *iri an ushi*; a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such. 776 619 423 [782]

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[16]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization. 776 182 771 [772]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mou-
823 tain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writ-
776 ings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-
772 killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 90); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 11 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq.* This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 great whales." So much did the Ainu despise those
773 supposed "little men."

But the whole crux of the matter lies in a word, and philology has been very hardly dealt by sometimes. Take two instances only as examples of what I mean. In studying Hebrew it was once remarked by a student that it seemed to him that the principle of the language was this: "Every consonant is interchangeable with the others and the vowels do not count!" But to get nearer home, a gentleman was once very much exercised as to the derivation of the Japanese word, *neko*, "cat." He thought, and thought, and thought again on the problem. At last he said to himself, "Cats eat rats and seem to be very fond of them. Now the word for "rat" is *nezumi*, and "to be fond of" is *konomu*. Now I clearly see the reason. *Ne* is the first syllable of *nezumi*, "rat," and *ko* is the first syllable in *konomu*, "fond of." So we have *ne-ko* "fond of rats!"

Koropok-guru, as these supposed dwarfs are named, can by no manner of reasonable means be made to mean "dwarfs" or "dwellers beneath the petasitis." Its unforced, simple meaning is "people who live below," *i.e.* "pit-dwellers." And I believe these pits were none other than those which the ancient Ainu, Tungus and Oroks tribes used to live in, as men do even now at times in the north. I repeat, we find no names of places in Hokkaidō in any strange language. To Anra, however, in his hysterical ravings, these beings were very real, and according to him they were wild, spiteful, intolerant and malevolent demons.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161
[144
162]
773

Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." 772
Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is 773
all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a 000
previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account 82
for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

[172]

A STONE AXE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

find that gentleman out-Darwined entirely. With them evolution has run riot. 773

"In the beginning," so runs the tale, "the world was a great slushy quagmire. It was in a shocking condition. The waters were at that time hopelessly mixed up with the earth, and nothing was to be seen but a mighty ocean of bare, sloppy swamp. All the land was mixed up with it and aimlessly floating about in the endless seas. Nothing existed in this chaotic mass and nothing stirred, for it was altogether incapable of sustaining life; nor were there any living fowls flying in the airy expanse above. All was cold, solitary and desolate. However, the clouds above had their thunder gods, the skies above, their living creatures, and the Creator abode in the highest heavens with mighty hosts of subordinate deities.

"By and by the Great God—the True God—determined to render the world habitable. He therefore made the water-wagtail and sent him down to produce the earth. When he descended and saw the dreadfully shocking condition the elements were in, and how they were mixed up in confusion, he was almost at his wits' end to know how to perform his allotted task. But he thought of a way, for he fluttered over the waters with his wings, trampled upon the muddy matter with his feet, and beat it down with his tail, till, after a very long time of fluttering, trampling, and tail-wagging, dry places appeared, and the waters became the ocean. In this way the world was gradually raised up and made to stand out of the waters, and caused to float upon them. Therefore the ancients called the world *mo-shiri*, i.e. "floating land," and hold the water-wagtail in great esteem—for was he not the angel of God?"

The Ainu never think of God as working without means, and as has already been stated, in creation He is said to have used as many as three score mighty axes and many very big hammers and mattocks which, when done with, he cast away and they gradually, in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 decomposing, turned into marshes, swamps and bad water, among other things.

I have a further legend by me which refers to the water-wagtail and his help in creation. It is very short and runs thus:

"In very olden times, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of Heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was like this: God made him fly down from above and settle on the rough places He Himself had already cast up with His mattocks and axes, and, in order to make the ground level, ordered him to hop and jump about on it, scratch it with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day whenever this bird is seen he is certain to be found beating the earth with his tail."

829 It would appear that the Creator was not always infallible in His choice of localities in which to place the creatures He made. The following story will show what I mean. It has reference to the race of the bears and sea lions.

One day, as I and a native companion came riding over a high spur of a mountain down toward the sea-coast, we heard a great bellowing out at sea. It sounded like some monsters fighting. It was not far from my friend's home and I asked him what it was. He at once pointed to a flat rock about a mile out and told me the noise came from there. He said it was made by [134] a big school of sea-lions which had come there, as they did every year at that season, for breeding. The bellowing was a challenge to the mountain gods, i.e. bears, to come down to fight. I told him I would like to hear all about this when we reached his house, where I was to stay. The following is his story.

773 "Many of the larger of the wild animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as the demons

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of disease. They came into the world in this way. 773 ●
Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the [753]
deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire. No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones became demons which originated some kinds of illnesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their sticks and got flints which they struck together. These made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

[172]

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and those which were thrown into the sea turned themselves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine which should live upon dry land and which should be banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused them to have a race and so settle the matter. They assembled at the appointed time and place, where they strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race, and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

773 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

people have assembled, he should be killed and sent away." 773

Having told me these old stories about the bear and sea-lion, the marten and racoon, he proceeded to say a few things about bear and wolf worship.

He said: "The most gentle and well behaved bears are called *Nupuri-koro-Kamui*. (This may mean equally well 'Deities who possess the mountains' or 'Most precious divinities'; the latter is what I think it really means in this place). They have their home in the middle of the mountains (i.e. in the very interior of the country) and their garments are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver and bronze. One must never fail to do worship to such when he happens to meet them. The most wild and dangerous are called *Nupuri-kesh-unguru*, i.e. 'Creatures residing at the foot of the mountains.' Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like bloodred thread. These are a very wild kind and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears are not to be worshipped. They don't deserve it." This little story being finished, I asked him to give me one more before we retired for the night. And so he said, "I will now tell you about the wolf. 774

"The divine wolf is clothed in white and his home is on the eastern side of the mountains. In the beginning he resided in Paradise, but, having a great desire to live upon the earth, he descended and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now, if a person is pursued by an evil bear, he should call upon the wolf in a very loud voice to come to help him. If he does so with a true heart the wolf will without fail come and kill the bear and deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought certainly to be worshipped." 773 774

These are exceedingly curious matters and I can not help thinking that there is lying under the surface more than at first sight is apparent to the eye. I have 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773
over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825
common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539
firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; more- [753]
over, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he informed me that the pattern of the original household fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his father before him. It is short but to the point, and runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones." 821 539

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good 773

2; Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 cause for being so bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures."

Another legend tells us that it was not only one crow which flew down Satan's throat, but many, and that it was while he was busy getting rid of the feathers from his mouth that the sun rose and it became daylight.

The moon does not enter so much into Ainu lore as the sun, yet the following story of the man in the moon is of interest.

"In ancient time there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed."

In explaining this to their children, the mothers say as follows:

"There was a lad who, though told to draw water, still sat idle and, with a big knife, remained by the hearth and chopped at the wooden frame. Presently he dawdled out and, striking the doorpost as he passed, said, 'Ah me! you are but a doorpost, yet you do not have to draw water!' Then, carrying the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river. Soon he saw a little fish coming up stream to which he said, 'Ah me! because you are a fish, you dreadfully bony creature, you do not have to draw water.' Proceeding farther along he saw a fine big salmon, to which he said, 'How do you do, Mr. Salmon!'

"But Mr. Salmon took hold of him at once and carried him off to the moon and placed him in it. Thus did the angry god to him who was disobedient and refused to draw water at once, but tardily dawdled off grumbling."

821 I have heard very little said about the stars. They are indeed called gods at times, but they are not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
226 the scales of a snake, and divers from the entrails of a pike. What he said was this:—

773 "The scales of a snake formed themselves into pikes and this is a true account of their origin. As both gods and men detected a snaky flavour when they first tasted the pikes, they refused to eat any more, so a god came along, who killed some of them, and said, 'How is this? You are not at all good fish, for you can not be eaten.' He then tore their stomachs open and threw the entrails away. But, as it was impossible that the entrails should come to nothing, they turned themselves into divers. Then the gods took some pikes and boiled them and found them to be of a very nice flavour. Ever since that time both gods and men have eaten of the pike kind." It may be added here that, according to my informant's ideas, the pike family is very closely related to the trout and includes it.

But to return to the swordfish. A friend told me the following remarkable story about them:

539
226 "One day two gentlemen went out together to spear swordfish, and at length managed to harpoon a very large one. He was so lively and strong that he dragged the boat from one end of the ocean to the other. They tried hard to hold on to him, till one of the men fainted and was dragged overboard and drowned. The other one hung on to him, however, so that big blisters came up on his hands. He then cursed the fish and said, 'O thou wicked swordfish, I will now cut the line which holds thee. As the harpoon head is made of iron, thou shalt suffer much from the noise of clinking iron and grating bones within thee. As the line is of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee. As the rope is of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow on thy back, and when thou diest thou shalt become an island.' And so it all happened. The island was made and birds and animals came to in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 [251]

which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 773 776

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.* 789

[415]

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 "So when the time came, I once more descended from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house. But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my 773
heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's 776
house and stood before the door, but, being still full 789
of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry, I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

myself and my garments and then entered my house. Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater
[765] part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which
535 the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or
777 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking. 773 177

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD. 773 539

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

T13
539

see the luminary, should rule the world. If the bad gods should be the first to see it rise, then they should rule; and if the good gods should be the first, then they should rule. Therefore both the bad gods and the brilliant gods looked toward the place whence the sun was to rise. But the fox-god alone stood looking toward the west. After a little time the fox cried out, "I see the sun rise." On the gods, both good and bad, turning around and gazing, they saw in truth the refulgence of the sun in the west. This is the cause for which the brilliant gods rule the world.

WHY THE COCK CAN NOT FLY.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the Creator had finished making the world and had returned to heaven, he sent down the cock to see whether the world was good or not, with the injunction to come back at once. But the world was so fair that the cock, unable to tear himself away, kept lingering on from day to day. At last, after a long time, he was on his way flying back up to heaven. But God, angry with him for his disobedience, stretched forth his hand and beat him down to earth, saying: "You are not wanted in heaven any more." That is why, to this day, the cock is incapable of any high flight.

ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the world had only recently been made, all was still unsettled and dangerous, for the crust of the earth was thin. It was burning beneath, and unstable, so that the people did not dare venture outside of their huts even to obtain food, for they would have scorched their feet. Their necessities were relieved by the god Okikurumi, who used to fish for them, and then send his wife, Turesh, round with what he caught. She every day popped in at each window the family meal for the day. But the conditions of this divine succor was that no questions were to be asked, and that none should attempt to see Turesh's face. Well, one day a certain Aino, in one of the huts, not content with being fed for nothing, must needs disobey Okikurumi's commands. Curious to see who was the lovely ministering maiden, he watched for the moment when her hand with food in it appeared at the window, seized hold of it and forcibly pulled her in, disregarding her screams. No sooner was she inside the hut than she turned into a wriggling, writhing sea monster. The sky darkened, crashes of thunder were heard, the monster vanished, and the hut was consumed by lightning. In punishment of that one man's curiosity, Okikurumi withdrew his favor from the whole race and vanished. Ever since then the Ainos have been poor and miserable.

According to another tradition, which seems to be among those most widely spread, the Japanese hero Yoshitsune arrived on the scene some time after Okikurumi had begun teaching the Aino men how to fish and hunt, and Turesh had begun teaching the Aino women how to sew. Being of a wily disposition, he ingratiated himself so well with the divine pair that they bestowed on him their only daughter in marriage. The wedding took place at Piratori, in the district of Saru. Yoshitsune was thus enabled to penetrate the secrets of the Ainos. By a fraud, to which his wife was an unwilling partner, he obtained possession of their treasures and of their books and fled, carrying all with him. Okikurumi and Turesh, incensed at this insult, disappeared through a cavern at the summit of Mount Hayopira, near Piratori. Since that time the Ainos have lost the art of writing and of pottery, and have taken to buying their clothes, etc., from the Japanese. When interrogated on any point on which they are at a loss for an answer, the almost invariable Aino reply is, "We do not know, for we have no books. Those that our ancestors had were all stolen by Yoshitsune."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

A handsome and brave young Aino, skillful in the chase, one day pursued a large bear into the recesses of the mountains. On and on ran the bear, and still the young fellow pursued it up heights and crags more and more dangerous, but without ever being able to get near enough to shoot it with his poisoned arrow. At last on a bleak mountain summit, the bear disappeared down a hole in the ground. The young Aino followed in, and found himself in an immense cavern, at the far extremity of which was a gleam of light. Toward this he groped his way, and, on emerging, found himself in another world. All was as in the world of men, but more beautiful. There were trees, houses, villages, human beings. With them, however, the young hunter had no concern. What he wanted was his bear, which had totally disappeared. The best plan seemed to be to seek it in the remoter mountain district of this new world underground. So he followed up a valley, and, being tired and hungry, picked the grapes and mulberries that were hanging on the trees, and ate them while walking leisurely along.

Suddenly, happening to look down on his own body for some reason or other, what was his horror to find himself transformed into a serpent! His very tears and cries on the discovery of the metamorphosis were changed into snake's hisses. What was he to do? To go back like this to his native world, where snakes are hated, would be certain death. No plan presented itself to his mind. But unconsciously he wandered, or rather crept and glided, back to the mouth of the cavern that led home to the world of men; and there, at the foot of a pine tree of extraordinary size and height, he fell asleep. To him then, in a dream, there appeared the goddess of the pine tree and said: "I am sorry to see you in this state. Why did you eat the poisonous fruits of Hades? The only thing for you to do, if you wish to recover your original shape, is to climb to the top of this pine tree and fling yourself down. Then you may, perhaps, become a human being again." On awaking from this dream the young man, or rather snake, as he found himself still to be, was filled half with hope, half with fear. But he decided to try the goddess' remedy. So gliding up the tall pine tree, he reached its topmost branch, and, after a little hesitation, flung himself down. Crash he went. When he came to his senses he found himself standing at the foot of the tree; and close by was the body of an immense serpent, all ripped open, so as to allow of his having crawled out of it. After offering up thanks to the pine tree and setting up divine symbols in its honor, he hastened to retrace his steps through the long tunnel-like cavern, through which he had originally come into Hades.

After walking for a certain time he emerged into the world of men, to find himself on the mountain top whither he had pursued the bear which he had never seen again. On reaching home he dreamt a second time. It was the same goddess of the pine tree who appeared before him and said: "I come to tell you that you can not stay long in the world of men after once eating the grapes and mulberries of Hades. There is a goddess in Hades who wishes to marry you. She it was who, assuming the form of a bear, lured you into the cavern and thence to the underworld. You must make up your mind to come away."

And so it fell out. The young man awoke, but a grave sickness overpowered him. A few days later he went a second time to the underworld, and returned no more to the world of the living.

PANAUMBE PENAUMBE AND THE WEEPING FOXES.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

There were Panaumbe and Penaumbe. Panaumbe went down to the bank of the river and called out: "Oh, you fellows on the cliff behind yonder cliff; ferry me across." They replied: "We must first scoop out a canoe. Wait for us." After a little while

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

Panaumbe called out again. "We have no poles," said they; "we are going to make some poles. Wait for us." After a little while longer he called out a third time. They replied thus: "We are coming for you. Wait for us." Then the boat started—a big boat, all full of foxes. So Panaumbe, having first seized hold of a good bludgeon, feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and spoke thus: "Panaumbe, you are to be pitied. Were you frozen to death, or were you starved to death?" With these words all the foxes came up close to him and wept. Thereupon Panaumbe brandished his bludgeon, struck all the foxes and killed them. Only one fox did he let go, after breaking one of its legs. As for the rest, having killed them all, he carried them home to his house and grew very rich [by selling their flesh and skins].

Then Penaumbe came down to him and spoke thus: "Whereas you and I were both equally poor, how did you kill such a number of foxes and thereby become rich?" Panaumbe replied, "If you will come and dine with me, I will instruct you." But Penaumbe at once said, "I have heard all about it before," and went out. Descending to the bank of the river, he called, crying out as Panaumbe had done. The reply was: "We will make a boat at once. Wait for us."

After a little while he called out again. "We are going to make the poles. Wait for us," said they. After a little longer they started a whole boat full of foxes.

So Penaumbe first feigned dead. Then the foxes arrived and said: "Penaumbe here is to be pitied. Did he die of cold, or did he die from want of food," with which words they all came close to Penaumbe and wept. But one fox among them—a fox who limped—spoke thus: "I remember something which once happened. Weep at a greater distance." So all the foxes sat and wept further and further away.

Penaumbe was unable to kill any of these foxes, and as he brandished his bludgeon they all ran away. Not one did he catch, and he himself died a lamentable death.

THE HARE GOD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

Suddenly there was a large house on top of a hill, wherein were six persons beautifully arrayed, but constantly quarreling. Whence they came was not known. Thereupon Okikurumi came and said: "Oh, you bad hares. You wicked hares. Who should not know your origin? The children in the sky were pelting each other with snowballs, and the snowballs fell into this world of men. As it would have been a pity to waste heaven's snow, the snowballs were turned into hares, and those hares are you. You who live in this world of mine, this world of human beings, must be quiet. What is it that you are brawling about?' With these words Okikurumi seized a firebrand and beat each of the six with it in turn. Thereupon all the hares ran away. This is the origin of the hare god, and for this reason the body of the hare is white, because made of snow, while its ears, which are the part which was charred by the fire, are black.

THE WICKED WIZARD PUNISHED.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

One day a wizard told a man whom he knew that if any one were to go up a certain mountain peak and jump off to the belt of clouds below, he would be able to ride about on them as on a horse and see the whole world. Believing this, the man did as directed, and in very truth was enabled to ride about on the clouds. He visited the whole world in this fashion, and brought back with him a map which he had drawn of the whole world, both of men and gods. On arriving back at the mountain-peak in Aino land, he stepped off the cloud on to the land, and, descending to the valley, told the wizard how successful and delightful the journey had been, and thanked him for the opportunity he had given him of thus seeing so many strange sights.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The wizard was astounded, for what he had told the Aino was a wicked lie, invented with the sole intention of causing the death of the man, whom, for reasons best known to himself, he hated. Still, as that which he had meant as an idle tale was apparently an actual fact, he decided to see the world himself in this fashion. So, going to the top of the mountain and seeing a belt of clouds a short way below, he jumped on to it, but was simply smashed to pieces in the valley beneath. That night the god of the mountain appeared to the first (good) man in a dream and said, "The wizard has met with the death which his fraud and folly deserve. You I kept from hurt because you are a good man. So when, in obedience to the wizard's advice, you leapt off onto the cloud, I bore you up and showed you the world in order to make you wiser. Let all men learn from this how wickedness leads to condign punishment."

773
539

LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

There was a woman who was ever sitting by the window and doing some kind of needlework or other.

In the window of the house there was a large cup filled to the brim with wine, upon which floated a ceremonial moustache-lifter.

The ceremonial moustache-lifter was dancing about upon the top of the wine cup. In explaining the subject from the beginning and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs as follows:

Now look, do you think that the great god, do you think that the true god, was blind?

In Ainu land there was a great famine and the Ainu were dying for want of food, yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.

Now the great god had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.

And the great god had mercy upon us, therefore he looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu land there was a famine, and that the Ainu had nothing to eat. Then was that cup of wine emptied into six lacquer-ware vessels.

In a very little while the scent of the wine filled the whole house.

Therefore were all the gods led in and the gods of places were brought from everywhere, and they were all well pleased with that delicious wine.

Then the goddess of the rivers and the goddess of the mouths of rivers danced back and forth in the house.

Upon this the gods laughed with smiles upon their faces;

And while they looked at the goddesses they saw them pluck out two hairs from a deer;

And, as it were, blew them over the tops of the mountains; then appeared two herds of deer skipping upon the mountain tops, one of bucks and the other of does.

Then they plucked out two scales from a fish, and, as it were, blew them over the rivers; and the beds of the rivers were so crowded with fish that they scraped upon the stones, and the tops of the rivers were so full that the fish stood out like the porches of houses and were dried up by the sun.

So the things called fish filled all the rivers to the brim.

Then the Ainu went fishing and caused their boats to dance upon the rivers.

The young men now found fish and venison in rich abundance.

Hence it is that Ainu land is so good. Hence it is that from ancient times till now there has been hunting. Hence it is that there are inheritors to this hunting.

LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake.

In this lake there was a monster trout which was so big that it used to dap its (pectoral) fins at one end and wave its tail at the other.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tō (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821
823]

It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Mosiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

He got up greatly rejoicing; he ate some food; strength came back to his body, and—the woman was gone.

Okikurumi saw he had been deceived, but there was nothing to be done and nothing to say; so he got well.

POIYAUMBE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

We three, my younger sister, my dear brother, and I, were always together.

One night I was quite unable to sleep; but, whether what I now relate was seen in a dream or whether it really took place, I do not know.

Now I saw upon the tops of the mountains, which lie towards the source of our river, a great herd of male deer feeding by themselves. At the head of this great herd there was a very large speckled buck; even its horns were speckled. At the head of the herd of female deer there was a speckled doe skipping about in front of its fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled my belt, winding it once around my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened my leggings, made of grass, to my legs, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favorite sword in my girdle, took my quiver sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark, by the middle, and sallied forth.

The dust upon the road by the river side was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and really seemed to go along upon the clouds. Now, my elder brother and younger sister were coming along behind me.

And as we went along, in truth, we saw that the mighty mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does; the bucks had a speckled male at their head, even its horns were speckled; there was also a speckled female deer skipping about at the head of the does.

On coming near them I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the thickest of the herd, so that the mountains became covered with the multitude of those which had tasted poison (*i.e.*, which had been hit with poisoned arrows). And my older brother, shooting into the thickest of the herd of does, killed so many that the grass was completely covered with their bodies; within a very short time the whole herd, both of bucks and does, was slain. How was it that that which but a short time since was a deer became a man? That I can not tell.

With angry words he said to me: "Because you are a brave Poiyaumbe and your fame has spread over many lands, you have come hither with a purpose of picking a quarrel with me, but, however brave you may be, I think you will probably find that you are mistaken."

When he had spoken so much, this lordly person drew his sword with a flash and struck at me with powerful strokes; in return I also flashed out my sword, but when I hit at him with mighty blows there was no corresponding clashing sound. It was extremely difficult to come upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood spurted out of my body. That abominable bad man was also bleeding profusely.

Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought; and when I looked I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain; as he fell he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere; it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (*i. e.*, she died with a groan). Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted, and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then the two, the woman

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman twice or thrice, so that she rode upon the sun; she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus: "Because you are a Poiyaumbe and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called Samatuye. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus, then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful."

Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for long space or a short, I know not; but when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

So I came to myself. And I wondered where Samatuye could be and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come. I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I traveled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the seashore; here I saw many towns and villages.

Here there was a very tall mountain, whose top extended even into the skies; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and, stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fireplace.

Here again was a woman who in beauty excelled my younger sister. Now, the little man spoke thus: "Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over and I am filled with anticipation. You know you have been a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said: "My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me, for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation? I hear news from a distant land; this is news coming from above the mountain of Tomisanpot. The brave Poiyaumbe have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little Kesorap comes flying across the sky from the interior; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, some how or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a Ya un man and a Rep un man; blood is squirting forth from two great wounds; the sword of the Rep un man goes in to the setting sun and is lost; the handle of the sword of the Ya un man shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house I lifted the doors green over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord; with fear they gazed at me from under their eyebrows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fireplace with hasty strides.

I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fireplace with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus: "Look here, little Samatuye man, I have a word to say; attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the Samatuye man, attacked us without reason? Has he not done so? As you have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539

stirred up this war without reason, you will be punished by the gods; you will be annihilated. Listen to what I have to say. Besides, although I am a wounded man, I will overthrow your town. Listen to what I say." And when I had said so much, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with such blows that the wind whistled. We ascended to the ceiling fighting, and here I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated upon the threshold. They were as thick as swarms of flies; so I cut them down like men mow grass.

Whilst this was going on the little woman said: "Oh, my brothers, why did ye commit such a fault as to attack the Poiyaumbo without cause? Was it that ye desired to slay those who had no desire to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the Poiyaumbo. Listen to my words."

When the little woman had thus spoken, she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass; we fought side by side. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house, and when we looked at them, there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little Samatuye man; yes, he was there. In a very short time those few persons were all killed. After this I went after the Samatuye man with hasty strides, and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much, and spake, saying: "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, oh Poiyaumbo. Listen to what I say."

AN AINO RIP VAN WINKLE.

In conclusion comes the story of Rip Van Winkle, told in so many forms by so many peoples. It should be compared with the legend of the fisher boy Urashima and his Pandora's box, which Professor Chamberlain has so well rendered in verse from the Japanese. The translation of this Aino version is also by the same pen.

A certain Aino went out in a boat to catch fish in the sea. While he was there a great wind arose, so that he drifted about for six nights. Just as he was like to die, land came in sight. Being borne on to the beach by the waves, he quietly stepped ashore, where he found a pleasant rivulet. Having walked up the bank of this rivulet for some distance, he descried a populous town, in whose neighborhood were crowds of people, both men and women. Proceeding to the town itself, he found an old man of divine aspect, who said to him: "Stay with us a night and we will send you home to your own country to morrow. Do you consent?"

So the Aino spent the night with the old chief, who next morning addressed him as follows: "Some of my people, both men and women, are going to your country for purpose of trade. So, if you will put yourself under their guidance, you will be able to go home. When they take you with them in the boat you must lie down and not look about you, but completely hide your head. That is the condition of your return. If you look, my people will be angry. Mind you, do not look." Thus spoke the old chief. Well, there was a whole fleet of boats, inside which crowds of people, both men and women, took passage. There were as many as five score boats, which all started off together. The Aino lay down inside one of them and hid his head, while the others made the boats go to the music of a pretty song, which he much enjoyed. After a while they reached the land. When they had done so the Aino, peeping a little, saw that there was a river, and that they were drawing water with dippers from the mouth of the river and sipping it. They said

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Ainu was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Ainu into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions [171] of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), [173] and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one. 778 776 532 [824] [787]

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramai* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by 778 782 322 532 776 [774] 778 776 532 773 [796] [412]

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

● 773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
532 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
778 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
776 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-
184
[796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

422 [353] [523] [177] [342] 422 411 [531] [789] [755] 422 789 [777] [773] [532] 353 342 [513] [264] 342 574

HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-hem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43 and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4, 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui* mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

> When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

777
431

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past. 777

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it. [411 234]

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid- 527 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [188] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *sake* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *sake* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When thou comest again on another pleasure visit to the honoured one who reared thee, remember that I am the man who caused this to be done. We shall meet again. We shall see one another. *He, he, he.* Adieu!" 527 774

What a world of comfort! The cub is not supposed to stay too long with his parents but is expected to return soon from the mountains, which make the bear's heaven, to enjoy another mutual feast with the people. He may even return the following spring. His former owners will be continually looking out for him. They will recognize one another and his old friends will be pleased to see him and enjoy fattening him up again for another "send off." And so, my dear little cub, adieu!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

people have assembled, he should be killed and sent 773
away."

Having told me these old stories about the bear and sea-lion, the marten and racoon, he proceeded to say a few things about bear and wolf worship.

He said: "The most gentle and well behaved bears 774
are called *Nupuri-koro-Kamui*. (This may mean equally well 'Deities who possess the mountains' or 'Most precious divinities'; the latter is what I think it really means in this place). They have their home in the middle of the mountains (i.e. in the very interior of the country) and their garments are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver and bronze. One must never fail to do worship to such when he happens to meet them. The most wild and dangerous are called *Nupuri-kesh-unguru*, i.e. 'Creatures residing at the foot of the mountains.' Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like bloodred thread. These are a very wild kind and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears are not to be worshipped. They don't deserve it." This little story being finished, I asked him to give me one more before we retired for the night. And so he said, "I will now tell you about the wolf.

"The divine wolf is clothed in white and his home 773
is on the eastern side of the mountains. In the begin- 774
ning he resided in Paradise, but, having a great desire to live upon the earth, he descended and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now, if a person is pursued by an evil bear, he should call upon the wolf in a very loud voice to come to help him. If he does so with a true heart the wolf will without fail come and kill the bear and deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought certainly to be worshipped."

These are exceedingly curious matters and I can 774
not help thinking that there is lying under the surface more than at first sight is apparent to the eye. I have

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

774 seen sea-lions and other marine animals carved on the moustache-lifters used by some of the men, and I have also seen many crowns with bear's heads and the heads of foxes and wolves carved on them. I believe these were originally totemistic signs and that such stories as those now related, bespeak certain feuds or tribal wars among the people. And it is a matter of fact that when I first came down from the mountains and visited the dwellers at the sea shore of a certain place, the chief would not receive me because the language I spoke was that of the "hill men and dwellers among bears!"

Until within very few years ago, Robin Island in the Bay of Patience was a well known place for hunting fur seals, and many foreigners have made fortunes there. Formerly it was regarded by the Ainu as their own personal property absolutely, having been produced by an Ainu goddess. The people living in those regions made profit by bartering the skins of their kills to the Russians, Manchurians and Japanese. After a time the Russians took the island over, turned off the Ainu, and forbade them to take the skins any more. This has rankled in the minds of the men greatly, and although they have not said much to other people about it, they have spoken of it among themselves and friends and told them that they would not mind so much if the Russians would allow them to have a share either in the killing or profits realized. They consider themselves to have been very hardly treated. But as the Russians are said to have ruled by fear, they were afraid to air their grievance, lest they should be sent off into the interior of Siberia.

As a proof that the Ainu originally owned this island they quote the following legend:

539 "There lived a young woman in a certain village who had been adopted into a family with a view to making her in time the wife of the son. Though betrothed, they were not yet married. After a time she

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was 797
nothing if not sincere.

Self. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be- 614
lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, 774
and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kamu Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereka Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIX

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS

In travelling among the wilds of Hokkaidō with the Ainu, nothing has ever made a greater impression upon me than the unparalleled awe and deep respect in which the men held the rivers when going up and down them. I could not at first understand why this was so, but was gradually enlightened by chief Penri and others as the years went by. On my first trip up the Saru river and back again in an Ainu boat, which was merely the trunk of a large elm tree hollowed out, and had no seat in it, I was asked by the boatman to sit tightly on the bottom and not move more than I could possibly help, nor bend over the side to look into the water, nor reach out for anything on land or river, and to talk very quietly. All of which behests I promised faithfully to obey. I thought all this was for fear lest I should upset the boat, fall into the water, or disturb some wild animal or other. But in this surmise I was mistaken, as the sequel will show. 823

It was gradually borne in upon me that these people regarded rivers themselves as living creatures, and that each living thing was itself also inhabited by many other spirits, which in their turn also were the homes of others. I was assured that some of these were regarded as good and others as evil. The class-name for all of them, right from the head waters down to the river's mouth, was *Wakka-ush-kamui*, that is, "good and evil genii of the water." It was the firm belief of these people in such things that inspired the awe I saw settle down on the boatmen, one and all. 823 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 346
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside
the east end windows of some of the huts, and the
very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the
heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which
I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside
the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the
spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the
face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is
an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the
present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [324]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and
other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and
crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion
worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such
things have divine honour and worship paid them, it
is thought that the creatures to which they once be-
longed, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will
come and bewitch the people who have them, for they
expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their
right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home pro-
cure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer
libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish,
the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they
make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi,* denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [774] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 174 [193]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 192 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and 771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English ●774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan- 192 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason [778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but [828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

II

THE KAMUI

776
•774
824

IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114]

[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close [794] association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly [552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the [778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

By loose

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] [413] [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

776 THE KAMUI

778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
[774] accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
789 summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

THE INAU

778 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive [771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life. [796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1.

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained [439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. [177] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer [844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

764 262 [774] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn [844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776
powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775
present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828
mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775
need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114
when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but 158
think that he was, when in these fits, living in the 155
distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to [775] return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 562] women may not take part in any feast, for to do so would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 776] they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 178 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return! 776

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, the killing of an animal does not imply the extinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect. 761 775

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin. 522

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he 772
added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land 539
and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of [775] this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appear- 828
ed to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

A 775
A Gi 80 [582 595]
A 539
[p133]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 A very extraordinary piece of lore concerning this matter is embodied in the following. "Some of the old Ainu have told of a large snake which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile was said to be of the feminine gender, of very great length, of a beautiful colour and very charming and seductive to look upon. But she was a very dangerous creature. One day she met an Ainu who was hunting far away among the hills, and tried to seduce him into evil. But he escaped her wiles, whereat she was very angry. As a punishment, she told him that he should be unable to die for a thousand years. And so it came to pass that when he attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, skin and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills of babyhood. As the snake said it should be, so it was. Ten times did he reach the age of a hundred, ten times did he lose his beard, hair and teeth, and ten times did he become a little baby. But when he came to be one thousand years of age he died. His name was Enewa, and this I believe to mean "Existing." At length, however, the mighty woman snake was slain by a man, and as the carcase decomposed the particles thereof became wasps and stinging ants."

Chief Penri told me that the worst kinds of snakes and vipers were originated by a famous Japanese warrior called Yoshitsune, who is said to have fled to Yezo in the twelfth century A.D. and lived for a time in hiding among the Ainu at Piratori. Having stolen a boat from his hospitable friends, he ran away. Being hotly pursued by his host, in his hurry to push his boat away from the river bank, the pole he was pushing off with snapped in two. One part stuck on the bank and became snakes and vipers, that in his hand he cast into the river where it turned itself into eels and lampreys. When I first went to Piratori the Ainu had nothing good to say about this Japanese hero.

[775 136]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117
when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775
lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it 776]
would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat 764
and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same.

After these viands have been properly arranged, [776]
the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions.

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now [775] offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell."

After the food, which is called *pakehai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY TO HADES

Speaking of Heaven and Hell, one day a man said to me, "The place to which good people go after death is called the home or land of the gods. There people live in a state of supreme happiness. Though they may be far away under our earth, they yet take a lively interest in what is going on among men living in this our upper world. *Pokna shiri*, i.e. 'the lower world,' is the place to which all spirits go upon leaving their earthly bodies. 772 775

"In the centre of this land there are three roads, the first leading to the upper world in which we now dwell. It goes right to the very centre of Hades, and every person born into this world must traverse this road at some time or other. The second and third roads also start from the middle of Hades and lead, one to Heaven and the other to Gehenna. Watch-dogs are stationed at different points along these roads to direct people on their journey. As soon as the soul of a man gets to the place where the first watch-dog is stationed, the animal informs him that the Creator has sent word through the Goddess of Fire as to where he is to go. If he has been good during his life upon earth, he passes along to Heaven, at the gates of which place gods and men meet him and lead him in. But if it be the soul of a wicked person, a message has been received to say that he must go to Gehenna for punishment. If, however, the spirit denies having done evil, the Goddess of Fire is summoned and she causes a great picture to arise before him, in which is very

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 clearly depicted his whole previous life. Nothing more
775 is needed, for he stands self-condemned and there can be no escape." One wonders if this picture is not the man's memory! Why not?

The word which I have translated by Gehenna is *Teinei-pokna-moshiri*, i.e. "wet underground world." Here the wicked are punished. What that punishment consists in seems to be doubtful. Some say it is very hot there, and others very cold. Some say the very bad people get frozen up in a block of ice in this place, and others that they will live suffering indescribable agonies in fire, which fire exists in the very centre of the world. While good animals go to Heaven with their good masters, evil animals go to Gehenna with their wicked masters. And the Ainu seem to believe that it is a case of "like master, like man" there.

Not only do the people believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious, personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no more death or sorrow. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will be marrying and giving in marriage. But there will be no more pain and suffering. The living fully expect to have bodies in form just like the present ones, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing, their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether have a very material existence.

A curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they are supposed to regard persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They can visit this earth in the form of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling. 772 775

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind. 772 775 584

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom
●775 he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was
539 somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals. 342 776

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Sku-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment. 783 776

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *nusa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

917 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

● 775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows:

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored.

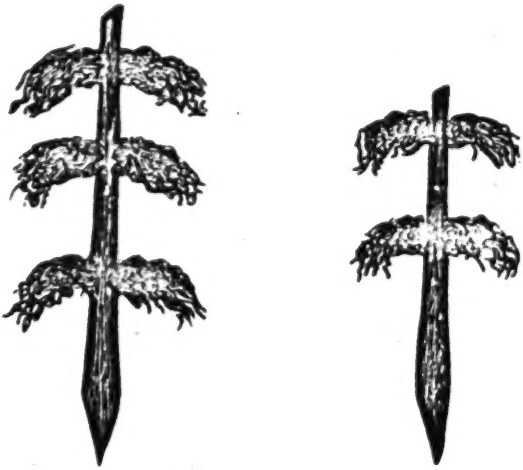
It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *heu-mende-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent 775] away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [175] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor. 553 775 [753]

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in. 551 777

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards. 553 [753]

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 suppose. Yet, on becoming better acquainted with them, I found it to exist in every house, for it is seen in the worship of the ancestral fire goddess upon the hearth and in the prayers and offerings made before her old man consort as he stands in his place behind the treasures in his corner at the north-eastern end of the hut. The worship of these was described in the chapter on "The Two Household Gods" and is not further referred to here.

769 562 When living with this people, I was much surprised to find that the women did not worship the gods. Indeed, for a long time I supposed that they worshipped nothing at all. But one day I was astonished to find on returning to the chief's hut, where I was staying, that the mistress was outside by the east end window, sitting down on her knees before the fetishes set up there towards the sunrise. She had a libation of *saké* in a wooden cup and a morsel of food in a leaf. I had surprised her in an act of worship. I found out later, when talking to her on the subject, that she had been sent out by her husband to worship and make offerings to the departed spirits of the family, for these spirits were not supposed to be so very far away. When I asked Mrs. Penri what she said when worshipping as I then saw her, she replied, "I was told to say, 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present you with this *saké* and food. Please condescend to accept this offering and be ye happy!'"

761 775 The old chief and I had much conversation on these matters soon after, and I learned many things from him. Particularly did I learn that in their idea, death in no way implied the extinction of the life or soul. He said they did not like the body to become a senseless corpse, but we must not imagine that because it became such, the soul also decomposed or got withered up; and here a thought seemed to strike him, for he said, "Look here, my friend, the old Ainu used to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

makes a poison which they called *Chikoptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *remat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood). 761 775 [278]

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead." 769

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them ; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life ;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces ; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material ; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him ; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine ; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

192 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu authors, or
716 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is ; but I wish to give the exact trans-
792 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are
192 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

795 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet ; *pokna*, under ; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in- 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in 962 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor- 769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ehashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over
[231] which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D, E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

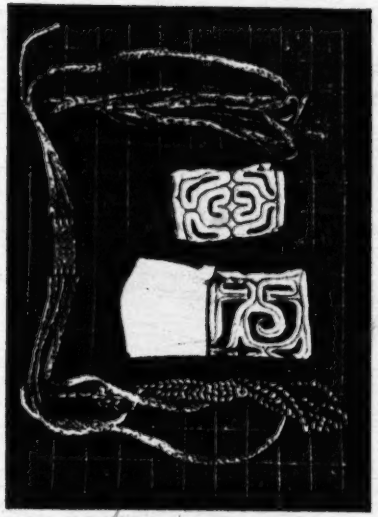
764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

[p. 78, (H)]

1.

2.



3.

4.

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

EXORCISM

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. [158] [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kenui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782] with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537] copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. [152] Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, [533] but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775] dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291] shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed [292] to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without [775] which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

764

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 291 and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439] by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
775 upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
825 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* — an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] [975] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 [864] The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 778 782 789 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

VI [p.144]

52 The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inoma itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[262]
[273]
[276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[82]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[195]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
797
*175
792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A
F
797
*648
*175
● 776

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F
[797]
[792]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

A
[275]

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F
A
[173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

A
F
797
*648
*175
●776

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F
671
*648
656
*175

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F
A
*648
681
656
671
*175

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

F
A
[173]

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F
[778]

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F
A
[797]
[776]

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a
● 776 fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776 powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775 present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828 mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775 need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114 when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it 302
be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; 765
either he himself or some of his near relations will 826
die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all 776
therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when 539
the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to [587]
grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although 178
superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to 171
remark that it is reported how Satan himself once 302
preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the 144
general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very 117
uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it 776●
had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, 593
and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her [592]
she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along and caught me away again and this time changed my body into that of a bird. Yet, although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, "Hapo totto, Huchi totto," "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." For this reason the people call the goat-sucker 'Tokitto.'" 539

As such is the origin of the cry of this bird, and as the sound of its note is so like a child calling, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep bitterly every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the Tokitto," for they may not say *totto chikap*, 'Breast bird,' because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep much, and it also makes them think of their lost offspring. Again, the goat-sucker only flies about and cries during the night time. The reason of this is that the horrid demon of swampy places only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now a demon nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus we see that the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, but is now, alas, a dreadful demon. The name of the demon is *Nitat Unarabe*, and this means, "Aunt Marsh." 000 [136] [776]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital
● 776 principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds
264 to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to explain briefly. During his trance the man thought he
● 776 heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return! 776

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, the killing of an animal does not imply the extinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect. 761 775

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin. 522

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps
[776] think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117
when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775
lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it 776]
would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of 776] the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat 764
and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same.

After these viands have been properly arranged, [776]
the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions.

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now [775]
offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell."

After the food, which is called *pakekai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of [776]
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And
when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their
children to accompany them to battle, they enter here
and then all go off together to wage the war, and many
fights take place in the air. There are many allusions
to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 342
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons 778
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside
and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into
an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is
another door which leads into the open air. In the
ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and
so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to
occupy this place. That part of the house extending
from the top of the east-end window is held in special
honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all
the treasures are kept, also a great number of family
charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these,
heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and
fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings
from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes
next to these are preserved the special ornaments and
clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things
may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folk-
lore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and
of great importance always. When the highest gods
are worshipped or when prayers are said to the an-
cestors, they should often be addressed through this
window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776 [372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [373]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
[342] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

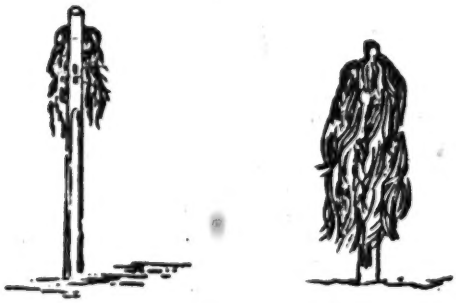
When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he informed me that the pattern of the original household fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his father before him. It is short but to the point, and runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[188] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 The household has thus become a unit and complete
778 in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals. 342 776

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment. 783 776

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut BV2

A
Y
372
171
[776
782]

ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y
784
372

As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *apto-ashie guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isho-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
●776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[539] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 There is just one more word I would like to write
476 about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was
776 told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 773 776 789

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.*

[415]

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 "So when the time came, I once more descended
●776 from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house.
789 But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jeating, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my 773
heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's 776
house and stood before the door, but, being still full 789
of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry, I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

myself and my garments and then entered my house. Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

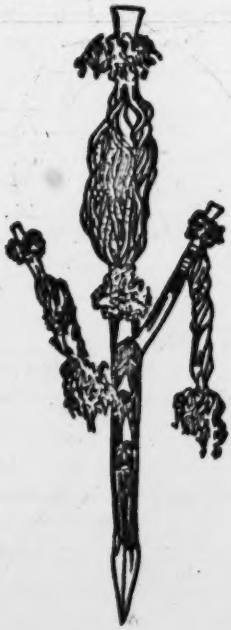
WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokeush rorumbe*, i.e., "making

[782
778]



A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm
●776 from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the mul-
824 titude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of
776 the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages
823 near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges.

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

drown him. With regard to this matter my friend said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

"Should one see a very large red stone in a river, let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to the stone with libations of saké.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLI

A LITTLE BOY DELIVERS HIS TWO BROTHERS FROM A MONSTROUS DEMON

"I am only a little growing-up lad and live with my two big brothers. Every season they go hunting and kill many animals. From infancy they fed me with bear's flesh and venison. One year they went off as usual on a hunting expedition, and I was left alone in the house. As I sat there by the hearth, a sudden thought forcibly struck me. "I wonder what my brothers can have hidden away so carefully in that pile in yonder corner! I must look and see." Being thus desirous of knowing, I uncovered the pile and found there an ancient box. Quickly I untied the cord and opened the lid. Oh, how surprised I was! The box was heaped full up with treasures. There were gold and silver and many other precious things. Thus, seeing with my own eyes, I knew what they had hidden in that pile in the corner. 539 776

"I was not satisfied with seeing merely what was on the top, but wanted to know what was hidden at the bottom also. Right underneath every thing else, at the very bottom, I found two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver; two in all, lying side by side. I took these to myself, but broke up all the other precious things into fragments. The two knives I struck into my girdle, walked out of the house, and struck the path leading into the forest. By and by I came to a great mountain, at the foot of which I stood and looked round. Presently my eyes lighted on a tiny old lodge with a conical roof, in a river valley.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
●776

"Taking this roof as a guide, I went on towards it. When at last I came to the place, I went and stood quietly in the courtyard. There I stood and listened, hardly daring to breathe. I heard the sound of my two big brothers snoring loudly as they lay sleeping inside. I sadly wanted to go in to them, but remembering how I had shortly before destroyed their precious treasures and was wearing their two knives, I felt afraid to enter. So I stood there all day long, in shame. It became dark soon, for the sun had set. Yet I could not move, for my behaviour had been too bad. I still had a burning desire to go in to my brothers. But the shame of the thing! What would they think of me? I had no face left! Filled with sorrow and regret, there I stood outside. By and by I heard a strange sound in the forest. What could it be? I stood and listened. The sound came from the river valley and seemed as if some people were coming towards this very hut. Whoever could it be! Breathlessly and intently did I peer into the darkness and at last I made out a he-wolf and a she-wolf coming along. They came close up to the lodge. The he-wolf went and stood upright at the right-hand corner of the doorway and the she-wolf at the left-hand corner. They seemed to be awaiting someone and stood up with their chins resting on their fore paws. I sadly wanted to go in to my brothers, but as that was impossible now, I could do nothing but remain outside, watching and listening.

"As I stood there open-eyed, listening intently, I heard the sound of someone else coming down from the mountain range. On the hard ground the footsteps went *thud, thud,* and when they went over the softer places their tread sounded *sush, sush.* Thus, in truth, came the sound of their approach. I became paralyzed with fear. So there I stood and looked. As I gazed, I saw a mighty, monstrous bear come close up beside

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the hut. On he came, right up to the place at which I was standing. Putting his fore paw up to his chin, he stood still and listened. Soon after, as I stood there in terror, I heard a sound as of someone else coming along out of the forest. Nearer and nearer he came. Whatever could it be? As I listened in great apprehension, I made out something in the distance. It seemed to be an enormous demon, whose upper jaw touched the very heavens above, while his lower one scraped the earth below. When he stepped on the dry twigs, they went *creak, creak*, and when he walked over the green ones, they sprang back after him, *swish, swish*. I saw and heard all this and was transfixed by fear.

539
776

"I very earnestly desired to enter the hut and wake up my brothers, but being filled with shame and fear, I could do nothing but stand outside as I was. It was dreadful. The noise made by the approaching demon grew louder and louder the nearer he came. By and by a very quiet voice came to me from the great bear standing beside me. He said, 'Oh thou young lad of Eastern Turu, this is surely no common demon who is now upon us. He is an extraordinary one. Extraordinary, too, is the sleeping of thy brothers. Their sleep is no common slumber, but was willed upon them by the fearful demon. That is why they sleep so soundly. These two wolves, O lad, are the guardian angels of those two gentlemen of Eastern Turu, and they are here to save their lives. But I am very doubtful as to whether they will be able to do much good. I am the god of the mountain ridges and I ardently long for fetishes which shall be made by thy two brothers. It is on this account that I have now come to help them. Yet, somehow, I feel as though I shall not be able to save them. I am filled with apprehension. I think it would be well for you to return

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 776 at once and very quickly to your home.' So whispered the big bear in my ear.

"This speech, if possible, filled me with more fear than ever. But yet, as I had smashed up the precious things belonging to my brothers while they were away, I felt that I could not leave them now in their hour of so great danger. And I was rooted to the spot. Very soon the awful creature reached the other side of the hut. Whatever sort of thing could it be? Was it a good god or a dreadful demon? I could not tell, for he was behind the hut. Although his forequarters were close up to the structure, his hind quarters were still rustling in the forest behind! His upper jaw reached up to the skies and his lower one touched the ground. Gradually the entire creature reached the hut.

"Round the corner came his head. Then the mighty bear—that god of the mountain heights—pawed the air, and soon the two rushed upon one another with a tremendous roar. They fought with might and main all that night. Towards morning I heard great thuds, as if someone had thrown big heavy stones to the ground. On looking towards the place, I saw the mighty bear lying on the ground, cut in two halves. I shook with terror. Strange to remark, the demon took no notice of me, but made to go in by the door of the hut. Then I quickly seized my golden knife and with a mighty blow severed the creature's head from his body. And yet that detached head continued to attack me. As quick as thought, I drew my silver knife and smote the upper part of the body, which also continued to attack me. And so we fought. When the head came for me, I hit out with the golden knife, but when the body rushed upon me, I smote with the silver one. Thus we fought till the demon was cut up into very fine pieces. I then gathered up all the fragments and cast them to the four winds—to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

grass, to the trees and to the birds. That monstrous demon was completely destroyed. 539 776

"Having made an end of him, I listened, thinking that my two big brothers must have been awakened by the din we had made. But no! I heard them sleeping and snoring as beautifully as ever. Their heavy breathing was like the hum of a house swarming with flies! There they were, those two, merrily sleeping and snoring, and quite unconscious of everything. Being assured of this, I rushed out of the courtyard and ran swiftly back home. Here I sat at the hearth-side as unconcernedly as if I had never gone out anywhere.

"As I thus sat alone, I heard the footsteps of my two brothers as they walked towards our hut. They were in earnest conversation. When they came nearer, I heard one of them say to the other,

"'Who could have saved us when our guardian wolves and the bear god were all killed? How is it we are now alive?' The other replied, 'About midway on our return journey, I saw a little way off in the forest foot-prints of the little boy we have nourished.' But the other was very doubtful and said, 'Such mighty gods were they! And yet they were all slain. How could one such as he have saved us?' So they talked and could not believe that I had taken any hand in the matter. I heard all this as they came along, but I made no move and sat there as unconcernedly as before.

"Soon they came in by the door and sat down. They talked of nothing but their wonderful escape. Said they, 'Who could our saviour possibly have been? To whom do we owe it that we are now in the land of the living?' So they sat and talked together. But as for myself, I remained silent and kept the bearing of one who had been nowhere—of one who understood not their talk. But in my soul I thought thus, 'They 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them." 824 224

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said, 776 771

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of 782

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 away to strip off bark from the elm trees for making into cloth, and were in danger from something. I very anxiously awaited their return day by day, but they did not come back. So, being unable to endure the suspense, I one day got on their track and followed them into the forest.

"I went on till I came to a lake among the mountains. At one end of this tarn, close by the edge, I saw six corpses of young men lying stretched out, and likewise the bodies of the remaining six at the other end. It was a sad sight! I could no longer contain myself. So, being quite unable to do anything else, I lay down in sore distress by the lake and wept, wept. I wept again and yet again. As the day drew to an end, I arose and looked round. In the centre of the lake the waving tail of a large trout-like fish, very large and fearful to behold, was to be seen flapping, while at the other end the creature's mouth was silently opening and shutting in great contentment.*

"On looking behind me, I descried a well-beaten track leading into the forest. With a limp body and drooping spirit I went along it. Soon I arrived at a large house. Going up to the door, I struck it with my hands, when it at once opened with a big creak. I immediately entered and when inside sat down in the lowest place, near the door. Here I silently waited. On the right hand side of the hearth I saw a big gentleman sitting, who immediately rose up. He then went to a shelf and took down a nice black tray, placed some bear's flesh on it, and, bowing very low in deep respect, offered it to me. I received it in my hands and gently raised it up to my forehead. I then took two tiny pieces of the meat, but, being very shy, I

[776] *Be it remembered that in Ainu lore goblins sometimes take the form of fish when they desire to appear.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 The following is a legend of a six-tailed demon of
776 disease, and is of great interest.

"There were three persons who were brothers by the same mother, the younger one and his two elders. The younger one was a very sickly man and stayed in the house all alone. The two elder men lived away in their own homes. One day news came from another village, saying that every night the dogs set up a great howling. This information was brought by the birds. One day, as we were sitting together, a gentleman came and told us that an epidemic disease was raging from one end of his village to the other and he had come to consult with us on the matter. He had come especially to us because he had heard we were under the powerful protection of the gods and would know what was the best thing to be done. So he and my two elder brothers took counsel together. After that, the two older men girded themselves with long swords and went off with the gentleman. I, the younger and sickly one, stuck a small dirk in my girdle. Alas, being such a useless one, my brothers considered that I ought to stay at home.

"After they had gone off, I slept and had a great dream. In this dream I saw a mean-looking man come down from the hills and present me with a very poor-looking short sword. I then awoke, when, behold, I found such a sword lying by my side. I took it up at once, and, as it was but a small dirk, I placed it in my bosom. I then got up from my bed and followed along the track of the other men, till I came to the upper end of the village they had spoken of. Just then the younger of my elder brothers came running along, pursued by a fearful demon having six tails. I made way for my brother to pass, at the same time grasping the dirk I had in my bosom. I struck the demon with that very mean instrument and cut him clean in two, right through the middle! My brother saluted me and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

thanked me for what I had done. And so we returned to our homes. 539 776

"I then went off again, alone, towards the lower end of the village, when, lo, my eldest brother also came running along. O, how he ran! Like his brother before him, he also was followed by a big, fierce, six-tailed demon. I, the very poor, sickly younger brother, stepped on one side, at the same time seizing the dirk I had in my bosom. The demon came rushing along like the wind. His mouth was wide open, so that his lower jaw was touching the ground and his upper one reaching the skies. As he came up, I struck the monster and cut him right through the middle. He fell apart and there he lay. My brother then saluted and thanked me, and we returned home together. My brothers were surprised beyond measure at me, the younger good-for-nothing brother, who turned out to be so brave as to slay those six-tailed demons of disease, which they themselves were unable to face.

"After this, the gentleman of the stricken village gave a beautiful daughter to me in marriage, and also bestowed two other young women on my brothers. And so all passed off well. Having stayed with our friends for some time, we at last returned to our homes with our wives. The people all round looked upon me, the poor sickly one, with great admiration. My two elder brothers remained as poor as ever, but I became exceedingly rich. I became the father of two children, a son and daughter, to whom I taught the ancient doctrines. My elder brothers also had a pair of youngsters each, to whom they, too, taught the faith." This wonderful story quaintly ends thus, "We all died of old age, but the children we left behind us are all well and very prosperous."

[p. 366 is blank]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-tehe*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods. 823 782

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous. 823 776

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were 103
taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river."

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that 823
the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way 776
out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

823 Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
776 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
825 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
226 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
782 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said, 539 825 776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will re-ascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 825 776

this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that many people offer libations to bats. After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let us measure our strength."

"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226

mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to escape the sword of his brother, many years ago. Please pardon me for putting him in your room when you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

● 776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogeho) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
strong and well, and big. And I have become his
782 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see
778 this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he
does well, and he has become the richest man in the
whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all
others, because I look down upon him with favour."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

bear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tesikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches	11
Width of middle	do	28
Length, about	feet	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos.

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton."

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast.

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, ii, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted. 786

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it. 343

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience. 778

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance. 114

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 825 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tauro derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 825

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient village; a beautiful place." When *Kamni* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix; when to things, it is a prefix.

But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,[1] are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

[1] *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut; *kara*, make; also, have.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

192 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu authors, or
716 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact trans-
792 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are
192 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

795 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.
[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940: 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 796 798 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
776 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen, even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.
825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta-
776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
771

long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

[192]

[1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

II

THE KAMUI

776
774
824

IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114]

[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

•776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] hange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[778] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

T76
825

spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

[T796]
[182]

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

[T87]

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
[774] accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
789 summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *inu*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

539
776
824

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

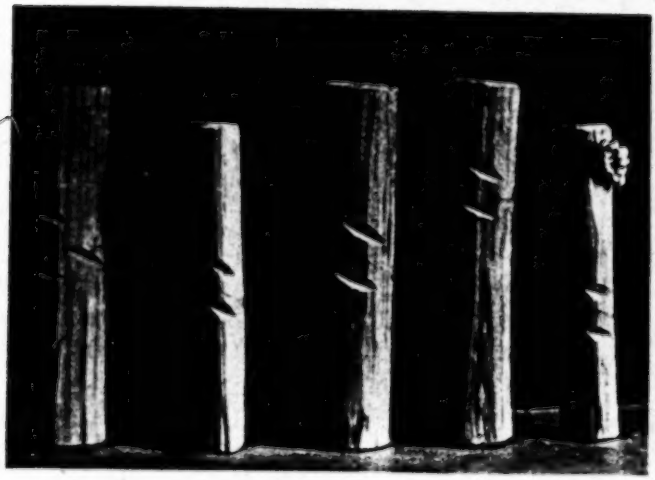
[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [926] [969]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
776
532

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamul. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

2.

3.

776
778
532

4.

5.

[825]
[796]
[844]

6.

7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *isam* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

776
796
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

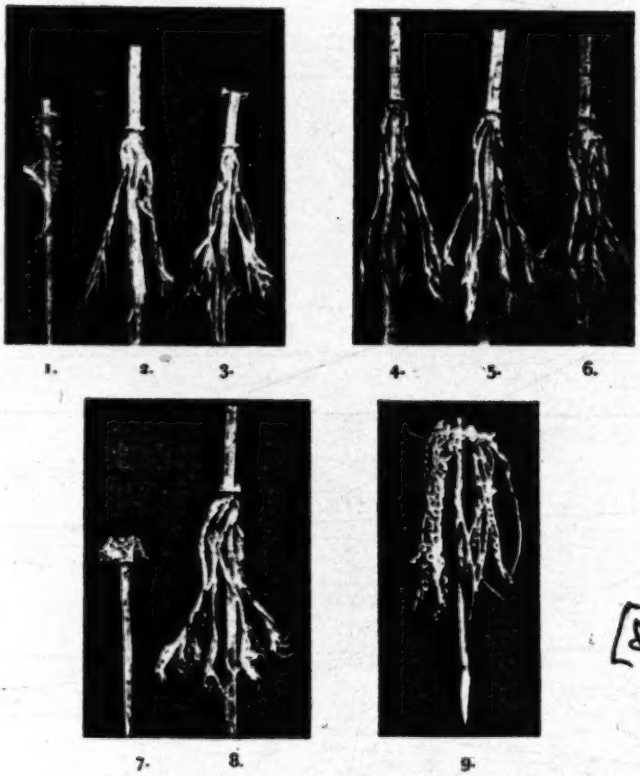
Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[pr 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
776



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (important) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami province, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau* are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in childbirth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
[776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

THE INAU

978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive [771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life. [796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against [782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* 776 to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts 532 dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with [774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*inakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

EFFIGIES

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776

EFFIGIES

773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [779] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

EFFIGIES

778 anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as
823 such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host
[769] or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399-400.

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]

[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sun-shine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

542 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
353 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
354 were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[796] [782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less fami-
354 775 liarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
[184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
[782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
●776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
[776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained
[439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer
[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui* [262] *haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau.[1] After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat.

776 ●
778

[1] Munro states that the *chisei-koro inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with Chisei-koro Kamui (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88). —B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
● 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, [778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the [776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
[171] and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342
527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, [782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

342
527
782
554

from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342
527
778
782

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776
782
184

A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7tMunro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562] [789]

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
776 appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is
[178] cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
778 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
782 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
574 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 778

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks 796
a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees
moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, 769
using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what 782
he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings
on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, [776]
ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the [576] four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup [273] is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
782 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
● 776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
[791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

EXORCISM

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. [158] [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755

EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Blood was partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

VARIOUS RITES

278 and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase
[776] Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of
[782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe; he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

● 776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. [776] Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn
[844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like [532]
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui [776]
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the [774]
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accom-
pany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764 184 [262] [776] [177] [264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Renmuikesh says that

765 184 [291] [302]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

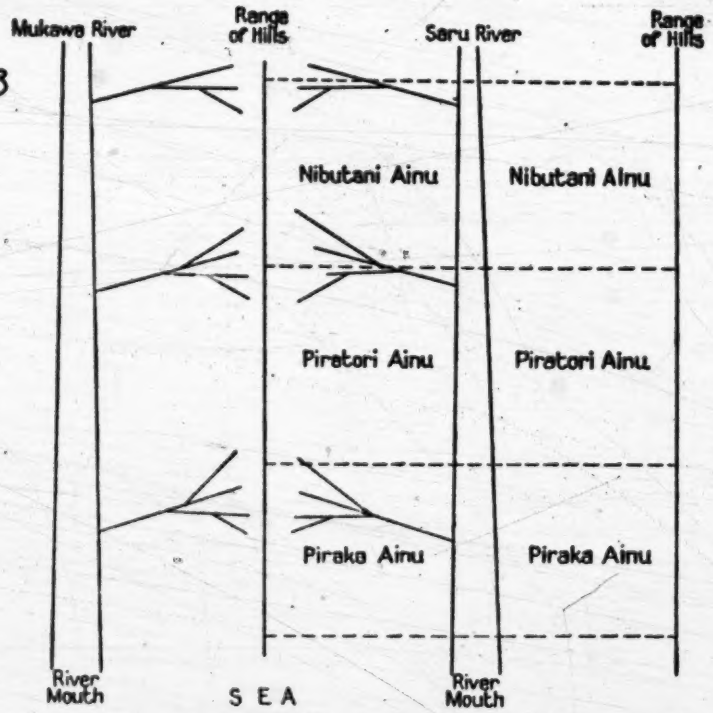
Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

●[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:
769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acrolite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S.

114

Tranalation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu.

539
776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara harapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne harapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

APPENDIX I

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782 845 776 755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782 845 539 755 776

1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782
845
539
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-tam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi* (*Ancestress of the Mortar*)

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi* (*Elder Tree Ancestress*)

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the
789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old
769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [775] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many
778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the
782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little
789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[16]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68, 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local [776] ●
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[11]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[12].

1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, *ruci*, a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet[54]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas 823
investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the 776
former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui* spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu kamui*' or '*Otopuke kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and *kamui* or *ambi* means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai kamui*, which lived in streams flowing into the river[55].

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the 823
name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. 619
The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, including fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix '*iworu*' to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in Chapter V and Note 45.

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also 823
inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among 776
them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu-tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shupe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 196
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.
782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

796 a Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[1]. The chief of the bears, *inetotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari. 825 776

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65]. [778]

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing. 224 [231]

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in 231

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine itokpa* group[68].

Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i. e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the territory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river, from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[70]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i. e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

52 The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *komuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi indno itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-
[273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 184 53 It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how-
[226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 182 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui* spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
[227] and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
[136] the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

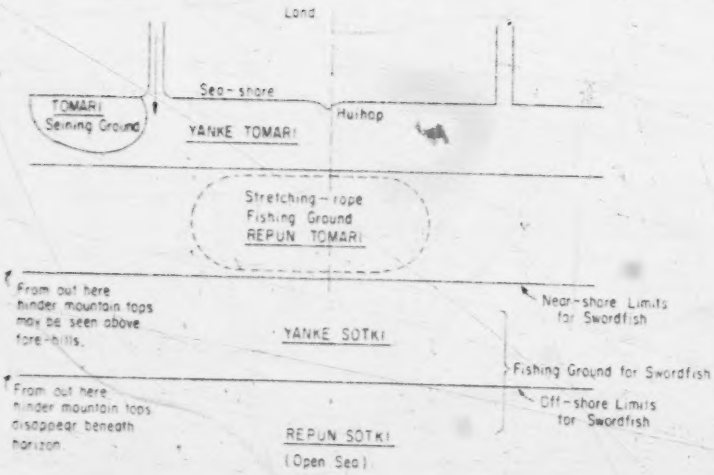
Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 54 YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

776 823 55 The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

kamui of water,
To you we implore.....' (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270). 776 823

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217). [782] [539]

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34). 823 193

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of 776

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 192 [776] 58. *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nupnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 224 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. [778] The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [776]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 60 The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest 778 violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed 776 of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, 342 my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information ob- [784] tained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my [171] attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

61 Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated struc- 342 tures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, 343 these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of [178] arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what re- [538] mains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, 342 altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido 343 Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative posi- 361 tion of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the 778 storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the 184 altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

62 Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43 and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high moun-
823 tain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writ-
776 ings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-
772 killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66. Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements; as may be observed in the chart on p. 50 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126); for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67. Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shiraoi-ukepa* group. 796 [461]

67. Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god,"
•[176] in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure,
796 182 thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the
[114] Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsía. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion
[181] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●777

MY KITE MASCOT
(Japanese)

[P. 104 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a 117
good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has 777
heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they 777
perform any function or ceremony of importance, the 293
men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those 527
the younger of them wear are called *inauru*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

771
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are
264 first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of
782 the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk.
771 There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass
782 through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *sake* 766
and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this 762
instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, [777] ●
and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of 777
age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to 431
take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Ad- 777
miral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in 171
the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

● 777 431 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession. 777 431

That is all, and in it we have another link with 777 and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special [411 virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would 234] be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to 800 a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar 527 that I now write a translation of it. (There is really 774 nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so 342
runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of 778
Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lorest this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected.

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred [777] willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor. 553 775 [753]

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in. 551 777

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards. 553 [753]

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

2. if the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [177]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was 778
the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them.

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all 731
these things, and he told me they were set about as a 778
defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death.

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this 824.
kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and 778
poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons [777]
of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

422 [353] [523] [177] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

[342] The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and 422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, 411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least [531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when [755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden 789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value [777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike [773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from [532] *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes 342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre- [513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), [264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the 342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing 574 (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

342
527
782

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne* [illegible] *uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chise-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342
527
778
782

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. [184] In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776
782
184

A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777] ●

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[191] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/774 cont./

841 204 777 789 755 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub the sick spot with it.

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are 562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

/Additional information on prayer sticks, frequently referred to as "moustache-lifters," may be found in category 413./

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sion nearly thirty Hokkaidō ponies, a fishing boat or two, and a goodly supply of fishing nets. A more cheery and lovable person I have never met anywhere. He was one of "Nature's gentlemen," and was the recognized champion controversialist and most successful advocate for miles around his village. His services were much sought after and his fame had spread abroad to districts far away. I was by his side two days before his death, and we then had some very interesting and confidential conversation together. He actually went so far as to ask me to keep an eye on his family and see that no harm came to any of them after his decease.

Not far from Mr. Mo's house, and about midway between his village and the next, there is a stone still *in situ* which goes by the name of "Stone of Contention." This used to be the rendezvous where controversies were held and judicial cases settled. It was to this stone my friend used to go as advocate. Many times, I was told, did he go there and contend for the right. He was a wise and upright man and as honest as honest could be. He was indeed and in truth a bringer in of peace and harmony, sometimes pleading with the contending parties even with tears. This "Stone of Contention" was supposed to stand there as a witness to what was said and done. Fetishes were made and offered to it, libations presented and drunk before it, and it was a special object of veneration and worship on particular occasions, such as those now mentioned. Free speech also was allowed on these occasions.

A year or two before his death, Mr. Mo one day took me for a walk and showed me first of all a flat rock on the top of a hill, which was called the "Watch Stone." From it a good view was to be obtained, both inland and out at sea. He explained the name by telling me that the ancient Ainu, in their days, used to stand or sit on this stone, keeping watch against

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

found that even there a somewhat similar custom was 576
kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, 171
cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one anothers' necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; [778 ●
never throw anything out of any window; never throw 342]
anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was 117
in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

354 778 372

574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

48 you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

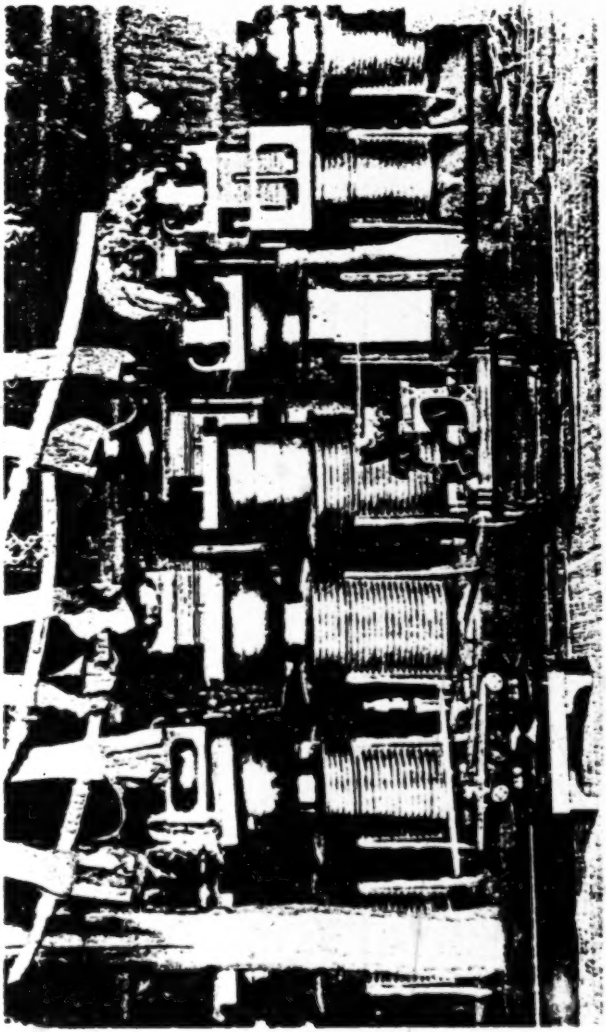
000 The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

136 I know of one district by the sea where the people
262 are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The
[825 Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings
● 778] before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

137 Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are
262 raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
• AB6 Ainu AB6

● 778



THE SACRED EAST-END CORNER OF A HUT

[P. 166 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lorest this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected. 342 778

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance. [777]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-ta-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of [776]
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And
when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their
children to accompany them to battle, they enter here
and then all go off together to wage the war, and many
fights take place in the air. There are many allusions
to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 342
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons 778
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside
and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into
an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is
another door which leads into the open air. In the
ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and
so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to
occupy this place. That part of the house extending
from the top of the east-end window is held in special
honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all
the treasures are kept, also a great number of family
charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these,
heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and
fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings
from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes
next to these are preserved the special ornaments and
clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things
may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folk-
lore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and
of great importance always. When the highest gods
are worshipped or when prayers are said to the an-
cestors, they should often be addressed through this
window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

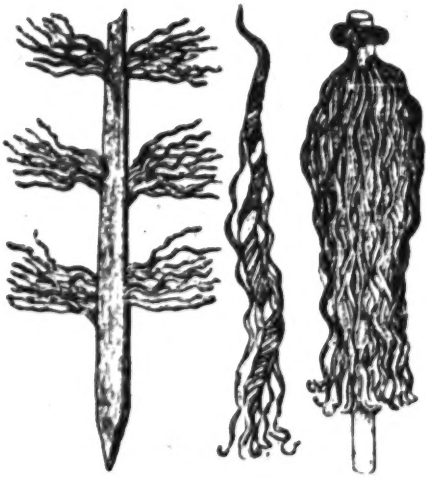
342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
[576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



SOME COMMON FETISHES

[p. 174]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776 [372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [373]

[p. 175]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
●778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
[343] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

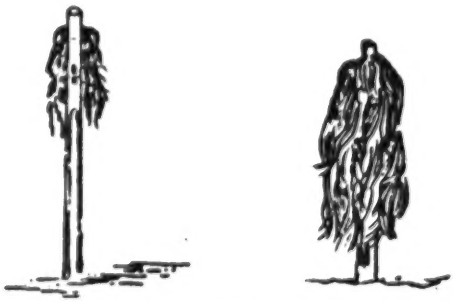
When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he 776
informed me that the pattern of the original household [342]
fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself; not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his
father before him. It is short but to the point, and 778
runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was 776
first made by the True God, Who, after He had made him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth, where he is worshipped together with his wife—the Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, 778
the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[788] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIV

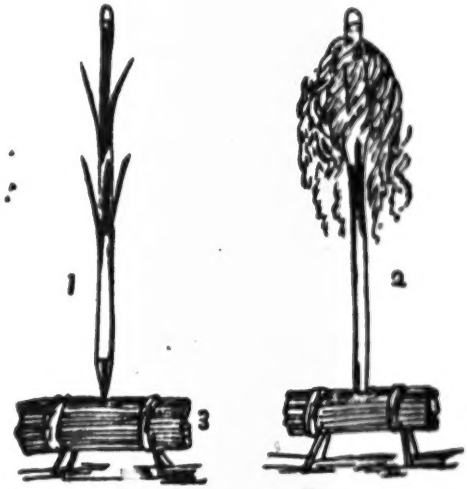
THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born. 824 778 [844]

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby. 844 852

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

852
782

After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly pilled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *nusa*. These *nusa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "lega." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 778
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *nusa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inau*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inau-ishgure*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.

NUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *sasa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

117 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

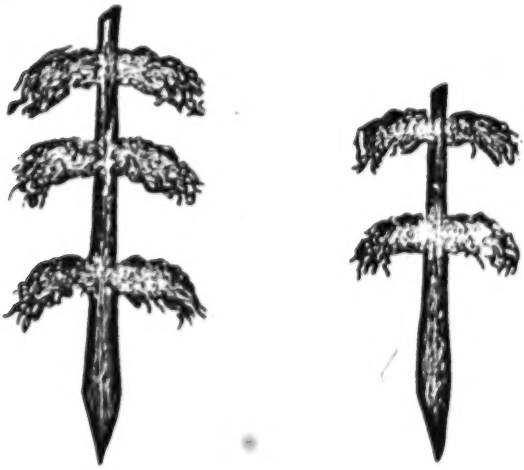
775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *hew-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."

[778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761 775] The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 301 ●778 824 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and 789
they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their
complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the [829]
King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish
the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as
they should do.

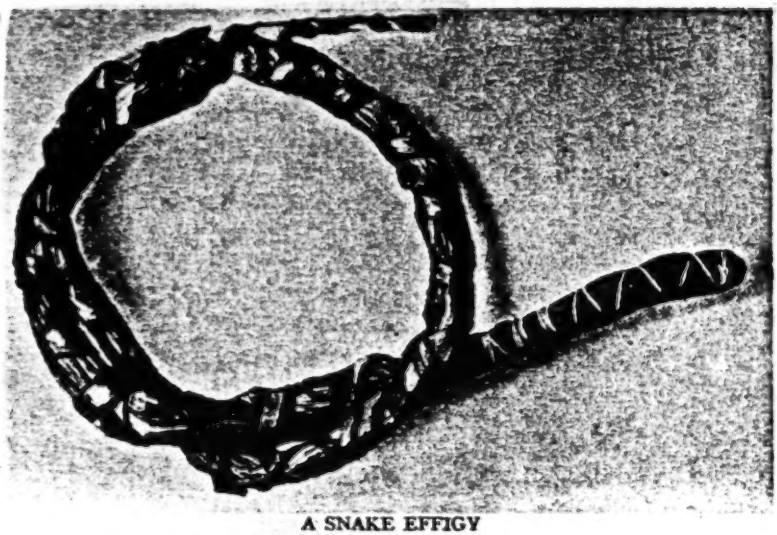
Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these [778] animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed.

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which [782] has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow."

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

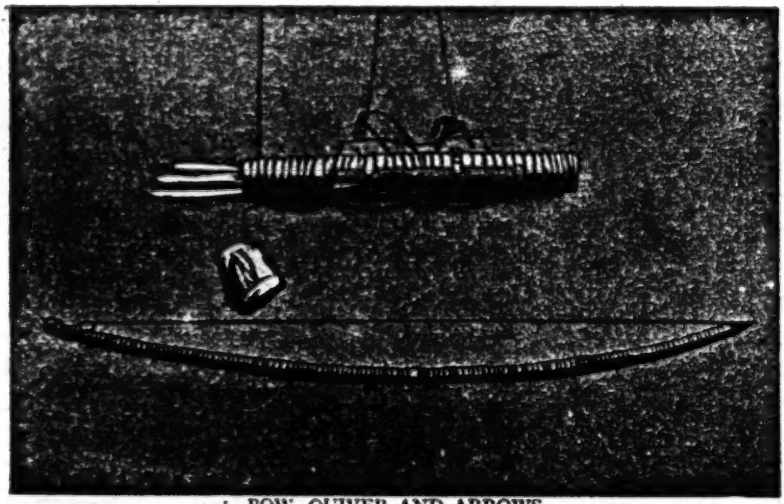
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●778



A SNAKE EFFIGY

411
778



BOW, QUIVER AND ARROWS

[P.258(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. '*Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

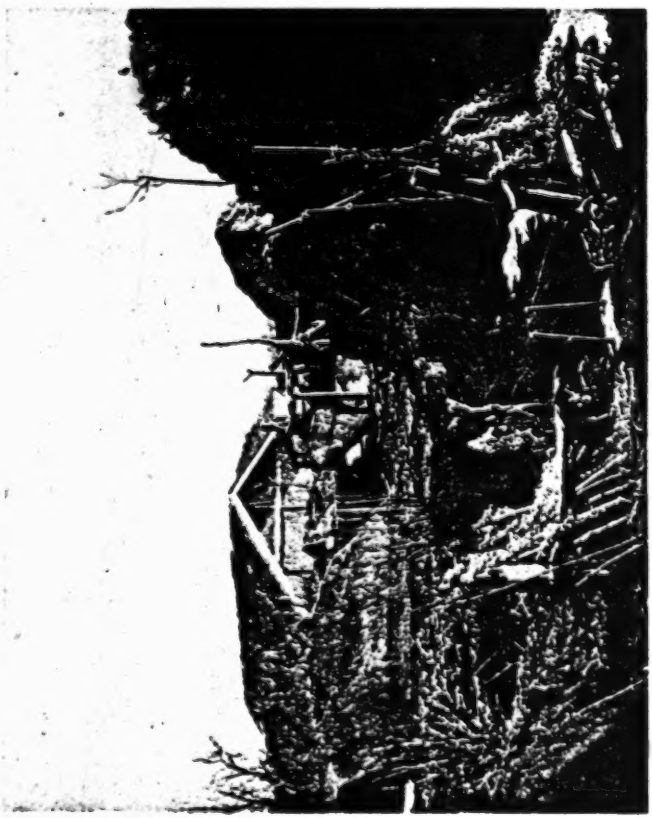
754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292 **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

●778] †The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
226
342



A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF FETISHES

[p. 296(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262
worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 732
due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them 778
and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778
shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226
lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea- 226
side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] 527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and rowlock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon had gone away, Yaireapo said to me, 'Boy, flee towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and another of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish out of the tree called *nita-ni* which is the particular magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be well. From the days of my early childhood thy grandfather and I have been very close friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee the great danger thou hast run into by coming here. When thou passest through the midst of the sea on the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest farther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above. When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long, being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted about thee. He has departed from his house and now, behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying, with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for thee.' So spake he.

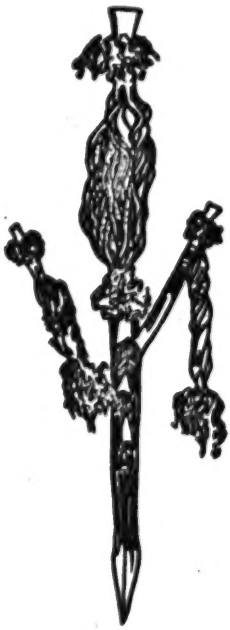
539 [778 824]

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their way.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokcush rorumbe,* i.e., "making

[782
778]



A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for the two wolves and also for the bear god. They worshipped and made new gods of them. And so again these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my brothers with special favour. They have already become more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with great success and easily make many kills. They take many skins and galls which they barter at a good price and so are able to obtain many more treasures and precious things. They have become far richer than any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu." 539 [782 778]

344 blank

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Thus there is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, 778
and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes.

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern 824
shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special 539
affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778

FETISH SPECIMENS

[P. 360(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLV

WOOD FETISHES AND THE SLAYING OF THE DEMON OF DISEASE

On examining the wood fetishes made by the Ainu, 778 one finds many forms of them which are used for a variety of gods and demons on varying occasions. At first it was quite impossible to get any of the men to talk about and explain them. It was a religious question and they did not care to enter into conversation on the matter. In the course of years, however, I managed to pick up much about them, and this chapter is, in part, the result.

The household fetish seems to be the most important of them all. He has already been described in chapter twenty-three. That connected with the "Birth-tree," as well as the "Heart" or "Pulse" of the house, have also been mentioned. I believe the next in importance is that which is called "Fetish with twisted shavings," and may be seen anywhere by the visitor. It has a long stem and consists simply of long strings of shavings tied to the top end of a stick some two or three feet in length. Fetishes of this kind are made as offerings to any deity and indicate respect and high honour. They are presented to the sun and set up by the fireside. I was once present when one was offered to the Creator of all things, at which time the following prayer was said.

"O Thou God Who dwellest in the highest heavens! O Thou Who hast Thy abode in the lofty and glorious skies above us! O Creator of the world, condescend to accept this fetish and these saké drops which we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 now present unto Thee. As a return for them and this worship, be Thou pleased to bless us." Such was the prayer I heard, and it was said with great earnestness. Another kind of fetish is named "Fetish with shavings spread out." It is made as an offering to the gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea. When set up, such are saluted and have libation drops of saké offered them. The prayer said at such a time is like this;

782 "O gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to cure them; should food become scarce, favour us with plenty. Ye mighty Ones, ye are great and powerful; therefore we present these beautiful fetishes, which our forefathers taught us to make, to you all. Graciously accept them and rejoice over them." I was informed that some of these things were made for gods near at hand, and others for those supposed to be more remote. One such kind is called "Turning backwards fetish," and I was told this was for such deities as stood between the higher and lower gods and demons. These fetishes may be seen by springs of water, paths, garden plots, precipices, and at times by the fireside. They are for the tutelary gods. I was once asked to join a party which was making them, but declined with thanks. The men were all crowned with rings of shavings, and looked very comical as they sat there peeling sticks.

778 On entering a certain hut in the village one day, I was greatly astonished to encounter a strong evil odour. Upon looking round the place, I soon discovered the cause. The master of the place had a large number of fetishes, big and little, which he called "Little carved birds," set up in many places. These consisted of sticks of elder (supposed to be a tree of evil), shaved downwards instead of upwards, each

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them. 778

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all these things, and he told me they were set about as a defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death. 731 778

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot." 824. 778 [777]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

[778 782] The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called *Pet-etok-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will [778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 346
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [224]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

● 778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

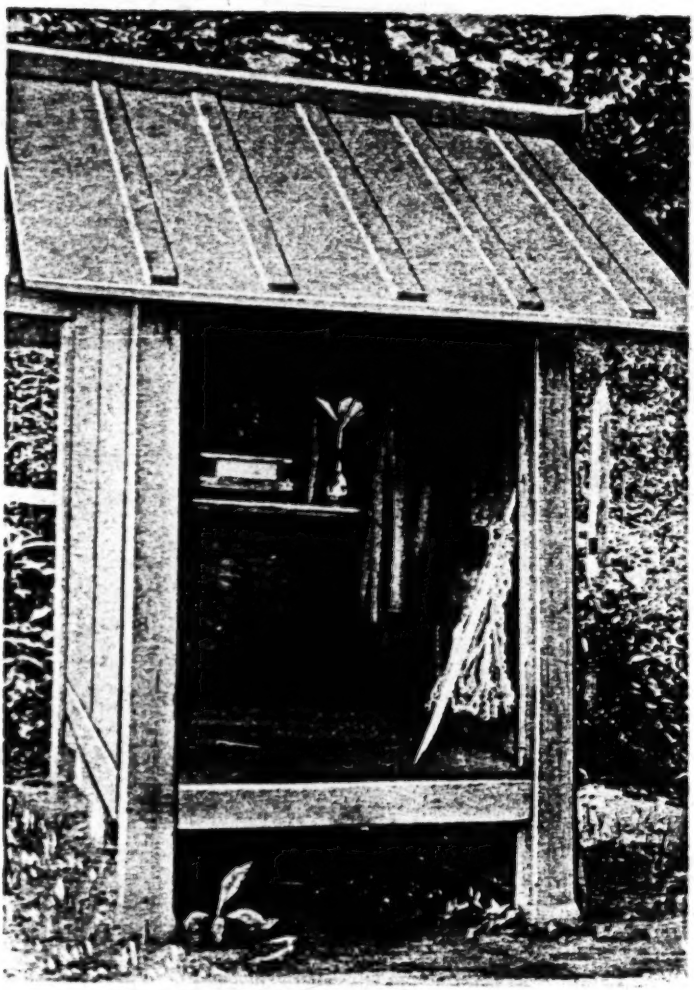
539 226 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 ●778] "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
171
346



SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LIII

ABOUT AINU HEROES

One day, after having been away on furlough for a few months, I returned to Piratori without first sending word to the chief that I was coming. Upon arrival, I was surprised to find my little room (six feet by nine) occupied by a small earthenware idol, standing about two feet high, and very ugly. It was made to resemble a Japanese warrior and was dressed *cap-a-pie* in full armour. It had the regulation two swords stuck into its girdle, and sat prepared for any emergency. 177 778

As soon as we had finished our somewhat lengthy salutations, the chief apologized for having put the image into my room, and Mrs. Penri hastened to carry it off and stow it away in her godown with the millet and vegetables. I found out afterwards that when my visits were over and I went elsewhere, the idol came out and was installed in my room for the convenience of such Japanese as might be passing through the village, but when I returned, it always found its home in the storehouse.

Knowing that the Ainu never made images of human beings for worship, I asked the chief how it came to pass he had this one in the village. This is his reply. "It is altogether a Japanese affair, made by Japanese and set up by them. The idol itself is about a hundred and twenty years old. It was brought to Piratori and set up in a tiny shrine on a point of the mountain close to our river. One day while you were away, a big storm of wind blew and sent the shrine,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to escape the sword of his brother, many years ago. Please pardon me for putting him in your room when you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogeho) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a madman's chatter, who imitates what others may be saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view. 539 825 789

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me 539 825 776 782 778

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
782 strong and well, and big. And I have become his
778 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

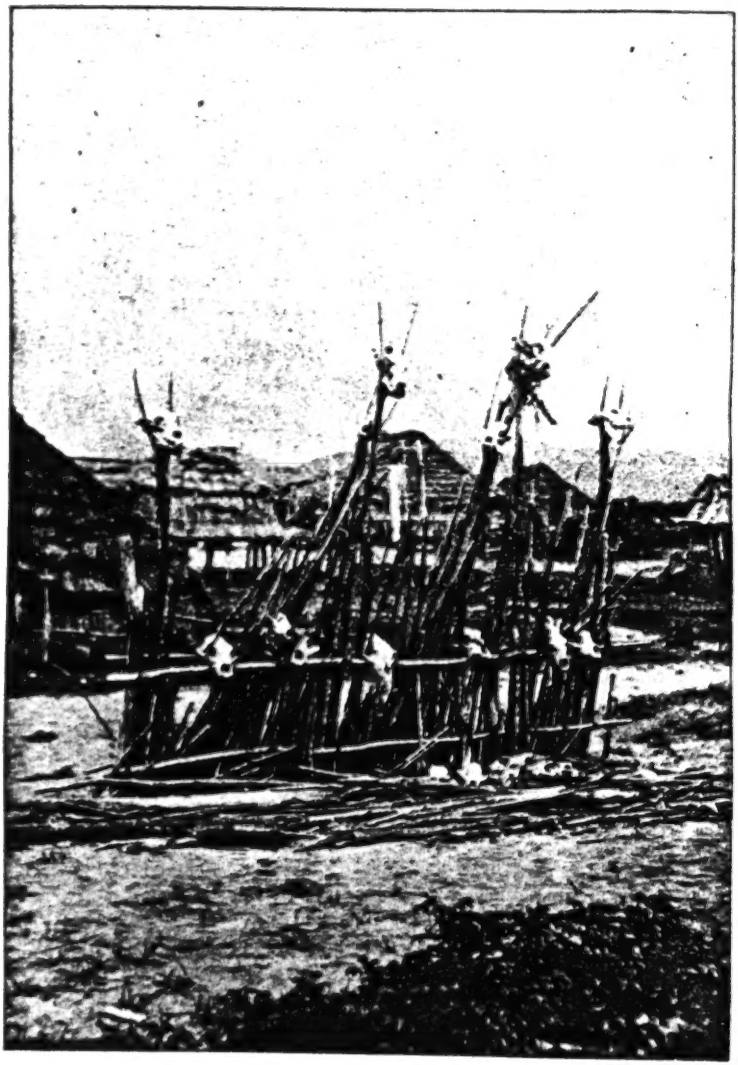
floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or go.l-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778
237
342



SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Teshkaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches..	11
Width of middle	do....	28
Length, about	feet...	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are
776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house
[778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against
297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

778 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground. 778

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos. 821 776

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton." 776 777

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast. 778

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground. 773

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos. 776

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton." 776 777

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author * refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast. 778

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

[825 787]

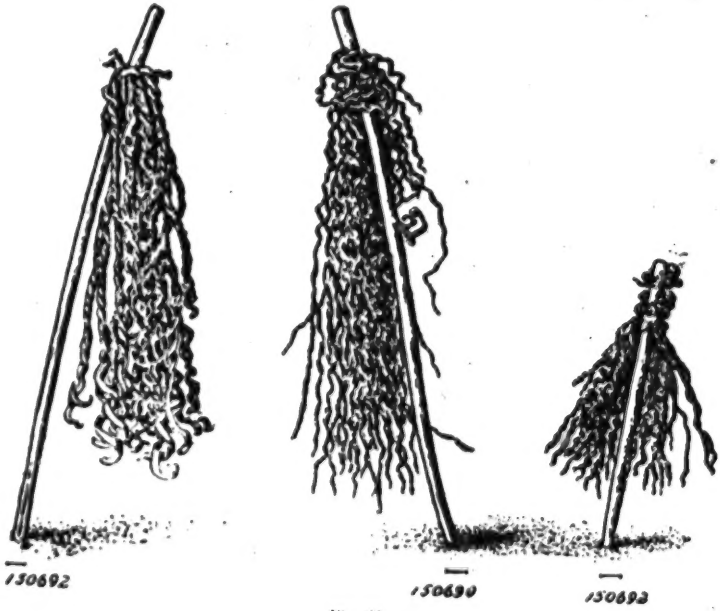


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

[685]

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 796
present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343
nusha kamui should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778
Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114
substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825
bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

786 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on

Fig. 87.
CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *miru no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei*† of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainos, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

† The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

 A 796 [722]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

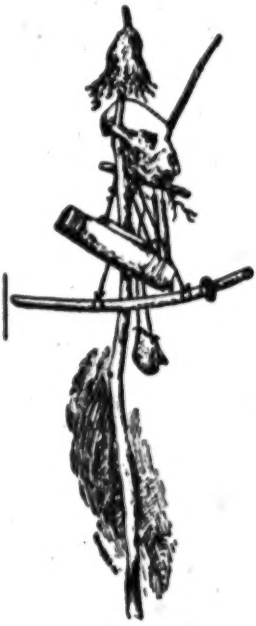


Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

A [778]
A G 171 796

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150678, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [297]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem" and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 805 527

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient village; a beautiful place." When *Kamui* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix; when to things, it is a prefix.

But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,[1] are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

[1] *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut; *kara*, make; also, have.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

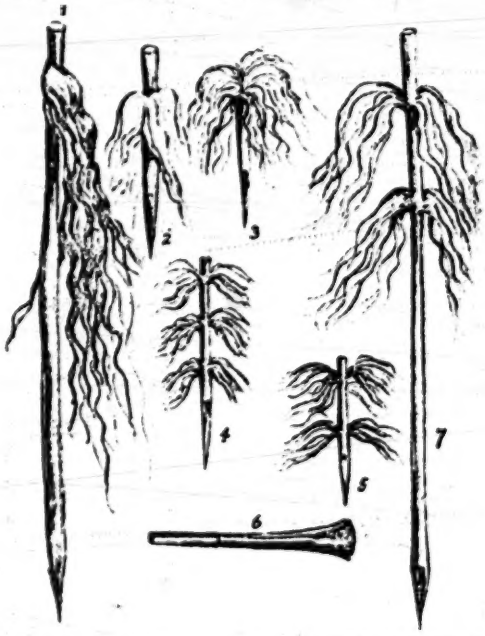
These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take 855 care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789



1, 7. INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISEI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

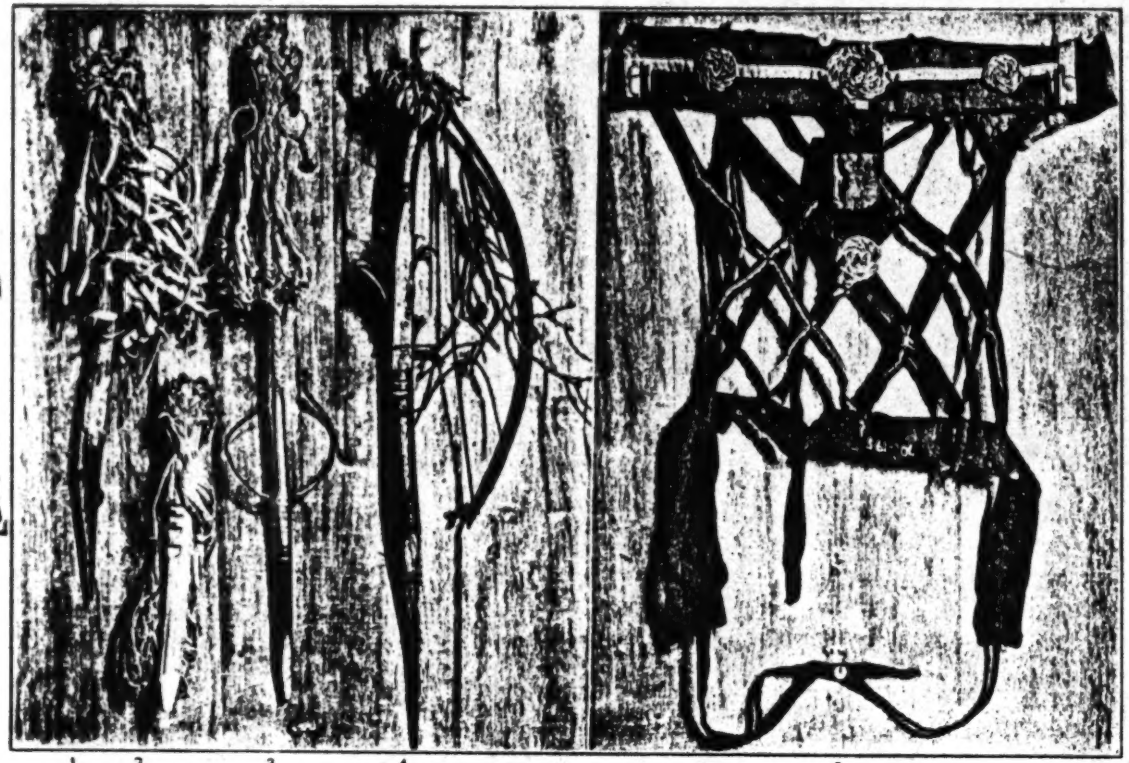
796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6



1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with plaited shavings appliquéd in the shape of magic coils and strings.

[Facing P. 427]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

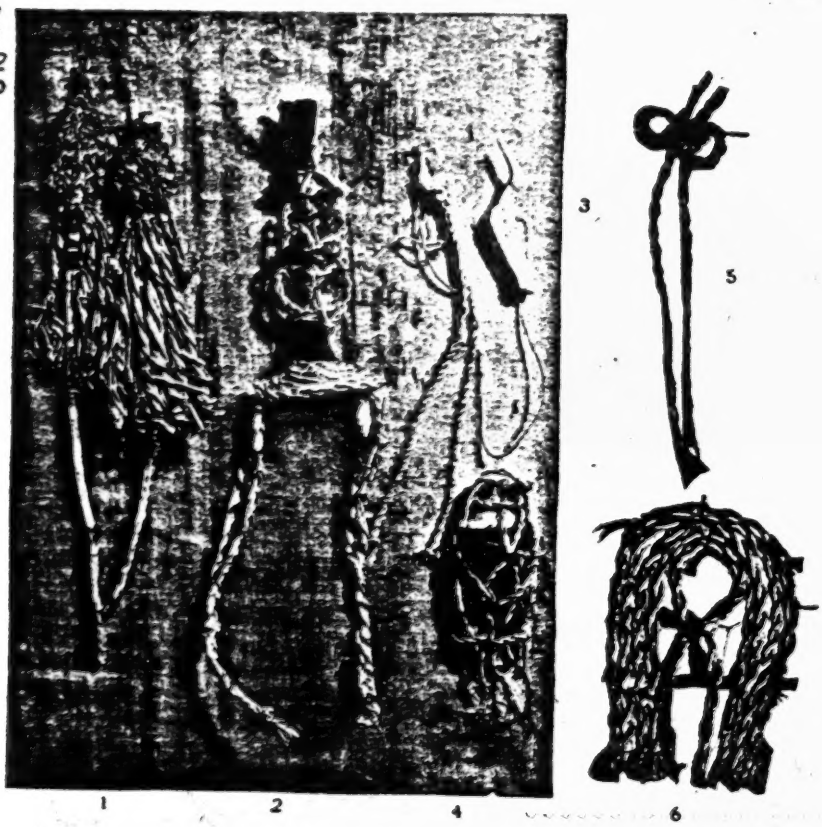
776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798
796
155



INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing P. 428]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau;* that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[22A] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
171 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities. 778 114

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2] [782] [532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*. 778 532 114

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 174 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1] who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 114 174 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat resemble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu [192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more [286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases.

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin.

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen, even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [174] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 194 [193]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 196 174 [193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear [782] himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 796 798 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

778
293

/Information on the "sacred" women's girdles will be found in categories 292 and 789./

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 192 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and 771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English 774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan- 192 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason [778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but [828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ehashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[794] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
● 778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
[778] of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [774] [787]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [778] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
●778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some
[372] protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] (413) [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chirotap Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

776 THE KAMUI

●778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
[774] accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
789 summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shinurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuka-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tum-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*kiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yoini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalopanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
[789]

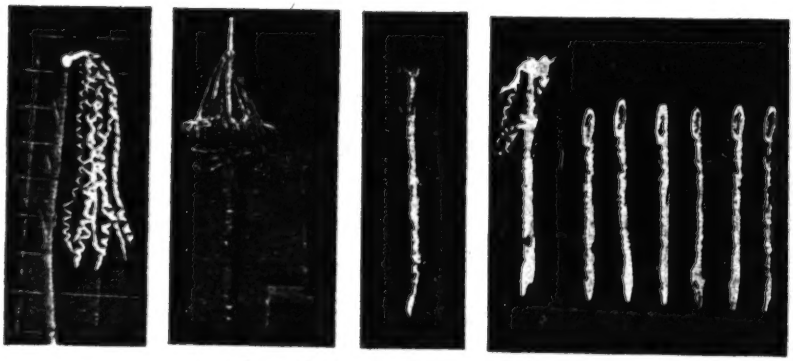


Fig. 1. *Shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *uen inau* with their leader.

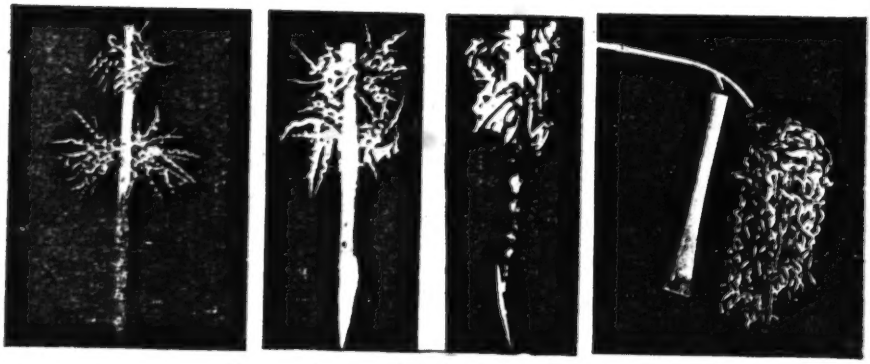
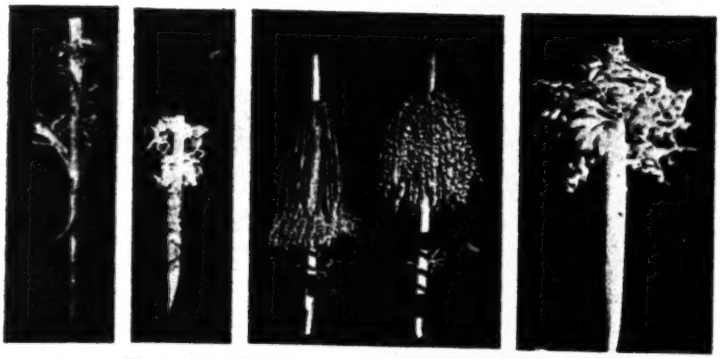


Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chihoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

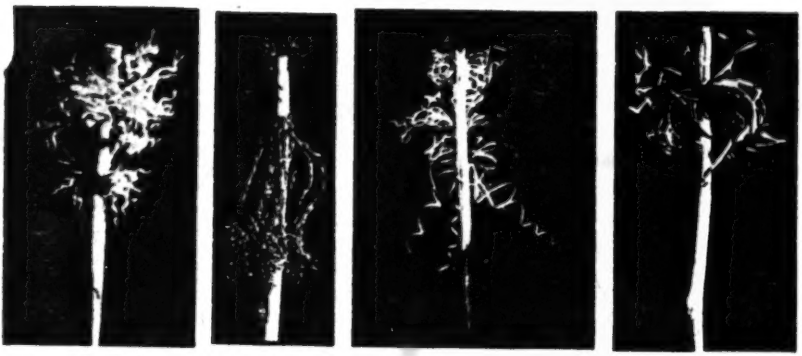
[p. 30-(B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



778
782

Fig. 1. *Shian shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shutu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.



[844]

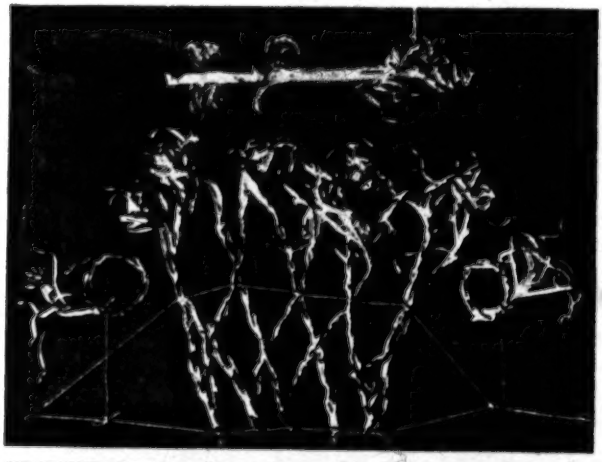
Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth. seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau.*
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau.*

PLATE III. *INAU.*

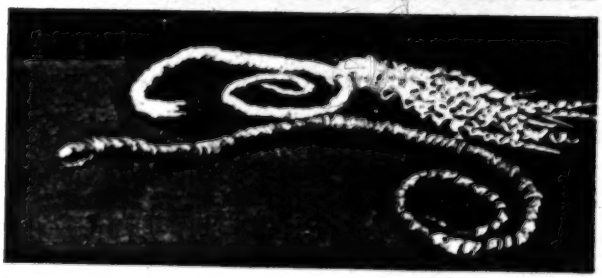
[p. 30, (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



778
789
825

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ek-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*inaka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

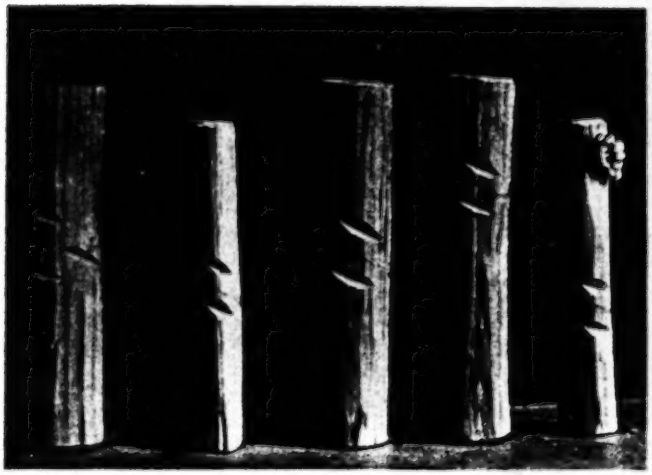
PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (1)]

?:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
776
532

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamul. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
778
531
413

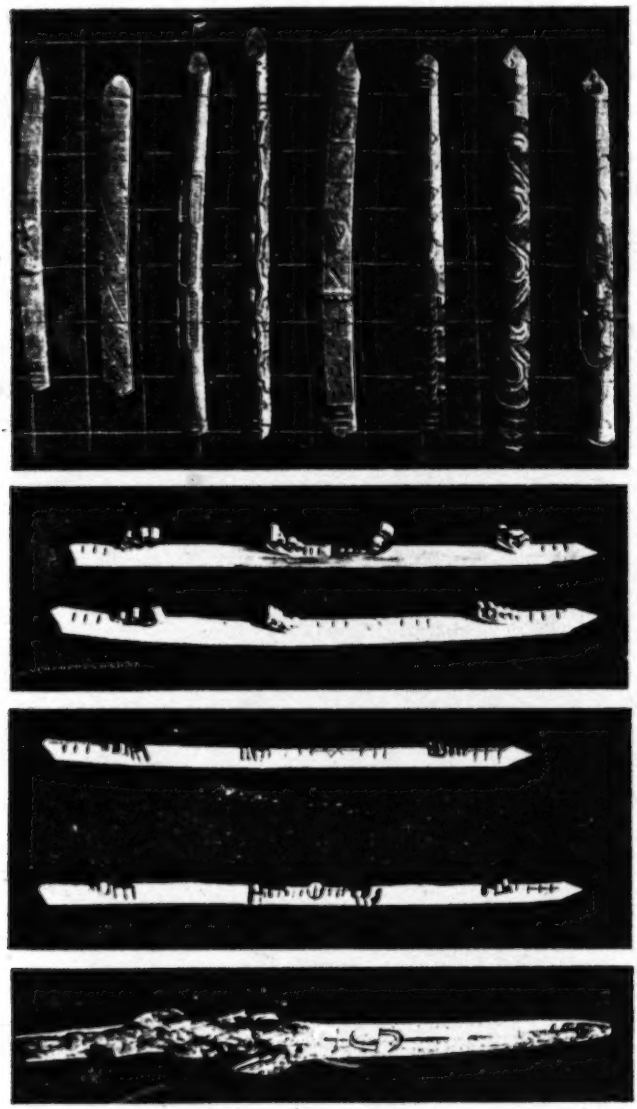


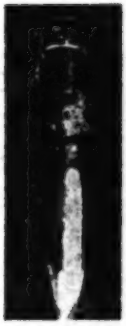
Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30,(F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
778
532

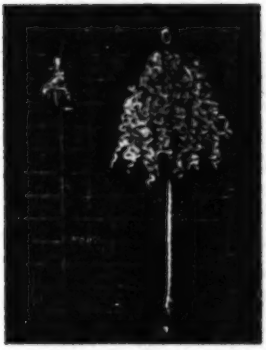


1.

2.

3.

[825]
[796]



4.

5.

[844]

6.

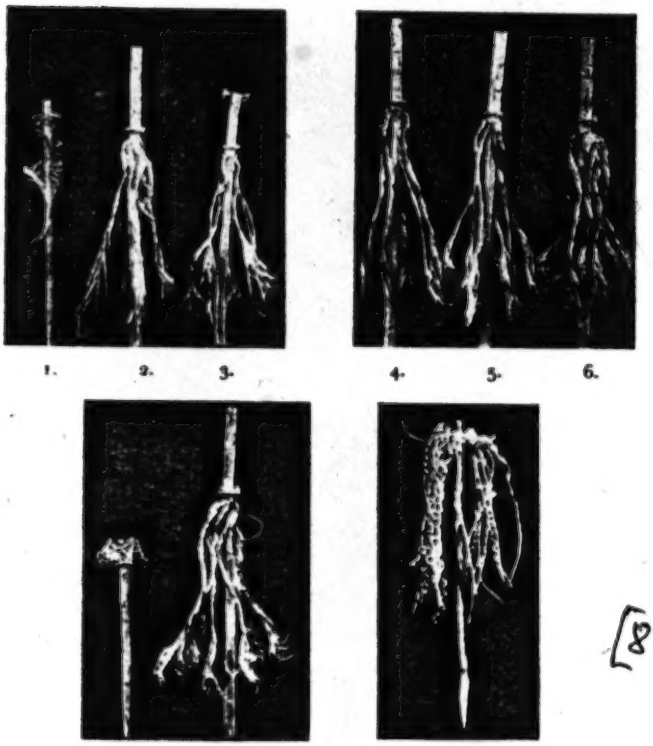
7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

778
782
776



[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau:* the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI.*

[p. 30, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782

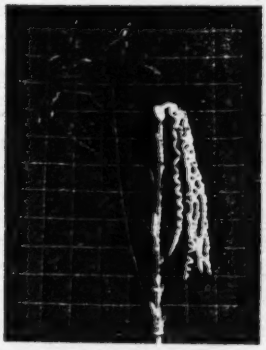


Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

342

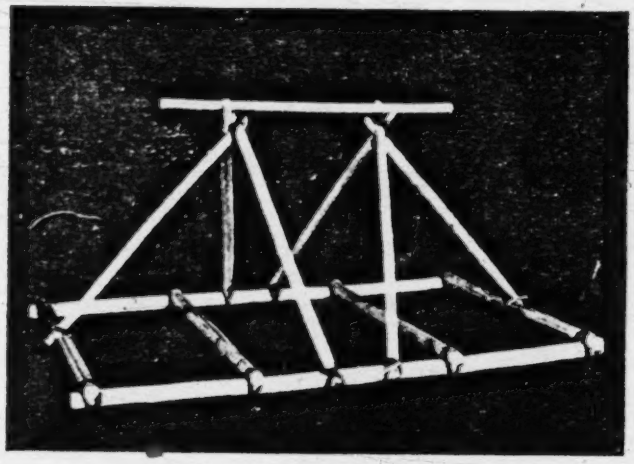


Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *INAU*, AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
796

1.

2.

3.

Fig. 1. Chupusu *inau* fixed to the top of the post (*tusk ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *susa* of many *inau* set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and *inau* fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. *INAU* ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau neṭoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 778 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
532
212

ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *hike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *hike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *hike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inauuk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

THE INAU

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of trans-
[201] mitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

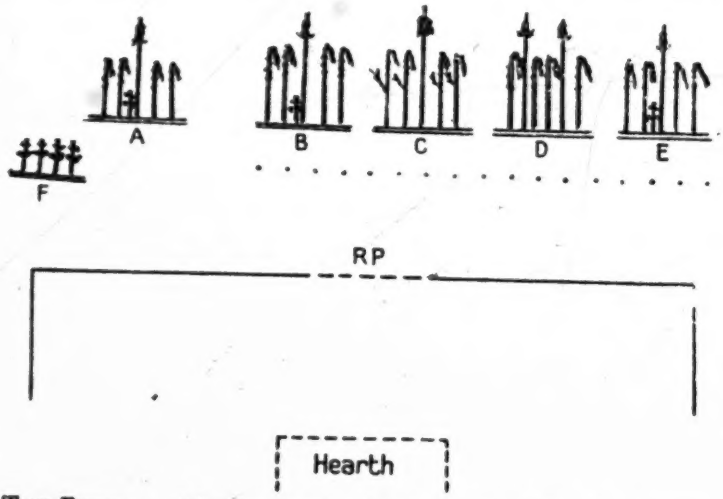
[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

THE INAU

978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive
[771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

THE INAU

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1906-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of this effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [791] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 823 [769]

anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825]

[1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chiset*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789 776 231 782 778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sun-shine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

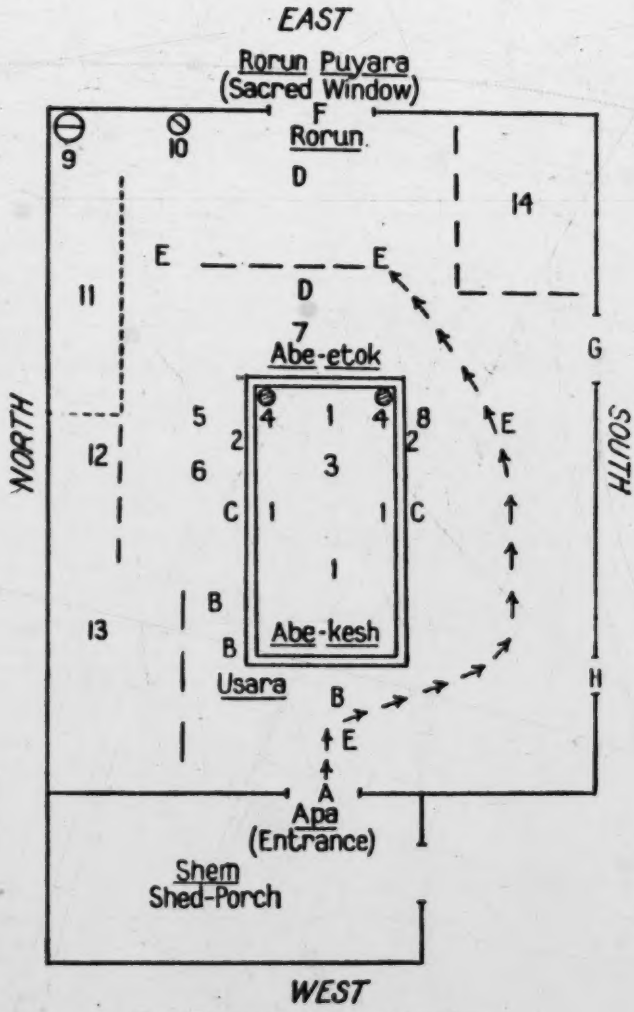
7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME

Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

342
778
353
354



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262]

[1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau.[1] After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat.

776
778

[1] Munro states that the *chisei-horo inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with Chisei-horo Kamui (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88). —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 F
291
● 778

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (01)]

756
755
778 ●
←
756
755
292
531
516
→

756
352
516
531
←
755
756
787
516
352
292
302
531
→

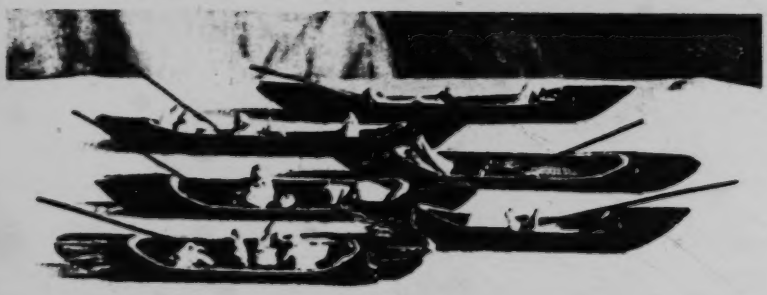
Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
292
531
778



755
[501]

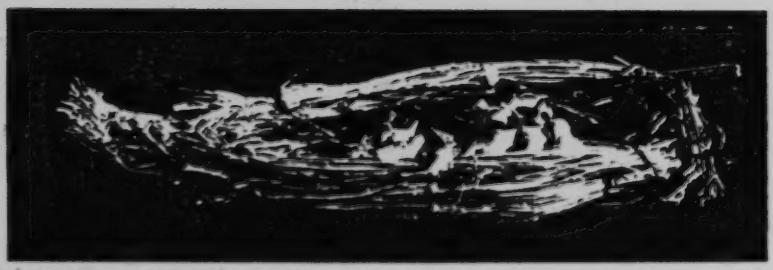


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 554 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 527 778 782 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a [777] sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 782 184 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

●778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
kind of decoration.

[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

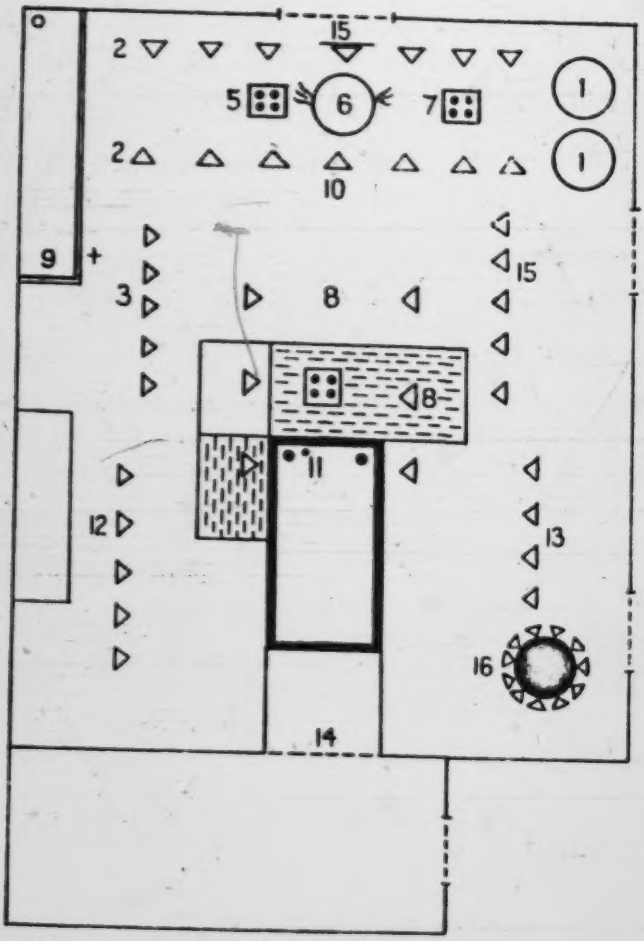
The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
782 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

[P. 95]

574
769
353
778
342



TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-issh guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
● 778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
[791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

755

EXORCISM

[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

[783] [782]

755 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as 801 Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115]

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

[791] [126]

755 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they 753 live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114]

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

EXORCISM

755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a [778] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755 EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
●[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kathimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

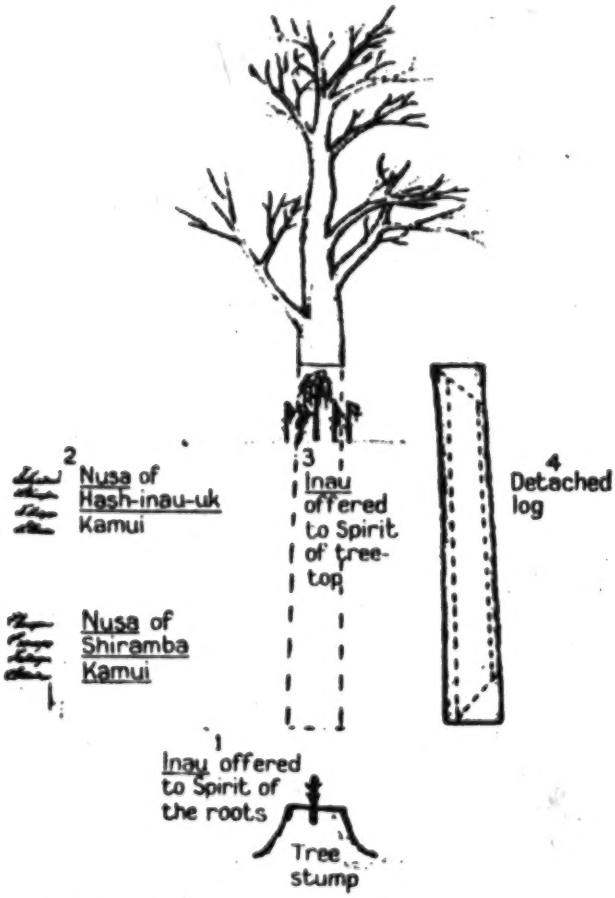
While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

VARIOUS RITES

396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
● 778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*). 396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description. 534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur. 825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it 304 789

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead. [789] [783]

764 778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] [532] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
●778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abeochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

764
184
[262]
[776]
[177]
[264]

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

[778]

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

765
184
[291]
[302]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

● 778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patrilineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

[184] [778] [614] [423]

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 845 [184]

[1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

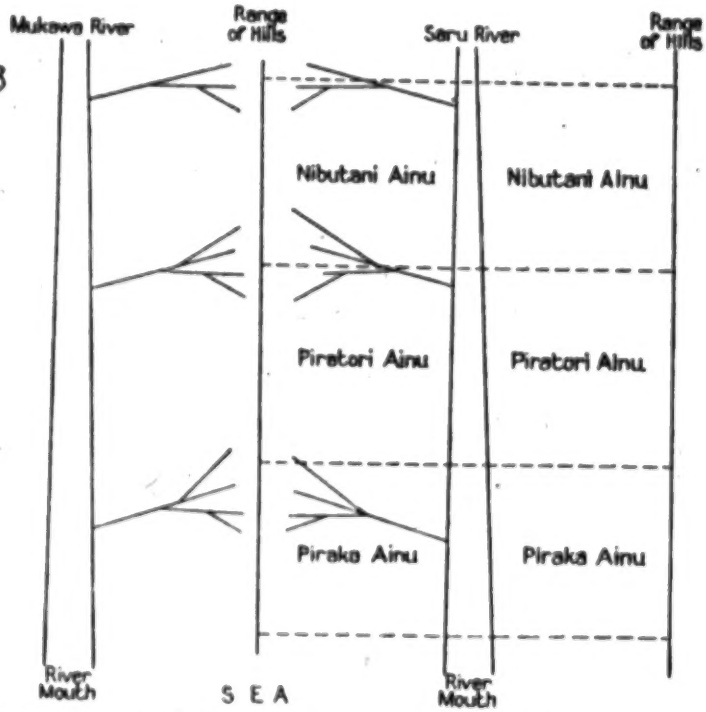
[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotáni* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Beacom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapchi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acorn-gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

APPENDIX I

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fūchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

796 825 782 [574] [824] [983] [533]

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [795] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradi-
tion on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[777] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1. 592

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, ***kam kuma*** and ***chep kuma;*** and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, ***wakkata ushi;*** a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, ***chep karu ushi***, a bone dump, ***pone kuta ushi***, and a fur dump, ***rushi nomi ushi*** (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI. [343] 778 [231] [417] [251] 592 778 [372]

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley. 361 103

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the 825
centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large 776
house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, [778] ●
the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hok- 224
kaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more [231]
upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were 231
either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called "*utaru pake*"; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621 622 614

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621 614 114

15. Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*; patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614 608

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57). 778

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* or *onkami*, ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group – Zarashi and his sons – of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (to own) *iworu*', '*ku-l-kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (to be at) *utar* (people) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance. 192 224

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136). 423

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement. 342 361

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the *nitar*, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper [778] [776]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 60 The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

61 Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

62 Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi* ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau* sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

/736 cont./

231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
171 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
● 798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

779

779 THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS--elaborated systems of religious beliefs (e.g., totemism, pantheism); state religions; revealed religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism); sacred books; content of complex systems of dogma and theology; association of theological systems with ethics and philosophy; etc.

See also:

Totemic kin groups 61
Ethical ideals 577
Ancestor worship 769
Statements on the general character of religion. 771
Sects. 795
Theologians. 812

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*, ...and its people (in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 531 13 A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934). Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown [778] and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 614 608 14 Membership of local group. Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* (group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*" (Ibid.). A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* and *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

782

782 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy 73, 74
Hymns 533
Etiquette 576
Mortuary sacrifices 764
Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places 778
Stereotyped prayers 788

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats 562
and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people 562
in almost every respect since early times, yet there 593
are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked [604]
upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got 562
the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon 462
it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con- [221]
sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much [782]
time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 I was very much surprised to find that the women
● 782 did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was
562 left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to
782 offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are
769 taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

may possible have been originally clan or totemistic signs.

Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk. There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *sake*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much *saké* 766
and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this 762
instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, [777]
and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of 777
age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to 431
take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Ad- 777
miral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in 171
the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
291
415
771
293

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
● 782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Imumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RV2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut BV2

A
Y
372
171
[776
782]

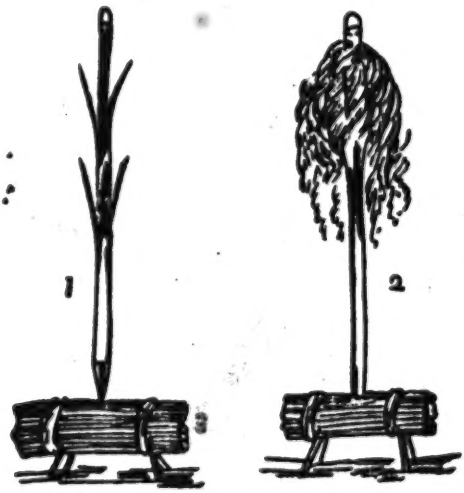
ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y
784
372

As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

852 After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which
782 indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly pilled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidō. As might well be expected, this fetish is
particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the
individual for whom it was made. The following is a
prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *nusa*. These *nusa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "legs." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 778
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 The prayer said at the time of the "sending away festival" for the eaglet runs thus:

"O divine beloved one, I have brought thee up till
782 now because I loved thee; and now I send thee to thy father. I also present thee with food, fetishes, whisky and cakes. If thou wilt take them to thy father, he will greatly rejoice. And do thou speak to him on this wise, I ask thee: 'I have dwelt for a long time in Ainu-land; there an Ainu father and mother brought me up. And now I come to thee. Moreover, listen. I have brought thee a great variety of good things. Now, I saw in Ainu-land many kinds of trouble. They were such as these. Some were possessed by devils; some met with accidents from wild animals; some also met with landslides; some met with accidents from the waves of the sea; and I saw many kinds of sickness. Ainu-land is in a very difficult and parlous condition. Hear, my father, and hasten to turn toward that land and send help.' If you speak thus before your father and mother, he will succour."

825 This man was 17 years of age when I first met him. When I was in his district, his house being near he used to come to me of an evening to be taught. One evening he told me that it was very difficult for him to believe that all men are descended from the same original ancestors. His own family relations, he said, considered themselves to have come from eagles in the beginning. What did I think of it? So we sat down and talked the matter over.

Ari. My people were of the eagle clan and I have been told that my real ancestor was descended from an eagle.

Self. Oh, indeed, that is very interesting. Tell me all about it, please, and let us talk the matter well over.

I then said: "Do you mean to say that you think an eagle laid some eggs and then sat on them and hatched out your original ancestors?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are 539
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told 778
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of 755
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You 782
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- 755
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be 278
swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. 789 [829]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778]

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow." [782]

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with due ceremony, and had libations of *saké* offered them and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing. 262 782 778

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the shavings left attached and depending from the top, and lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together. 778 226

One day, now many years ago, we went to a seaside place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re- 226

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 The next morning we went out and soon found that
782 the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the
[778] bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-
527 lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food,
as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and
venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly
relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour
of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon
as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she
was quite a small child she took her father's bow and
arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she dis-
covered feeding near her home. Her brother's name
was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

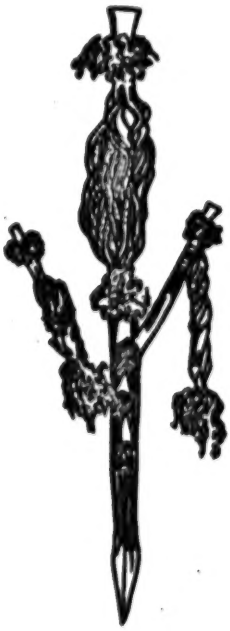
The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They
would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close
by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of
very cold water I have ever come across. The next
thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along
the banks of which, but not too near, they built their
homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was
from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have some-
times occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its
manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me
and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokcush rorumbe*, i.e., "making

[782 ●
778]



A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for the two wolves and also for the bear god. They worshipped and made new gods of them. And so again these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my brothers with special favour. They have already become more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with great success and easily make many kills. They take many skins and galls which they barter at a good price and so are able to obtain many more treasures and precious things. They have become far richer than any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu."

539 [782 778]

344 blank

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

824 "When those hunters who are acquainted with the
224 cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting
782 expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called
[137] good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

755 When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt 824
bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great 224
danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. 776
But it must not be supposed that all demons are de- 771
vils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree wor- 782●
ship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, [396] with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 now present unto Thee. As a return for them and this worship, be Thou pleased to bless us." Such was the prayer I heard, and it was said with great earnestness. Another kind of fetish is named "Fetish with shavings spread out." It is made as an offering to the gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea. When set up, such are saluted and have libation drops of saké offered them. The prayer said at such a time is like this;

782 "O gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to cure them; should food become scarce, favour us with plenty. Ye mighty Ones, ye are great and powerful; therefore we present these beautiful fetishes, which our forefathers taught us to make, to you all. Graciously accept them and rejoice over them." I was informed that some of these things were made for gods near at hand, and others for those supposed to be more remote. One such kind is called "Turning backwards fetish," and I was told this was for such deities as stood between the higher and lower gods and demons. These fetishes may be seen by springs of water, paths, garden plots, precipices, and at times by the fireside. They are for the tutelary gods. I was once asked to join a party which was making them, but declined with thanks. The men were all crowned with rings of shavings, and looked very comical as they sat there peeling sticks.

778 On entering a certain hut in the village one day, I was greatly astonished to encounter a strong evil odour. Upon looking round the place, I soon discovered the cause. The master of the place had a large number of fetishes, big and little, which he called "Little carved birds," set up in many places. These consisted of sticks of elder (supposed to be a tree of evil), shaved downwards instead of upwards, each

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

[778 782] The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called *Pet-ctok-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-tche*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods. 823 782

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous. 823 776

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
● 782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 346
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [824]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké,* cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.
776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
strong and well, and big. And I have become his
782 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see
778 this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he
does well, and he has become the richest man in the
whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all
others, because I look down upon him with favour."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276 531]

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

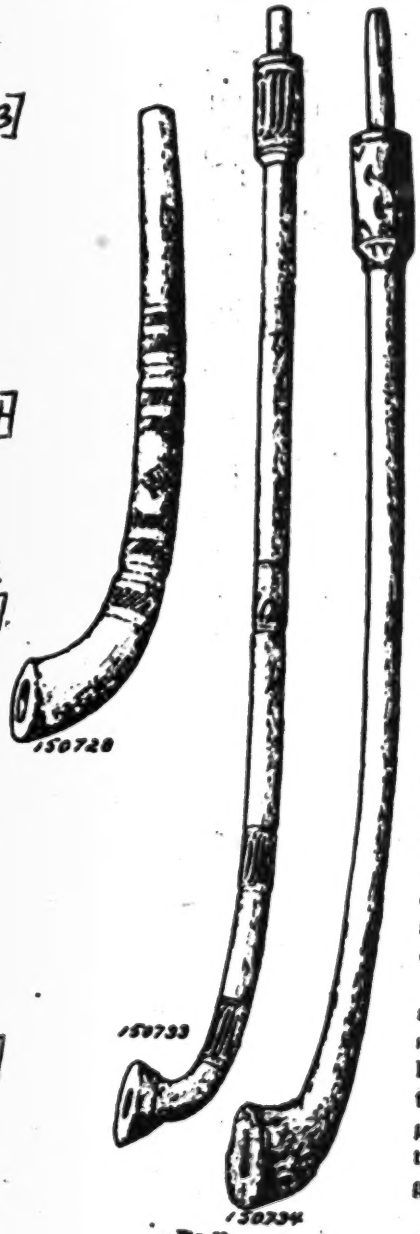


Fig. 72.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

273
796
782

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 276 782

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

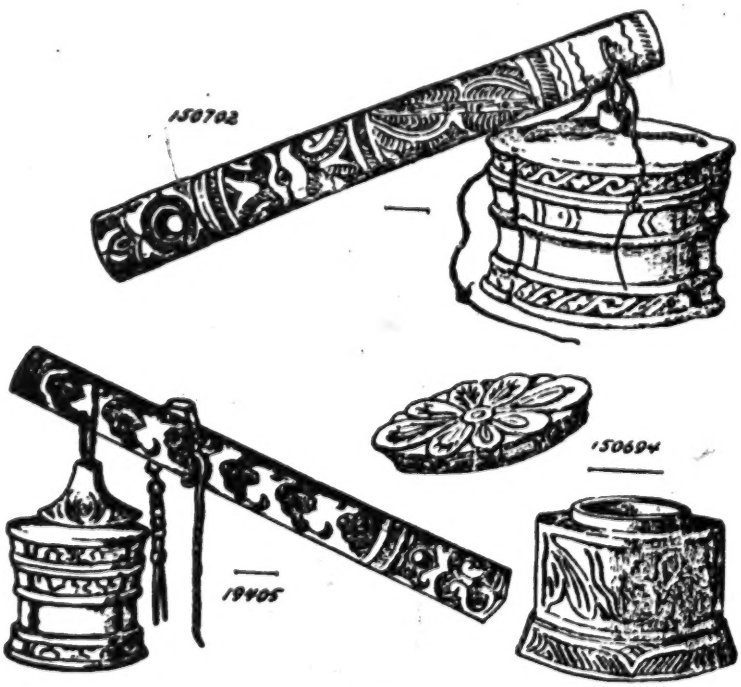


Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 778 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *miru no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei*† of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the 796 four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which [782] the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainos, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large [413] draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

[782] After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

[782] † The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the noise around him, and began to jump about in the cage and set up 776
a mournful howl.

At the same time our attention was directed to another scene before the sacred hedge. The hedge was decorated with five new inao, to which leaves of bamboo were attached. The bamboo leaves signify that the dead bear may again come to life. Perhaps the evergreen color of the leaves, or the indestructible character of the bamboo, has led to its use here. In addition to this, swords and sacred quivers, known as *ikayup* or *ikor-kamui*, were suspended on the hedge. There were also bows and arrows, the latter always three in number, with which the bear was to be shot, and ear-rings and necklaces, to be laid on the bear after death. The men now found another opportunity to drink, and they made their drink-offerings before the sacred hedge. [782]
This time the Otena, or chief of Oshamambe, made the beginning. Three young men, who afterwards took the bear from the cage, each added two inao. Already there were noticeable signs of the industrious application of the drinking cup, and some men, hilarious with saké, began to dance before the hedge, with their hands raised to heaven to make their happiness known to the gods, and this became more frequent as the feast continued.

The bear was taken out of the cage by the bravest young Aino, assisted by two others. Donning a fine garment owned by the chief, he climbed to the top of the cage and removed the stones and top logs, and threw a rope around the neck of the bear. With this the bear was drawn out of the cage and led around for a time, that he might once more enjoy a sense of freedom before his death. Then he was made a target for the archers and shot with arrows which, instead of the pointed heads, bore blunt wooden ends decorated with bits of red cloth (Plate CXV).

Next the bear was taken before the sacred hedge, a piece of wood placed in his mouth, and he was crushed to death in a manner shown in the Japanese illustration (Plate CXVI). The poor animal died without a groan. The women danced around, with lamentations, and struck the men to manifest their indignation at such cruelty. The skin was then cut in the middle line of the belly. The bear was laid on a mat before the hedge, the sword and quiver from the latter hung about him, and food and drink were offered. A female bear is also decorated with necklaces and ear-rings. The food consisted of a plate of millet mush, another of millet cake made in the same manner as the Japanese *mochi*, with fish-oil poured over it, a can of saké with drinking cup, chopsticks and moustache-stick, the latter provided with spiral shavings.

The men then seated themselves before mats spread before the bear (Pl. CXVII), each with his drinking set before him, and began to make libations of saké and to drink unlimited quantities. It is the custom for the chief to begin this drink-offering, but he yielded the honor to the oldest man present. This man made the offering before the bear in [782]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the same manner as above described, using the drinking apparatus which was set before the bear. The others followed, and soon a good portion of the company was lying helplessly drunk upon the mats. The older men far excelled the younger in excessive drinking.

Turning now to the women, the sorrow which they, especially the older women, manifested when the bear was crushed, soon passed off and gave place to general hilarity which, since they did not despise the saké, increased at times to ecstacy. They gave themselves up to the pleasures of the dance, in which only short breathing spells were allowed. The older women showed themselves the more vigorous and wildest dancers.

Meanwhile the feast had reached its height, and the young men who had led the bear from the cage, mounted to the roof of a house in order to throw millet cake from a basket among the people.

The bear is usually cut up on the following day, when the company again assembles to continue the drinking bout. After the animal is skinned and disemboweled, the legs and trunk are separated from the head, which remains in the skin. One of the young Ainos acted as butcher, while the others stood or sat around. The blood was caught by these in cups and greedily drunk. The liver was taken out, cut in small pieces, and eaten raw with salt. The flesh and other entrails were preserved in the house, to be divided among the participants in the feast on the following day. During this work the women danced around the sacred hedge, as they did around the cage at the beginning of the feast.

The bear's head, within the skin, was placed before the hedge and decorated in the same manner as the body was adorned before, one inao being added, and a general drink-offering was made. At the end of this the skin was drawn from the skull, leaving such as adheres to the snout and ears. In the left side of the back skull-bone of male bears, in the right side of females, an opening is made, through which the brains are removed. These are divided in the cups, mixed with saké, and drunk. The skull is then filled with shavings. The eyes were taken out and the orbital fat was bitten off and eaten by the young butcher. The eyes were wrapped in shavings and returned to their sockets. The mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves and the skull decorated with shavings. The skull was again returned to the skin, and both, with sword, quiver, inao, and the piece of wood which the bear held in his mouth when he was crushed, were laid before the hedge. After another drink-offering the skull was raised upon a pole in the hedge, (Fig. 88,) which terminated in a forked end, and the entire company of men and women, singing and crying, danced before it. The pole had also an inao on either side of its upper forked end, and bamboo leaves attached. Beneath the skull, the piece of wood from the bear's mouth was fixed crosswise, and from it the sword and quiver were suspended. The two latter are usually removed in the course of an hour. A final

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX

 A 796 [722]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

A [778] A G 171 796

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the
573 drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to
[576] this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off
[780] our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in
[573] the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—
[576] in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed
[592] in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance,
527 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and
524 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game
535 consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

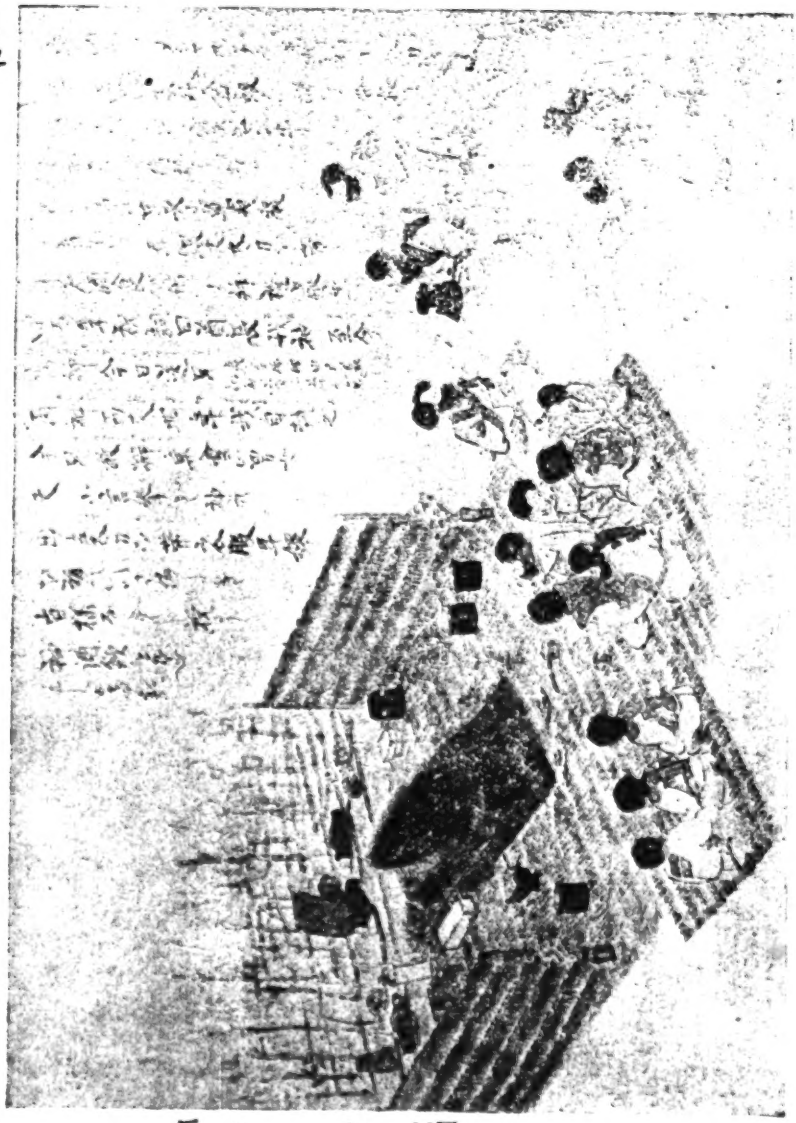
776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782



OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (c)]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbrsomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[22A] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
771 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1. [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] 778 Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the 114 inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among [782] [532] some of their tribesmen.[2]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it 778 must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. 532 114 Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*.

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace. [463] [554]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *nisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ehashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
[372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] hange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
776 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT' is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor). [769]

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuha-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maachia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*kiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and alder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
[789]

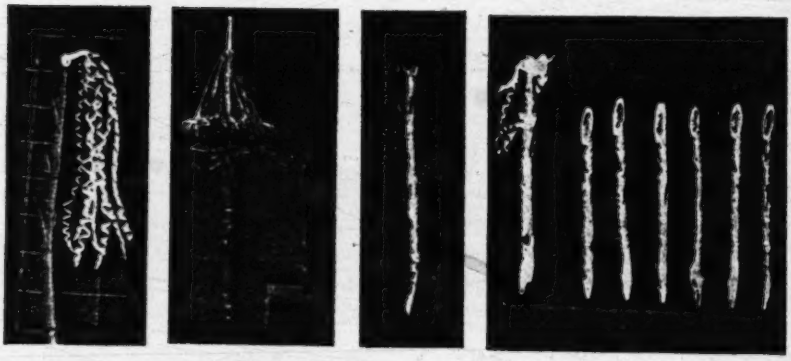


Fig. 1. *Shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *uen inau* with their leader.

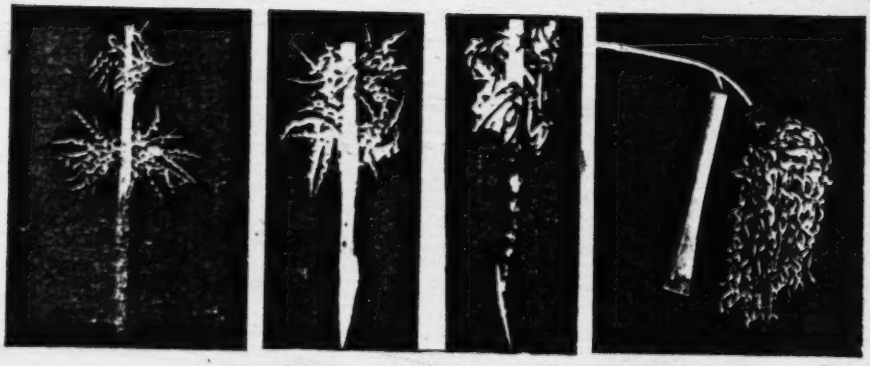


Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

[p. 30-(B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782

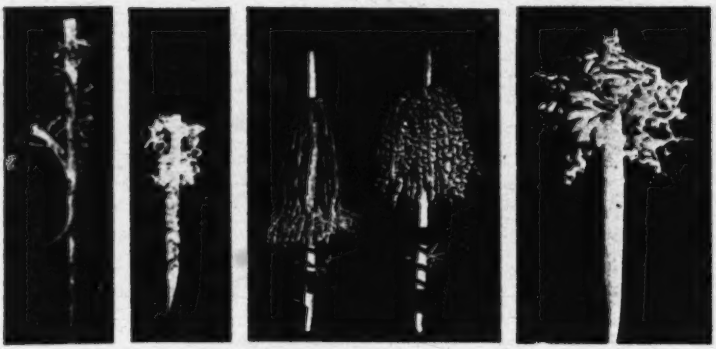


Fig. 1. *Shian shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shutu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinaye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.

[844]

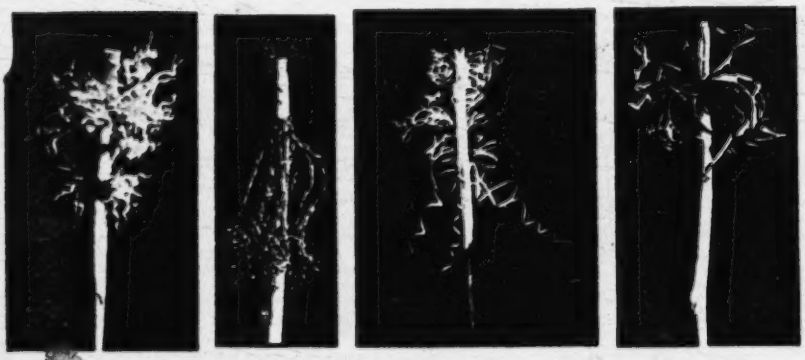


Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth. seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau.*
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau.*

PLATE III. *INAU.*

[p. 30, (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

●782
778
531
413

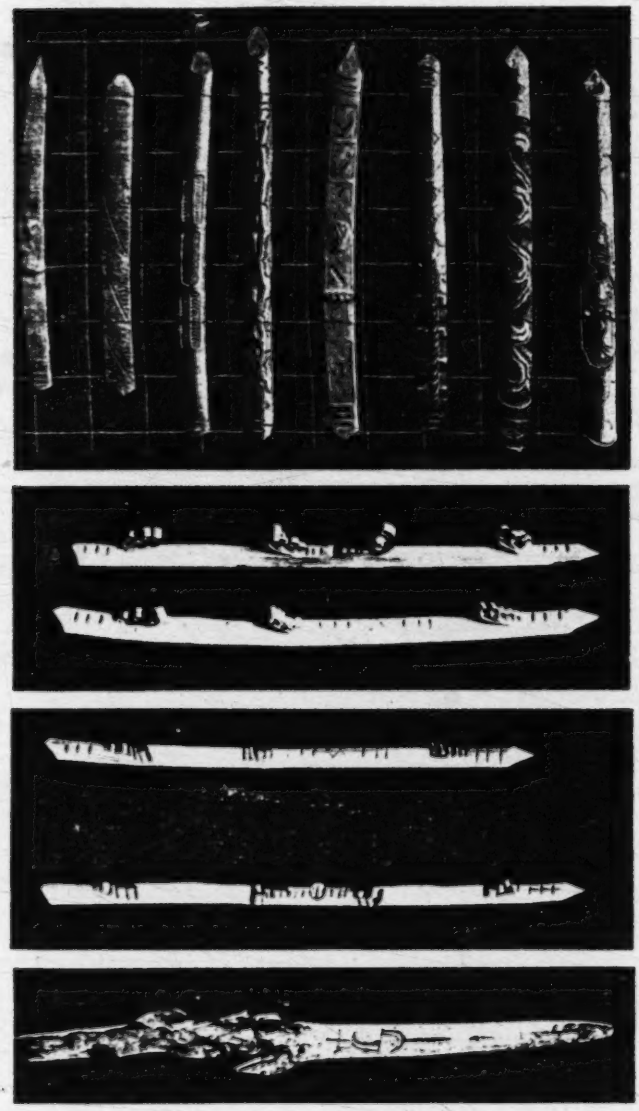


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30,(F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
796
782
[516]
[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

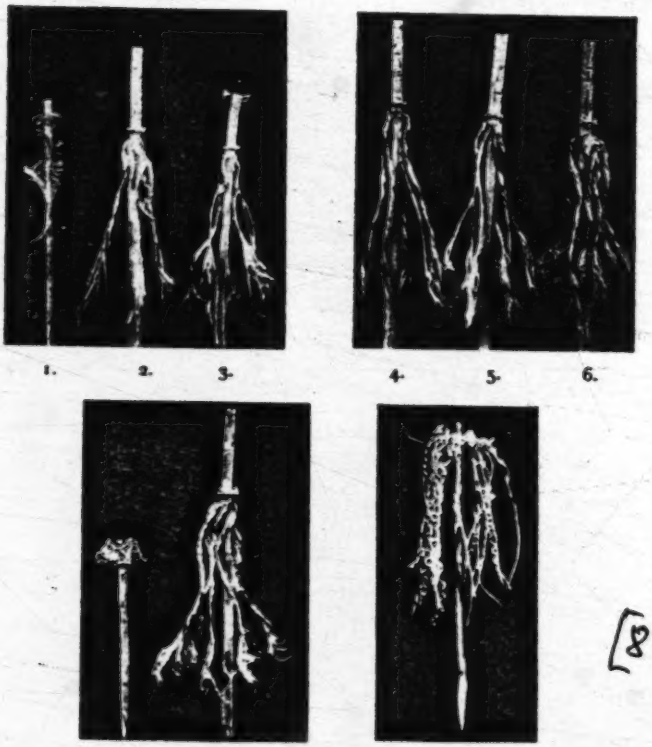
Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
776



[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782

Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

342

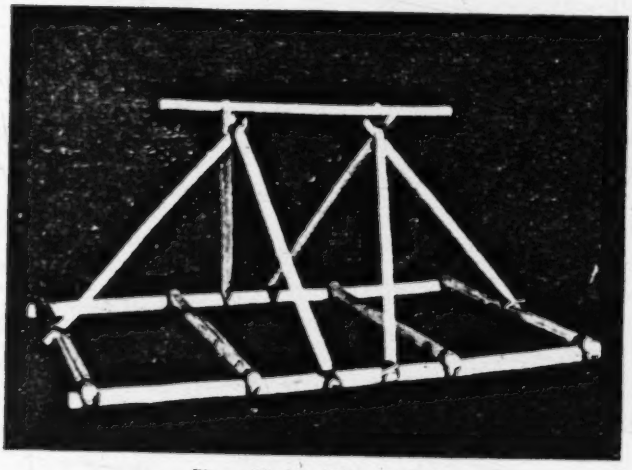


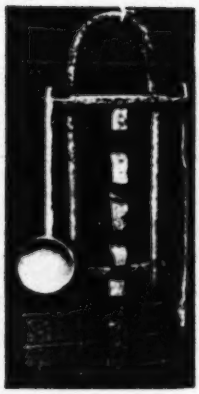
Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *INAU*, AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30, (J)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

47
352
415
301

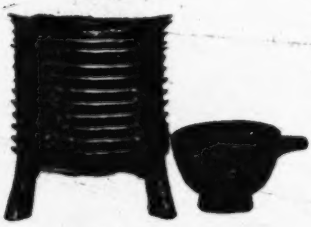


1.

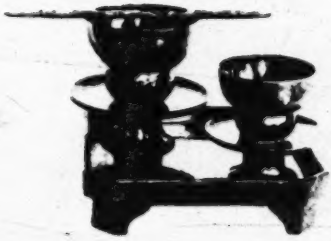
2.

3.

415
[782]
[413]



4.



5.

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

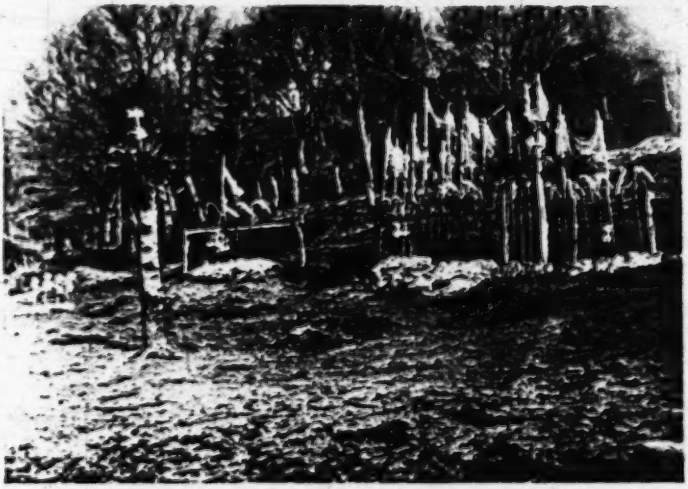
[p. 30, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
796

1.

2.



3.

Fig. 1. Chupusu *inau* fixed to the top of the post (*tusak si*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *musa* of many *inau* set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and *inau* fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. *INAU* ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names. 184 182

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river. 778 776 184 354 [562] [858]

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut 778 782 184 [114] [755] [243]

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, ***kinashut kamui inau***, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

THE INAU

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
●782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

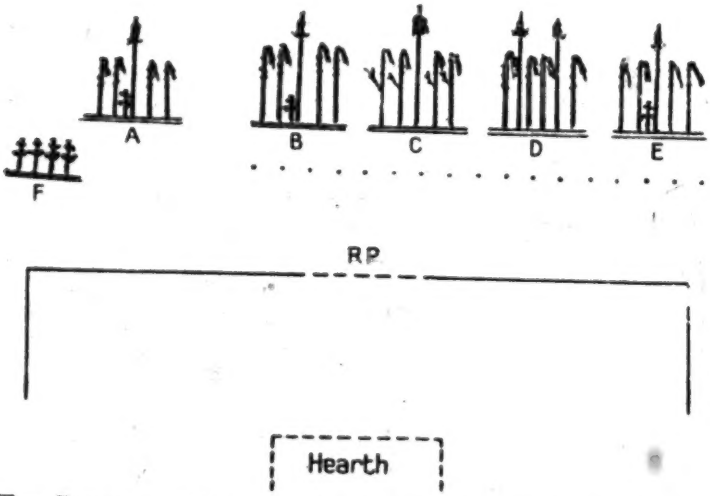
7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

778
782
[184]
[114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui.
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

THE INAU

978 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive
[771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
[796] In the diagram, four backward shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against [782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. [755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* 776 to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts 532 dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with [774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
776
778
[184]
[576]
[782]

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

778
776

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

[774]

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778
776
796
782

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
●782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

EFFIGIES

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-kero Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of this effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773 EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of
[755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*paseongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
● 782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for 342 when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil 796 spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not 778 matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic 776 odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional 342 techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of 796 the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred [273] beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This dep- [656] rivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, be- [776] cause the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never [769] omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is [273] not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. 342 It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the 796 making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That 273 elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew [192] did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful [776] character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to 342 describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a back- 273 ward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and [782] beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AU6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
527 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
273 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
[411] takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chiponup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

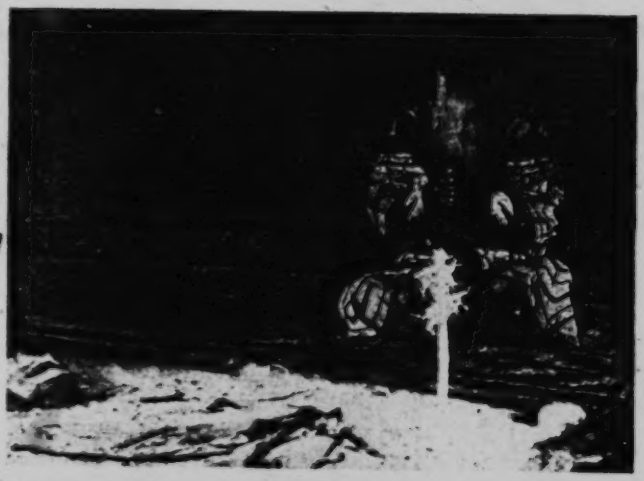
With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintuhi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
342
527
[764]
[823]
[775]
[769]
[778]
[273]
[533]
[789]
[827]

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

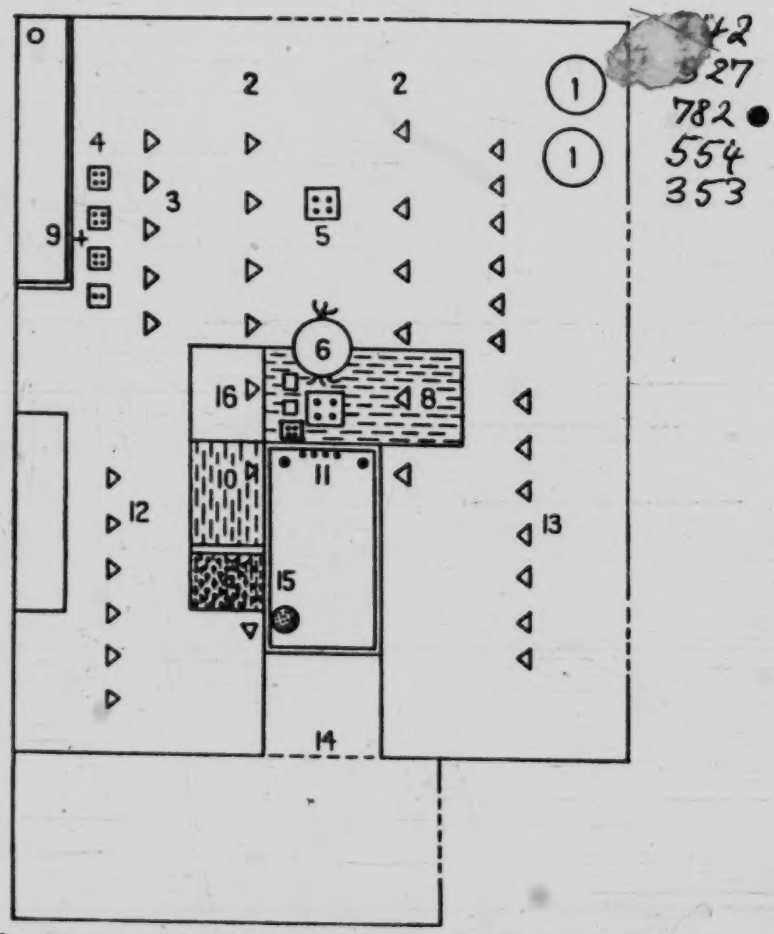
554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 527 778 782 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. [777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 782 184 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

[P. 83]



TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-ashopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-horo inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
kind of decoration.

[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamuî Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
782 the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
782
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa hamui ran wa nitek ha cren, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
[791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arukare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. [158] [776] [825] [787]

There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

EXORCISM

755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

050

EXORCISM

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

755 EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
● 782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755
844
[354]
[782]
[825]
[237]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and [782] the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, [782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an [845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the [755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be- [477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kathimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

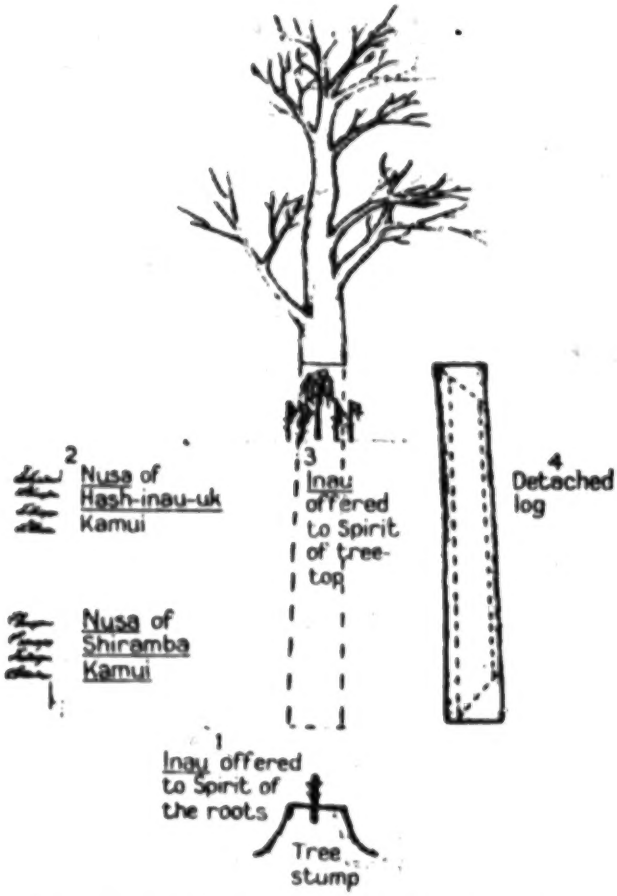
When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

VARIOUS RITES

396 789 782 778

Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*inakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*). 396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description. 534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *taphara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur. 825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it 304 789

278 and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase
[776] Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of
[782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1940) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight. 764 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals. 764 178 262 [177] [271] [273] [256] [533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle. 764 262 [174] [782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are 764 264 [177]

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M. [178] [593]

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
[264] *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
[177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news
[203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
[195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
[537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company. [782]

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful. [537] [152] [533]

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out. [775] [291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this. [292] [775]

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house 764 291 [439]

DEATH AND BURIAL

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies. 764 [602]

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping. 764 574 [533] 764 574 576

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past. [178]

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 764 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor,
[177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays
[178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
shutu inau kamui is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
776 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.
[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acrolite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782 845 776 755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782 845 539 755 776

1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782 ●
845
539
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

•712
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage 757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [287] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the 789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old 769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [875] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
806 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shuipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 796
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782 ●
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.
776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[68]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[69].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but
423 also by their cosmological system as such.

226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[70]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such. 776 619 423 [782]

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[10]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization. 776 182 771 [772]

(52) The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *komuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

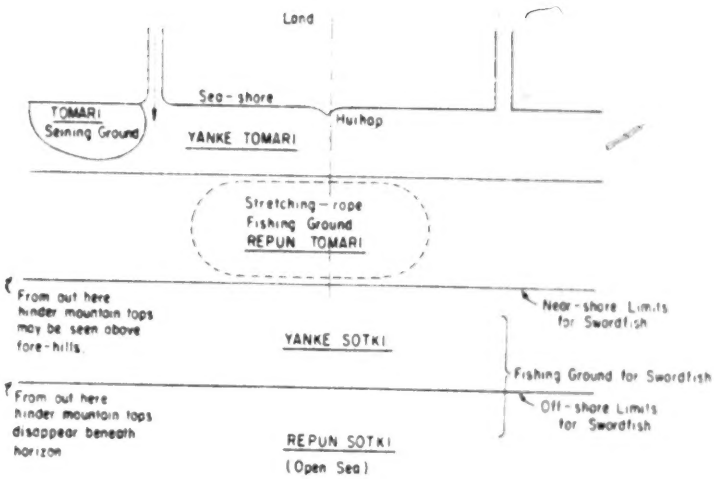
Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.— *Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

kamui of water,

To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

776
823
[782]
[539]

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i. e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34). 823 193

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i. e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i. e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of 776

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, [782] *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

796 of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to
178 function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940;
796 NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as
[574] follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96–135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

[628] The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to
[782] other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance
[562] of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1, [i.e., a person who was apprenhended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 (70) The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a liba-
tion, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

A /737 cont./

796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ы and я from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulätsch, an attribute that means the
G [778] same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
[532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuïk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783] all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism. 764 [783]

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the *shamans*, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that. 177 764

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides which she has numerous other duties to perform. She is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals. 342 776

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it or by making them jump over it, as was the custom among some races in olden times, does not seem to have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment. 783 776

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You 775

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

846 This private ceremony is called *Rere-ashirsye* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 Water is a great symbol of purification with them
783 and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near,
[766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 said that "If a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes
755 have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I
came across a case where the worship of a snake and
783 its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave
825 me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour,
● 783 for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-dear,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innomo-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [845] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
[791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

EXORCISM

755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a [778] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

5

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised. 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755 EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

755 The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
782 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
825 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[789] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*
778

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 *wenbe-otta maratto* (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making [782] the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 764 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui.*

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

796 825 782 [574] [824] [783] [533]

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are
[825] *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss) is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

[567] states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. [565] There also existed a class of "*Usshiu*" usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, [622] sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," [556] and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he [622] pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

● 784 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

●784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [787] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P. 20(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752
before I became aware that he had lost the points of
two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he
informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a
fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a
narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in
my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off
into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the
bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore
quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the
ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In
this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Never-
theless, both members festered and would not heal for
a long time. But in the end, although they got better,
I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong
feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added,
"The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of cour- 117
age and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut
his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could
no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake
kind. Whenever we were travelling together along
narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114
wished me to walk in front to scare away these ver- 784
min. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore
thick boots through which no snake could bite. At
night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of
smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he
waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *hon-e-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yainunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

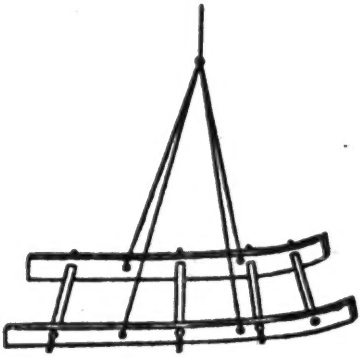
"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-e-inonno-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

846 Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *sakè* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

[352 855]



AN AINU CRADLE

846 843 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so
278 fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Kousa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

M4 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and
784 made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that 114
they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. 784
I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketch- 215
ing or taking their photographs, especially when in a 532
nude condition, their natural life was shortened in 291
some mysterious way. The term they used with re- 826
ference to it was *Ainu hetu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have 114
taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 787
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kamu Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

THE INAU

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering. 778 782 [796] [562]

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder. [769] [784] [576]

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1] [776]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Darts and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
826 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.
776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[43]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). 778 776 342 [784]

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed. [171]

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62). 342 343 [178] [538]

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56). 342 343 361 778 184

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

An account by Munro of the dancing mania:

158
786

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either
[192] *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems
627 that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals.
[696] Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57]
695 who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments
[787] similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P.20(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

Once when I was in this man's district, he came to see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

one morning and found our man had completely disappeared and no one could tell us when, where or why he went. He was gone, and there was nothing more to be said. After three days he came back to us looking remarkably tired and washed out. Though I had never known him to touch alcohol in any form, I thought he must have gone off on a spree and had a drunken bout. But he declared it was not so. He told me that he had suddenly experienced "*the call to the mountains.*" I had never heard about such "calls" before, so this explanation made me open eyes and ears. He told me that when such calls came, there was nothing for it but to obey immediately. He said that there was an irresistible force which drew and pushed him into the hills. So go he must. "What do you do there?" I asked. He said that it was very difficult to explain, but the name he told me was *Chiassuruani.* Philologically this means "being made to know the news." He said that it consisted in conversing with and seeking the aid of the superior spirits, running wild, jumping, howling and rolling. And he certainly looked as though he had been doing all this. Our conversation ended in my giving the old fellow permission to go whenever that irresistible impulse came upon him, for I was sure he would go just the same with or without leave. He left me in a happy frame of mind and did his work well after it. He used to go at intervals till almost the last, though his visits grew gradually further and further apart. He died some five years ago. This spirit has not by any means yet disappeared, for even the most educated of the men are seized by it in degree at times. One of them, the very best educated man I know among them, has to be let off twice a year for a week on end, but he tells me that he goes quite away by himself and does nothing but fish with a hook and line, and pray all the time.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to ex-
776 plain briefly. During his trance the man thought he heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 787
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 not know himself what he is saying, and afterwards he does not remember (so he says) that he has spoken.

I saw the same man again one evening, standing by the head of another very sick woman who was lying on a stool by the fireside. Several women were sitting round the patient, holding her tightly with their hands, as though trying to keep life within her, and the shaman swaying to and fro, with an earnest look on his face and his eyes flashing light. He was trying to send the demon of sickness away. Some of the women about the sick one filled their mouths with water and blew it over her face and body. They also every now and then gave vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and weeping. Some held lights and others turned out the pots, pans and tubs and swept the house clean from end to end. In so far as I could see, this was the only good part of the performance.

757 I stated above that the shaman I saw at his work carried a fox skull in his bosom, well decorated with fetish shavings. Such skulls are for the purpose of divination. When in one of the interior villages I came across a man who was very angry because he had lost a *yen* (about two shillings). He had strong suspicions that a married daughter who lived next door had stolen it. Being a shaman in a small way, he called his daughter before him, so as to divine whether she was guilty or not, as she would not, of her own will, confess to the deed. Every married Ainu in the olden days kept a fox's skull on hand for divination, and was not at all backward in using it. This is how it happened that the father so quickly began to divine. The following is the way the ceremony was conducted:

The accused woman was brought into her father's hut and made to sit in front of him. He then reverently and with great ceremony produced his fox's skull, prayed before it and the fire, told of the loss, and asked for a true answer to be vouchsafed him. He next

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox. 787

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty-House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty-House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon." 539 754 776

The translation now to follow is as literal as may be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point 114

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164
753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
755 ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption). Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

826
●787 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
755 volunteered the following lore. "When one has palpitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 754 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not ? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

barking "*pen, pen*," like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787
and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754
are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825
this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539
this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825
upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

[825 787]

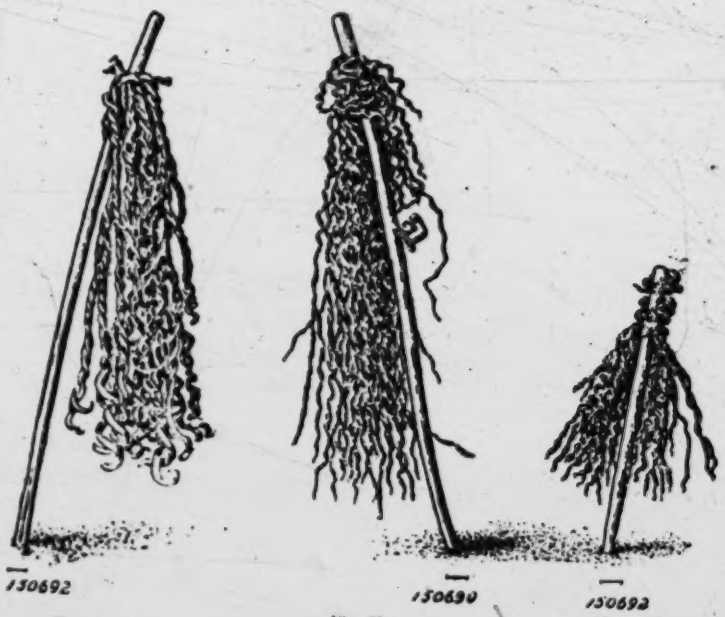


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

[685]

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB8

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] hange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor-worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

T76
825

spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other [796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am [182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil [787] omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] [413] [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1983
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
● 787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

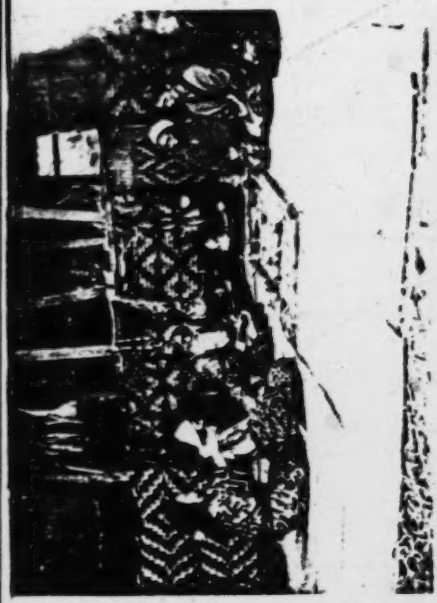


Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *inau* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 - 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. [158] [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

753

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) 755
It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I 825
learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place 158
after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the [778]
elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the
patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. [787]
The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and [791]
if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account 755
not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of 776
the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is 825
thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to [777]
have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. [753]
This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then [778]
a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are [783]
made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755 EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

● 787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
● 787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[966] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

Feudal Japan AB2

F
r[19
191
*648
*175
[177]

ploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.[37] There are, however, no records of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to prosylyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288–1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824–833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku[38] went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokuwa*:

A
F
[188]
A
[177]

> There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

F
*648
191
*175
192

It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkoji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather then disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.[39] He is also

---

[37] *Dai Nihon Shi* 242, Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutsu.

[38] Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku Natazukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

[39] I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
797
*175
792

reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.[40] There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

---

[40] *Sapporo Kushi* states that Nembutsu Shonin translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshū into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshū is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyō Kikyō*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

A
[533]
[539]
[788]

Nembutsu Shonin *Kobiki Uta*
Namuamidabutsu
Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzuii shonin
Nembutsu shohan
Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say
(*Tapan Utare* *Epakashimuko Taka*)
Sooner or later all men must die once
(*Tonashikamoreika* *Arishimu Yuiraina*)
If you are afraid to die say your prayers
(*Raikohan chiki* *Nenfuchimukiiyare*)
For who says his prayers will someday
(*Kiikaru Neyakina* *Senbarayatsuka*)
although his body may cease to live
(*Kauseneto Hake* *Raiwu Ne Yatsuka*)
Like a cicada discarding his cast
(*Yaaki Shi Seihere Oxiyoro Mukokachi*)
He will go to the land of the moon and the sun
(*Chiyufu Afure Ha*)
and the land without death
(*Shomorai Kodanta*)
to be reborn there and live as he pleases
(*Omanzekutoha* *Yaeramu Aimine*)
If your wife and children are dear to you
(*Emachiko Otare* *Enu Kashikewu Neteki*)
Have them say the prayers together with you
(*Utoranen Fuchi* *Kiichiki Hiraka*)
For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world
(*Tahan Mushirikata* *Shomoyaihomoshu*)
and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven
(*Mushiri Etuhako* *Achiran Setokote*)
where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common
(*Samo Mo Ainu Mo* *Utare Mo Tono Mo*)
will live together on the same leaf of the lotus
(*Shinefu Ike* *Kashiketa Anna*)
to enjoy life without end
(*Chihore Funu Hetzune* *Shomaorai Ruhone*)
Henceforth let all say the prayers of *Namuamidabutsu* (*Namuashitaki*) and *Amida butsu* (*Kamoi Ratsuta*) for they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say *Amidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko. Higashi Ezo Nikki* 21.

[P.74 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [788] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [774] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
342 "with the top brick of the chimney, but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
[462 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
221] fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
● 788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Inumbe-sa-ushbe, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

T78 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[188] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my in-

THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342 The household has thus become a unit and complete
T78 in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[188] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopake. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[796] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXX

ON RAIN-MAKING AND THE HEAVENLY BODIES

One evening during a very dry, hot season, we heard a great and merry laughing and chattering going on in a garden we had near our home in Sapporo. Our servants were old-fashioned Ainu. We also had seven or eight others (sick ones) staying with us in a house we had built for such in our compound. 789

On going out to see what it was all about, for such a chattering and merry noise we had not heard for many a long day, we found that our woman servant had tied many pieces of variously coloured cloth about her dog and hung garlands of flowers and green sprays round its neck. She was leading the animal, thus decorated, about the garden, all the other folk following or standing about roaring with laughter. It was all so very comical that we ourselves could not but join in. Moreover, the dog was dragging after it a tin containing water which had been attached to it. I asked what it all meant and was told that they were trying to make it rain, as the garden crops were withering away for want of water. This was a peculiar instance embodying some idea of causation—one which I had not met with before in this form. Upon asking what the ceremony was called, I was told that it was a form of *shiriwen kokki*, i.e., bringing in wet weather. I was astonished and very much pleased to have seen it. As fortune would have it, there was a heavy downfall that very night, and in the eyes of all our Ainu friends who were present, this fact was a clear proof that their method was good and effectual, and much better than mere prayers for the precious rain, without personal

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *apto-ashte guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. 789 [829]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778]

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow." [782]

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB2

A
789

I am quite sure the people believed in these things as a rule, and often attempted to influence the gods of nature in the weather by such means.

To take a further example which happened to myself: on a very cold day (namely November 24, 1900), I went into a hut and saw some convolvulus roots split and placed near the fire upon the hearth. Upon asking the reason of this, I found that it was to bring warm and fine weather, because the master of the hut and I had been out that day on a somewhat long comfortless ride. I was told that the heating of the roots would keep our feet warm. It was very kind of the mistress and we both said "thank you" for it, had our supper, and retired to rest, tired yet happy.

J
789

So much for the Ainu ways of rain-making. Apropos of this, however, I have met with two Japanese methods indulged in by the Japanese who were dwelling among the Ainu 40 years ago. It took place at Usu in Volcano Bay. There was a rain famine in these quarters one year, and it was so hot that the gardens were in a very bad condition. If rain did not fall very soon all crops must fail. In order to influence the gods and make them send the precious rain very soon indeed, the people congregated about the village and sang this song: *"Amefuri tamayo; ōkina kumo wo sasaete, cha-cha fute koe."* Roughly translated, this means: "O drops of rain; come in a great cloud and drip-drip." This was repeated time and again throughout the day amid much merriment and dancing.

The other remarkable incident—an incident which caused me to wonder still more was this. The Japanese people of the village congregated at the temple and brought out the image of Jizō Sama. They put it in the baking sun, danced before it and shouted and sang. After a time they poured water over it and sprinkled some about the land as well. This, I was told, was to bring rain. All these things remind one of shaking

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771
people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* 754
one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic. [789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself. 789

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very large number of deities have their homes here. When the time came for me to marry, I looked about my dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed. 773 776 789

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 [251] which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot-hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 773 776

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hungry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.* 789 [415]

A HEARTH-RAKE

AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 "So when the time came, I once more descended
776 from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house.
●789 But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's house and stood before the door, but, being still full of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited. 773 776 789

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry, I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

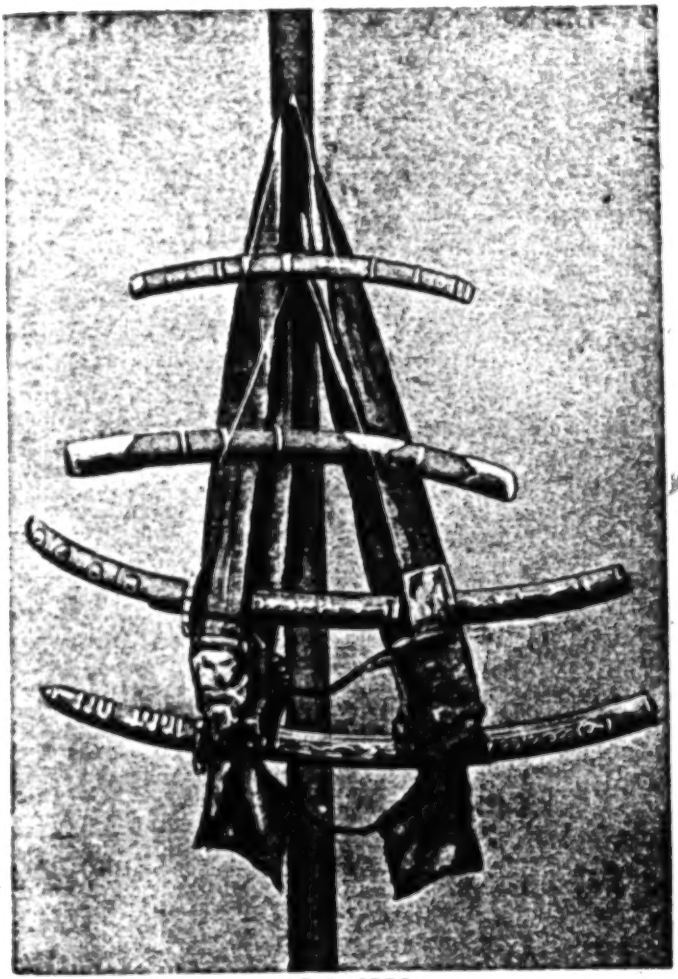
*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

myself and my garments and then entered my house. Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

411
789



OLD SWORDS

[P. 336 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the mistress placed herself by my side. I listened carefully all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen. 539 825 789

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

S3
825
789

then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of men waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a madman's chatter, who imitates what others may be saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view. 539 825 789

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me 539 825 776 782 778

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come. 539 825

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening. [754]

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous [754 789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
789 the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like serving-men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
●789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123 609 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 609 531 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once [789] you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life [753] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

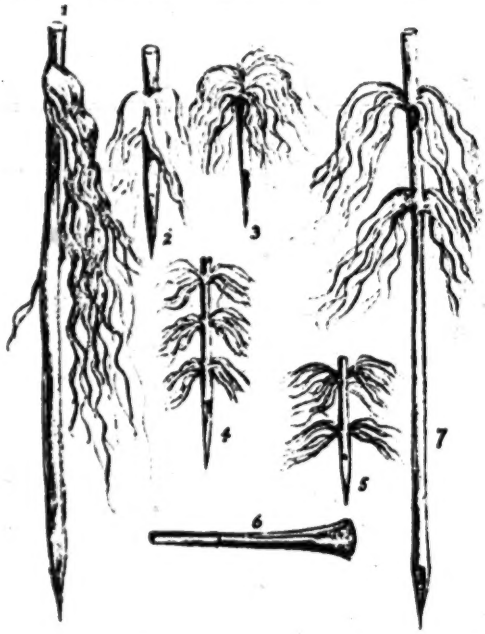
These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take 855 care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789



1, 7, INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISKI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

● 789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
779 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi,* denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues,* which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [774] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way. calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i,* which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 174 [193]

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in- 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in 462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor- 769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 789 [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *omitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [774] [787]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [778] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

776 THE KAMUI

778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *ahoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
[774] accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-*
● 789 *kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
[789]

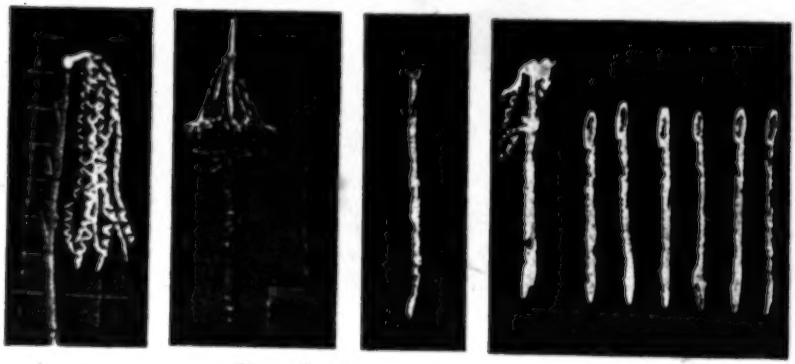


Fig. 1. *Shuto inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *nun inau* with their leader.

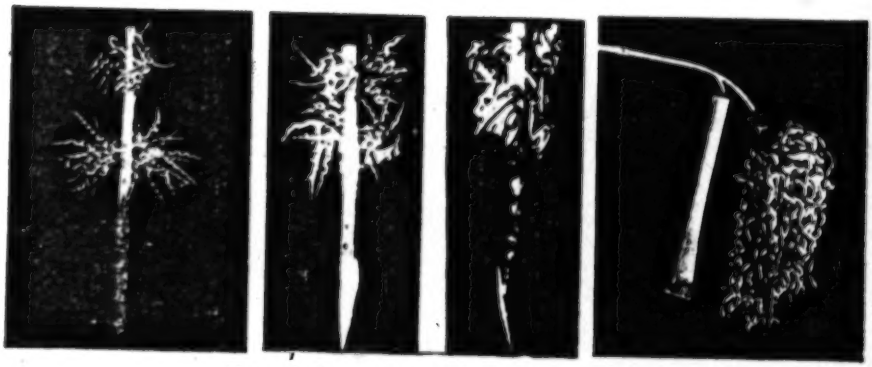


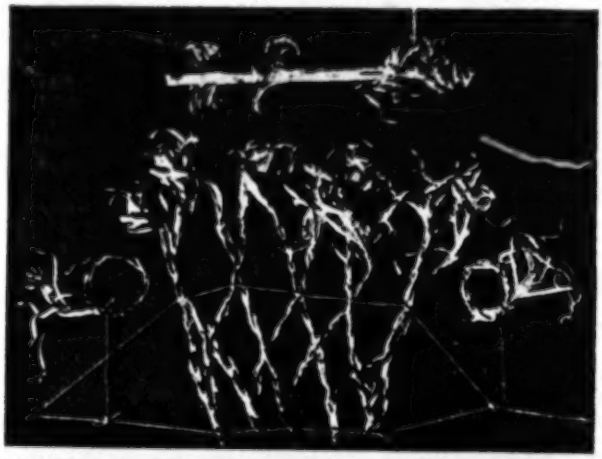
Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chihara-kakop*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

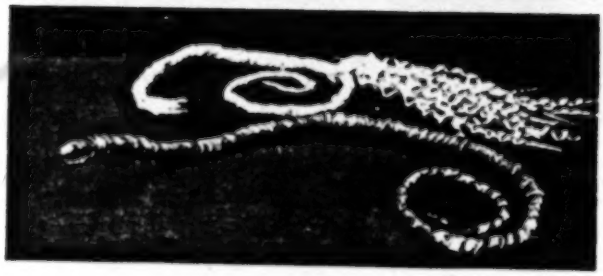
[p. 30-(B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



778
789
825

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ek-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*mata*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
●789

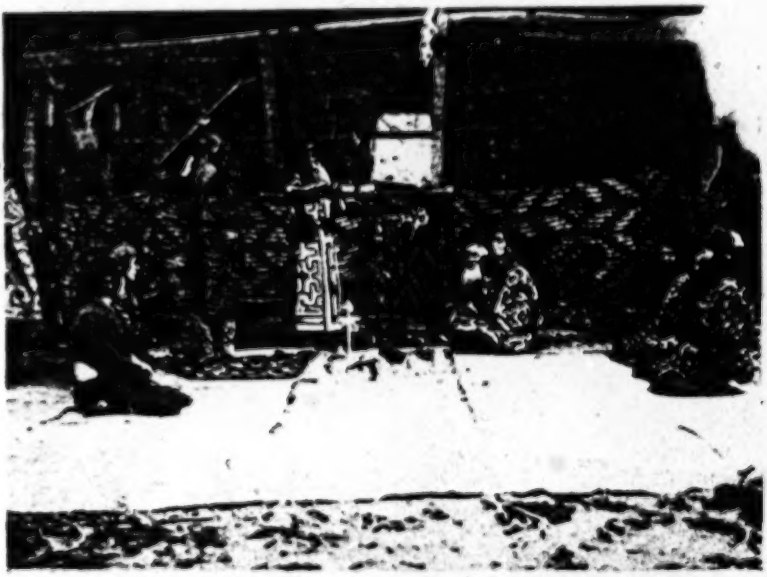


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-ushapki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*. Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
[782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
● 789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

THE INAU

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 778 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* und *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English–Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

776 EFFIGIES

778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight,
[757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not
● [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were hurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789] [776] [231] [782] [778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sun-shine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

415
523
[796]
[782]
[322]

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

301
177
789
422
[554]
[304]

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

411
177
353

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

523
422

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

353
523
422
177
342

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

[428]

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. 342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. 273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh 778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short 796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are [782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

?:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, [782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

?:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
527 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
273 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
[411] takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

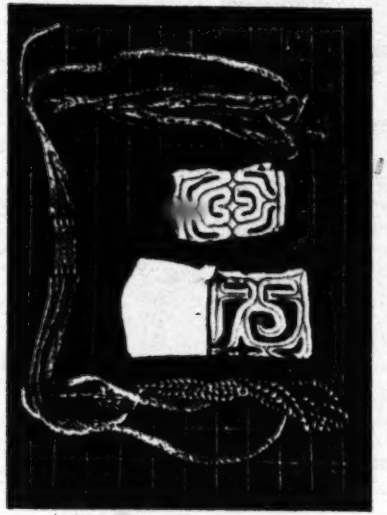
[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
[789] of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

1.

2.



3.

4.

[p. 78, (H)]

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
789

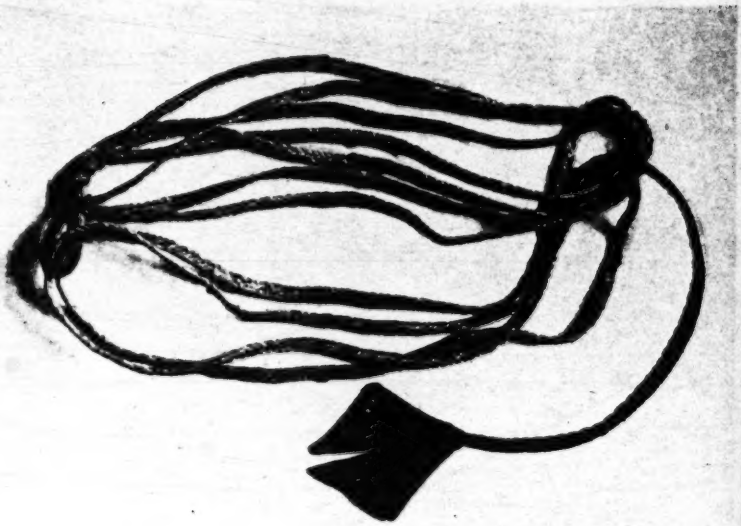


Fig. 1. *Upshore Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

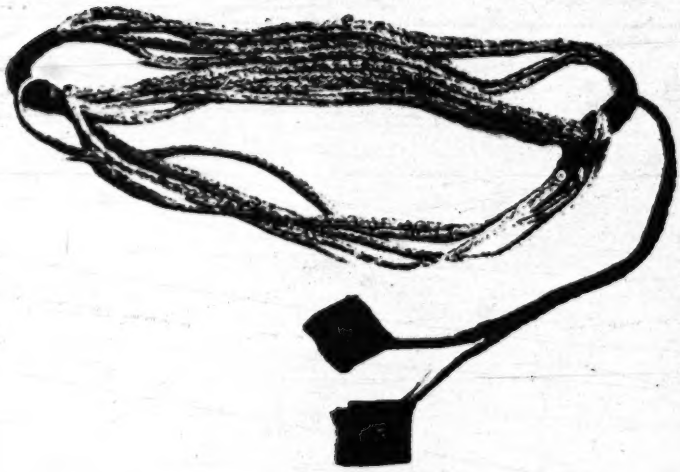


Fig. 2. *Upshore Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L).]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[576] [562] [292] [789]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
527
782
[292]
[789]
[582]

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

342
527
782
177

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342
527
782
273
[769]
[796]
[115]

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

342
527
782
554
[516]

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

[177]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1] 574 769 776

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once 574 769 776 782 [178]

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M. [787] [562]

 [789]

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] [825] [774]

BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211]

The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224

If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
● 789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

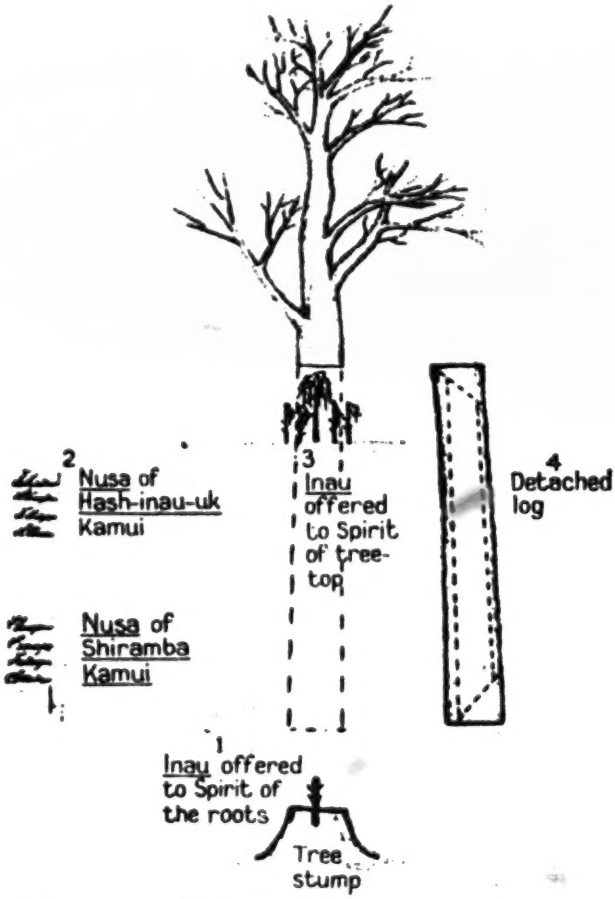
While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

VARIOUS RITES

396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
●789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*inakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396
782
[778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534
789
[821]
[224]
[531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825
789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304
789

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattooing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[836] [881]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[773]

In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

[824] [386]

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[622] [554]

It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[412]

[1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

[174]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
[184] the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-
[789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764
778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

Variants in Funeral Customs

789
775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro:
[804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult. 292 789 776 [126] [782]

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation. 611 614

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder. 684 [692] [582]

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy: 611 292 789

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her. 587 [591] [589]
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] 595 [611] [292] [789]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her. [439]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy. [587]

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re- [611]

[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the 789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old 769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [975] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
204 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we
[755] had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

791
304

PLATE XXIX. TATTOOING ON HANDS AND ARMS OF A FEMALE MEDIUM (*TUSU'*).

[p. 78, (M)]

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
• [791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

755

EXORCISM

[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

[783] [782]

755 801 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115]

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

[791] [126]

755 753 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114]

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may [611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con- [182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

APPENDIX I

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale is as follows.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

A F *648 *175 622 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

A F *648 *175 622 489 [431] In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

A [293]

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki*: "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

A F [1796]

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi*.

A [362]

A F *648 *175 439 [692] [624]

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

A F [574] [696] A [203] A F *648 *175 [166]

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

F [624] [692]

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

A F *648 170 *175

On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

A [489]

A [165] [114]

meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [196] [224]

[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301]

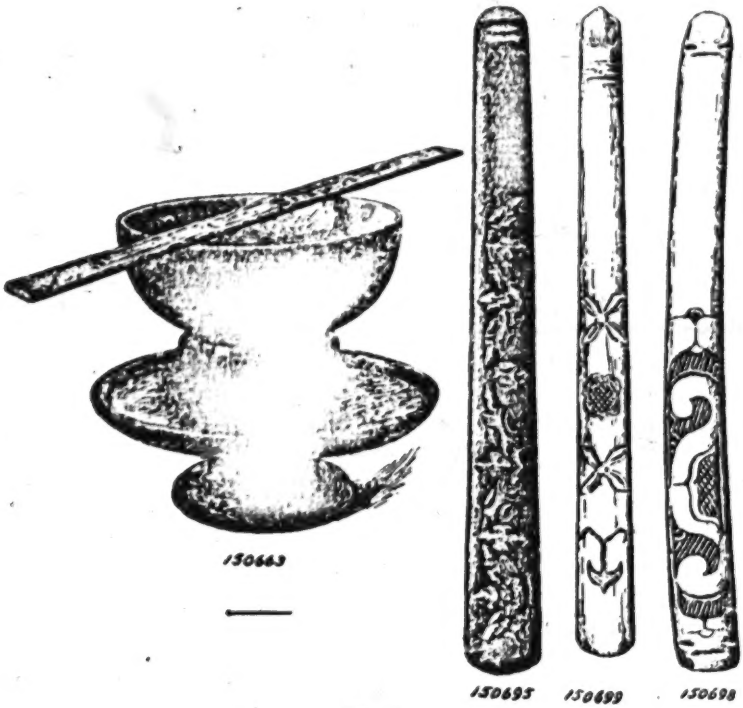
[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [489] [52]

[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos 273
at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. 574
I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. [576]
When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its 273
stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief 796



[413
415
531]

Fig. 77.
SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[276
531]

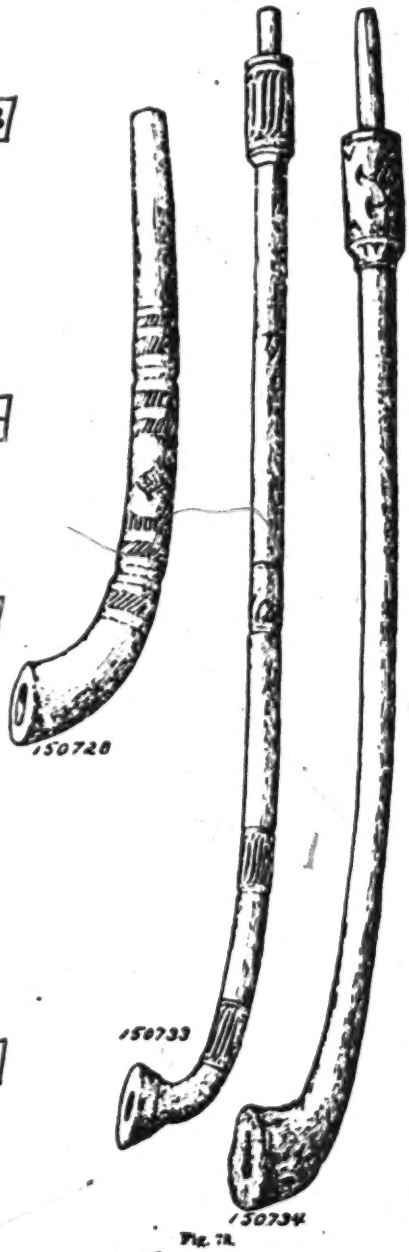


Fig. 78.
AINO TOBACCO PIPES.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

273
796
782

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 776 782

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

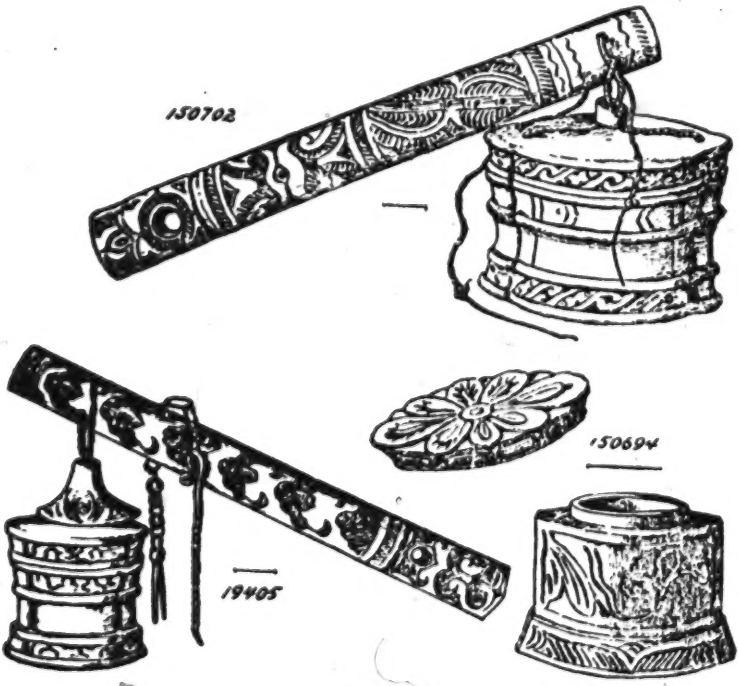


Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea [825 as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle, 787]

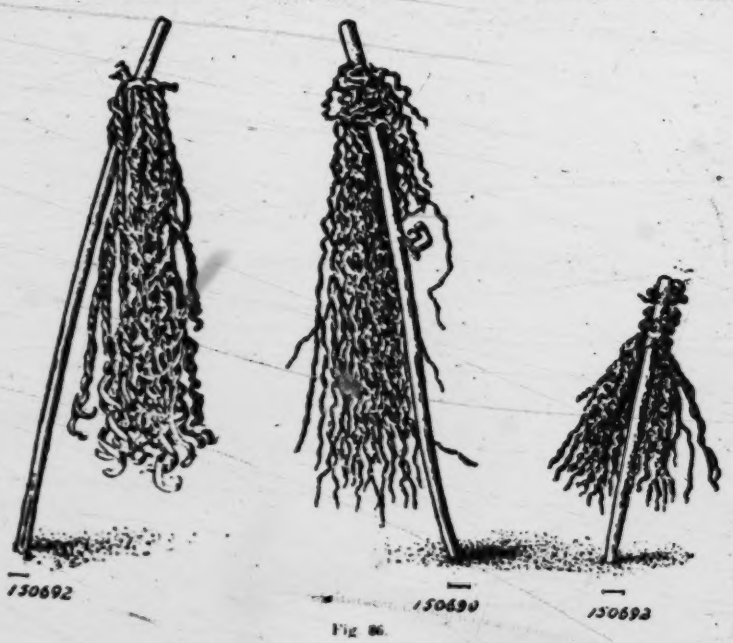


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, [685 but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 786
present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343
nusha kamui should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778
Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114
substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825
bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on

Fig. 87.
CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 778 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *mizu no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei*† of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the 796 four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which [782] the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainos, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large [413] draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

[782] After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

[782] † The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the noise around him, and began to jump about in the cage and set up 786
a mournful howl.

At the same time our attention was directed to another scene before the sacred hedge. The hedge was decorated with five new inao, to which leaves of bamboo were attached. The bamboo leaves signify that the dead bear may again come to life. Perhaps the evergreen color of the leaves, or the indestructible character of the bamboo, has led to its use here. In addition to this, swords and sacred quivers, known as *ikayup* or *ikor-kamui*, were suspended on the hedge. There were also bows and arrows, the latter always three in number, with which the bear was to be shot, and ear-rings and necklaces, to be laid on the bear after death. The men now found another opportunity to drink, and they made their drink-offerings before the sacred hedge. [782]
This time the Otena, or chief of Oshamambe, made the beginning. Three young men, who afterwards took the bear from the cage, each added two inao. Already there were noticeable signs of the industrious application of the drinking cup, and some men, hilarious with saké, began to dance before the hedge, with their hands raised to heaven to make their happiness known to the gods, and this became more frequent as the feast continued.

The bear was taken out of the cage by the bravest young Aino, assisted by two others. Donning a fine garment owned by the chief, he climbed to the top of the cage and removed the stones and top logs, and threw a rope around the neck of the bear. With this the bear was drawn out of the cage and led around for a time, that he might once more enjoy a sense of freedom before his death. Then he was made a target for the archers and shot with arrows which, instead of the pointed heads, bore blunt wooden ends decorated with bits of red cloth (Plate CXV).

Next the bear was taken before the sacred hedge, a piece of wood placed in his mouth, and he was crushed to death in a manner shown in the Japanese illustration (Plate CXVI). The poor animal died without a groan. The women danced around, with lamentations, and struck the men to manifest their indignation at such cruelty. The skin was then cut in the middle line of the belly. The bear was laid on a mat before the hedge, the sword and quiver from the latter hung about him, and food and drink were offered. A female bear is also decorated with necklaces and ear-rings. The food consisted of a plate of millet mush, another of millet cake made in the same manner as the Japanese *mochi*, with fish-oil poured over it, a can of saké with drinking cup, chopsticks and moustache-stick, the latter provided with spiral shavings.

The men then seated themselves before mats spread before the bear (Pl. CXVII), each with his drinking set before him, and began to make libations of saké and to drink unlimited quantities. It is the custom for the chief to begin this drink-offering, but he yielded the honor to the oldest man present. This man made the offering before the bear in [782]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

●796

SHOOTING THE BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

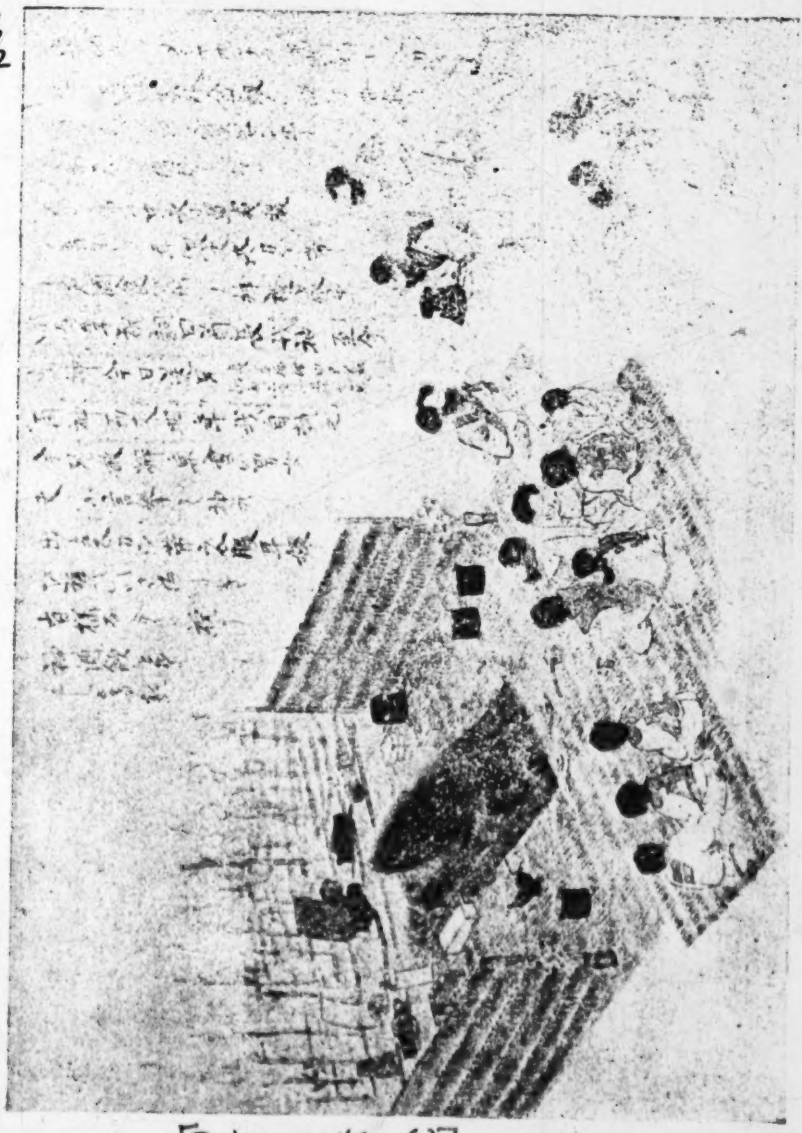
796

CRUSHING THE BEAR.

[Facing P. 480 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

●796
782

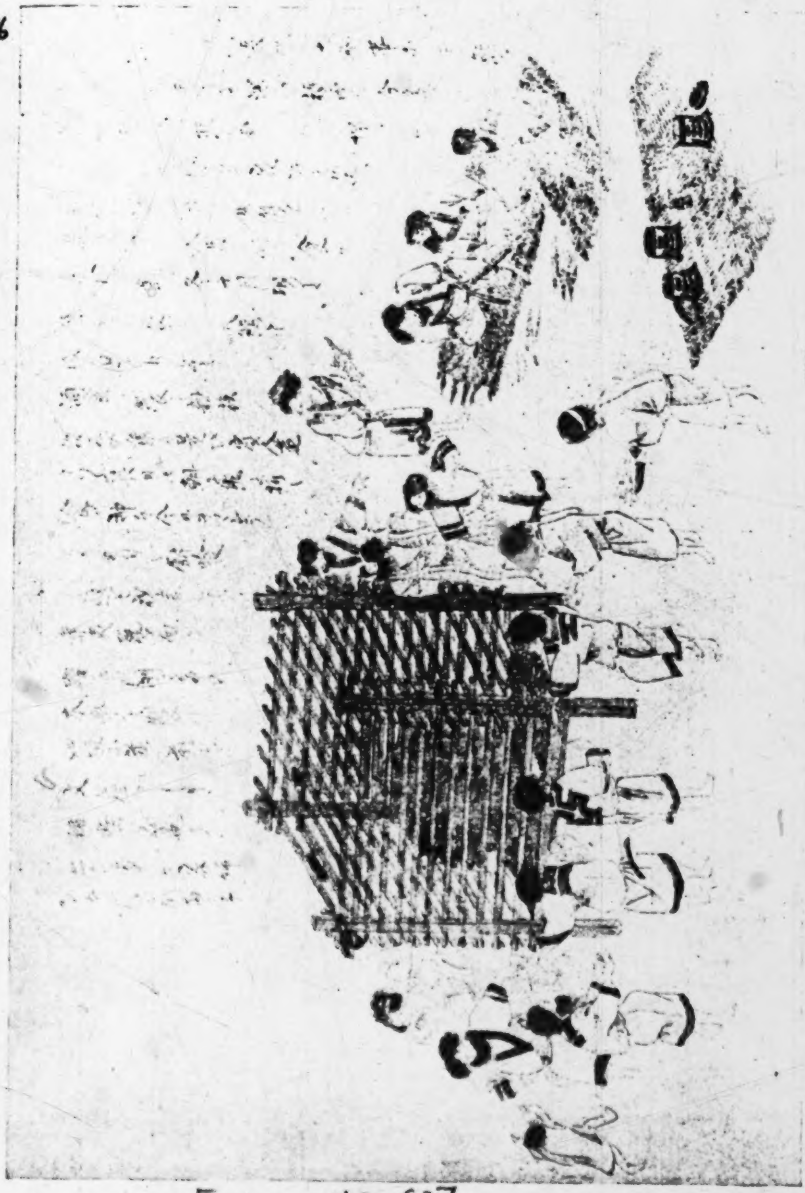


OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

796



DANCE AROUND THE BEAR CAGE.

[Facing p. 480 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

the same manner as above described, using the drinking apparatus which was set before the bear. The others followed, and soon a good portion of the company was lying helplessly drunk upon the mats. The older men far excelled the younger in excessive drinking.

Turning now to the women, the sorrow which they, especially the older women, manifested when the bear was crushed, soon passed off and gave place to general hilarity which, since they did not despise the saké, increased at times to ecstacy. They gave themselves up to the pleasures of the dance, in which only short breathing spells were allowed. The older women showed themselves the more vigorous and wildest dancers.

Meanwhile the feast had reached its height, and the young men who had led the bear from the cage, mounted to the roof of a house in order to throw millet cake from a basket among the people.

The bear is usually cut up on the following day, when the company again assembles to continue the drinking bout. After the animal is skinned and disemboweled, the legs and trunk are separated from the head, which remains in the skin. One of the young Ainos acted as butcher, while the others stood or sat around. The blood was caught by these in cups and greedily drunk. The liver was taken out, cut in small pieces, and eaten raw with salt. The flesh and other entrails were preserved in the house, to be divided among the participants in the feast on the following day. During this work the women danced around the sacred hedge, as they did around the cage at the beginning of the feast.

The bear's head, within the skin, was placed before the hedge and decorated in the same manner as the body was adorned before, one inao being added, and a general drink-offering was made. At the end of this the skin was drawn from the skull, leaving such as adheres to the snout and ears. In the left side of the back skull-bone of male bears, in the right side of females, an opening is made, through which the brains are removed. These are divided in the cups, mixed with saké, and drunk. The skull is then filled with shavings. The eyes were taken out and the orbital fat was bitten off and eaten by the young butcher. The eyes were wrapped in shavings and returned to their sockets. The mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves and the skull decorated with shavings. The skull was again returned to the skin, and both, with sword, quiver, inao, and the piece of wood which the bear held in his mouth when he was crushed, were laid before the hedge. After another drink-offering the skull was raised upon a pole in the hedge, (Fig. 88,) which terminated in a forked end, and the entire company of men and women, singing and crying, danced before it. The pole had also an inao on either side of its upper forked end, and bamboo leaves attached. Beneath the skull, the piece of wood from the bear's mouth was fixed crosswise, and from it the sword and quiver were suspended. The two latter are usually removed in the course of an hour. A final

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

A 796 [782]

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

A [778]
A G 171 796

Fig. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

A 796 535

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

> The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.
>
> The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

1798
1796
1155

1 2 3 4 5 6

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing P. 428]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 611 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem. 614

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group. 614 776 778 [796]

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent. 614 [611] [606] [608]

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor- [608]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa ako kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

T76
825

spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

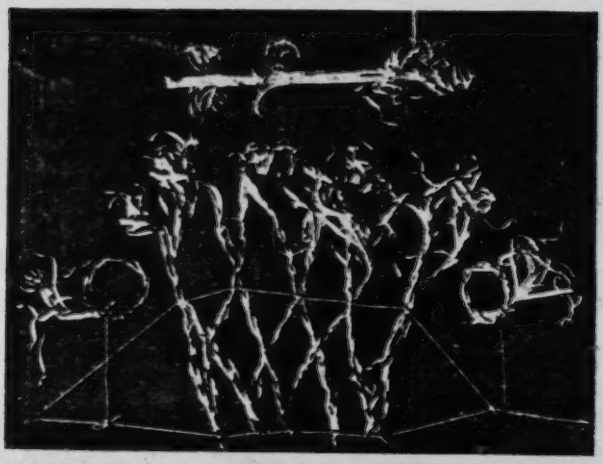
Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided
[796] them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other
[182] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave
[787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

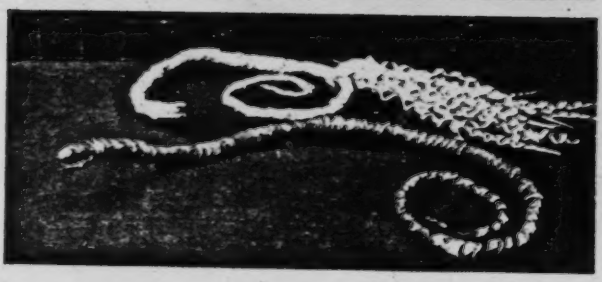
Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



778
789
825

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (1)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

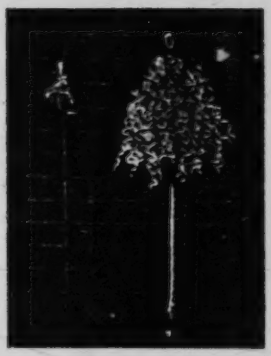
776
778
532

1.

2.

3.

[825]
[796]

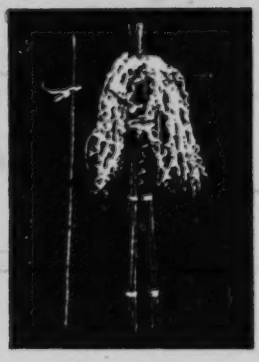


4.

5.

[844]

6.



7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
796
782
[516]
[291]
[302]
[142]
[532]

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh-Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
796

1.

2.

3.

Fig. 1. Chupusu *inau* fixed to the top of the post (*tusak ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *nusa* of many *inau* set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and *inau* fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. *INAU* ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

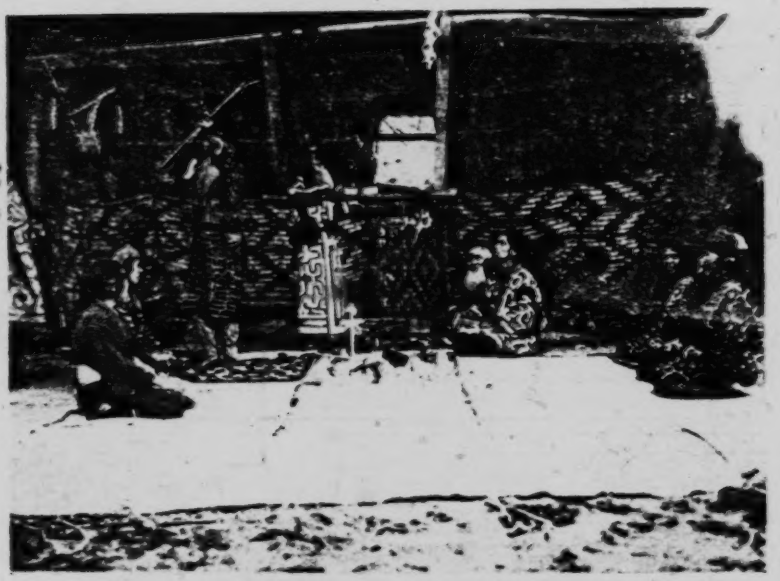


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks, as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

[201]

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

978 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those re-
782 quired to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive
[771] occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
● [796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering. 778 782 [796] [562]

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder. [769] [784] [576]

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1] [776]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one. 778 776 532 [824] [787]

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by 778 782 322 532 776 [774] 778 776 532 773

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W. [796] [412]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.
773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1965
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
776
778
[184]
[576]
[782]

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

778
776
[774]

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

778
776
796
782

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
● 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
776 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
[824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikatuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of this effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

776
773

EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [795] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways. N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk. 342 [789 776 231 782 778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C). 342 353 354

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sun-shine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother. [587]

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not [796]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu Alb

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 796 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*). 542 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782]

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them. 342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes. 342 372 796 ●

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had 342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

342

1.

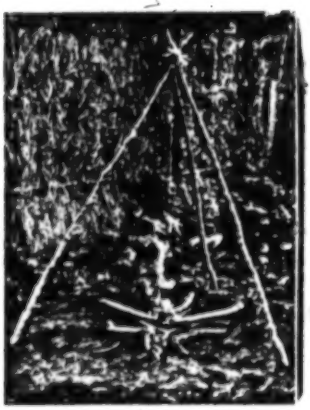
343

342

796

354

2.



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

● 796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-à-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

 769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any [415]
kind of decoration.

[1] The word *isapt* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they [192]
have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M.

kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

 778

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks 796 ●
a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees
moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, 769
using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what 782
he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings [776]
on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech,
ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for
any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he
takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking
sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained
the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious
spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands
the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right [576]
hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the
four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup,
salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next
woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the
cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He
gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh
cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then
makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her com-
mand, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from
the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual
salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which
follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the
ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his
place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another
sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup [273]
is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on
occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest
into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink
later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits,
placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles
dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a
matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near
relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in
turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.
[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
782 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

535 273 574 769 [533]

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 769 574 273 887

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[782]

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa hamui ran wa nitek ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

796 ●

formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today. 769 574

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769 535 574 796 [825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574 769 [778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574 538 769

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

796 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
● 796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
● 796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*). 825 782 [231] [622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti. 252 796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling. 796 782 [342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out- 796 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have 825 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It 782 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap- [574] tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than [824] ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu [983] believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil [533] influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

APPENDIX II

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

G /734 cont./
*796 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the
184 Tymv Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a
175 glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/.
796 Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed
A 796 accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube
114 with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

A [113]

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113]

2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

A [113]

3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

/735 cont./

•796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussujà, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[176] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, [181] which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
796 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
23 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,
152

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[183] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 171 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 798 171 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imitations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

A /737 cont./

796 horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube
782 did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage,
[535] whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author."/

000 /739/

I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. -- Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

G 776 124 1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýżigy (**) and designate

G [361] * From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

G [104] ** Wherever the author used ѵ and ꙗ from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

him as the good one, kíngulätsch, an attribute that means the
G [798] same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to
[532] whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuĭk (***). But they

G [361] *** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
611 the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14]. 614 621 591 608

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ~~inherited~~ 1 from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there. 614 611 621 608

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be ~~obserbed~~ 2 by him. [622]

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes. 621 609

1, [Errata: the word "inherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)		
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanumi*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[196] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[63].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 796
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.
782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.
776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[63]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[66]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[67].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the ***kamui***-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local ***kamui***-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[685] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

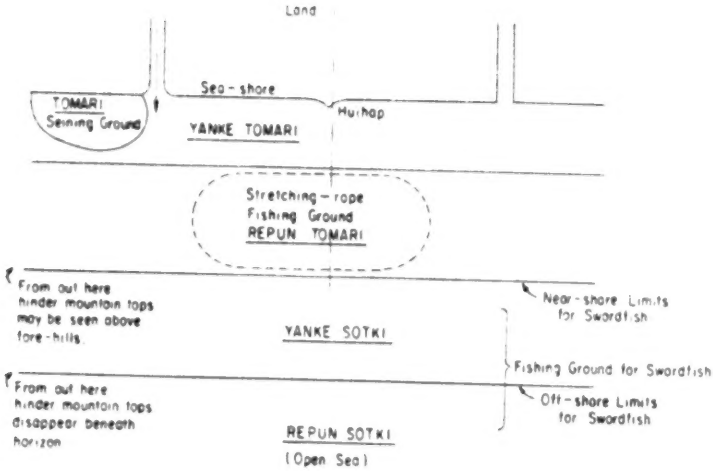
(52) The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776 [796]

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775 776 769 782

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. [562]

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2, [Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177). 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa*[k] group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

796 of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to
178 function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940;
796 NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as
[574] follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

[628] The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to
[782] other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance
[562] of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which cir- 796
cumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of [778]
all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear [621]
ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of [622]
authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The [231]
development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above [182]
naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* 782
concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some 685
items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* [439]
and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered 782
to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL
By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF DIRECT CONTROL

A F *C48 *175

It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN COLONIZATION

F *175 101

It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources"[1] but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters[2] to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.[3] While these attempts were

A *C48 *175 [1971] A [171] A [1971]

[1] Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

[2] Murakami Naojirō, trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

[3] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

F
*648
461
579

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."[26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

A
F
658
212
177

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A
F
*648
702
*175

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807[29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

A
F
346
797

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

[P. 72 (B)]

F
*648
797
*175
792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A
F
797
*648
*175
776

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F
[797]
[792]
A
[275]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F
A
[173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

A F
●797 did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he
*648 achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and
*175 not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondô
776 also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

F
671 Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had
*648 regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were
656 left to the natives to settle except incidents involving
*175 Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

F A
*648 According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft,
681 light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence
656 of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for mis-
671 demeanors was to be left in the hands of the administra-
*175 tive courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

F A
[773] can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshôken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondô Seiseki Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyô* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

F
[778] [48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyô* . . . that on July 23 Kondô Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

F A
[797] [776] On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

Ainu. Skinning it for supper.

Inn-keeper. How is it you have only got half a hare?

Ainu. My master shot it.

Inn-keeper. But how only half?

Ainu. He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

Inn-keeper. But how came you to get only half?

Ainu. Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper. Oh, how so?

Ainu. Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

Inn-keeper. What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying *"Chikushō"!* (beast) Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching
●797 to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told them seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177 sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

But sometimes the people, some of them at least, used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife 224
into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch!

I was always on the look-out for curios when among 441
the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow.

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times 224
on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up [278
spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track 411]
where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him.

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at 797
Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

797 further instruction. On this occasion we had a most interesting conversation, which was as follows.

Tee. If I receive baptism as you say I should do and so join the church, will that prevent me from going to the same Heaven my highly esteemed dogs have gone to?"

To say I was surprised at this question would be putting it too mildly. I was taken quite aback. However, quickly pulling myself together, I said,

Self. Ah, yes, that's a great point indeed, and well worth talking over, isn't it? Come, let us sit down comfortably and discuss the matter."

So we went into my study and sat down for a nice chat.

Tee. "You knew many of my dogs, didn't you? How clever they were, and what a help!"

Self. "Yes, indeed. I knew them and many a time have I shared my dinner with them. Good, beautiful, obedient, helpful creatures. And so you want to go to the same Heaven your dear dogs have gone to. Is that really so?"

Tee. "Yes I do. They were without sin. I loved my dogs with all my heart. They have saved my life time and again, and I have saved theirs also. When hunting together, we lived in the same lodge and shared the same food. When the nights were cold, we occupied the same bed for warmth. We were great friends. If the Christian Heaven is not the same as the one my dogs have gone to, I cannot become a Christian. My dogs are all waiting for me, and to them I must go. If baptism is going to prevent this, I must remain as I am."

I have now studied the Ainu for several years and know something of their religious belief, and so can well sympathize with his trend of thought. Poor fellow! He was thoroughly troubled and intensely in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was nothing if not sincere. 797

Seif. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

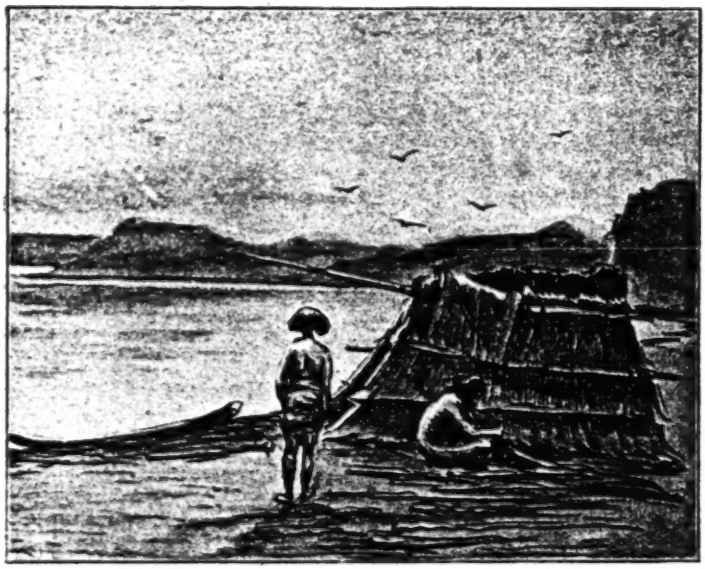
It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari believed himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 614 774 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

about it.' And so he told him the story. Mr. Pan 539
suddenly became very jealous and angry. He snarled dreadfully at poor Pen and said, 'You most abominable creature! You have forestalled me. You did the very thing I myself intended to do.' So saying, he went off in great wrath.

"Very soon he also stuck his tail across to Matomai, right into the Lord's court. Again the Lord of the place said, 'Look, here is a beautiful pole come from the gods. Hang out all my best clothing upon it to air.' This was soon done. Now Pan was so eager to become rich that he could not wait until all became quiet, but began to withdraw his tail too soon. My Lord saw it moving along and quickly told his retainers to cut the pole in two. This was quickly done, so that Mr. Pan was left with but a short stump of a tail."

When some of the Ainu began to become Chris- 798
tians, the shamans were very angry, and they raked up the *inau-sak-guru* for them. This means "persons without fetishes," which we may quite well translate by "infidel," or "godless one." By not making these fetishes, the men cut themselves off, more or less, from the Ainu brotherhood. This does not matter so much now as it did in bygone days, though it still carries its sting with many, and the shamans yet harp on it. It is curious to remark that among the Japanese the strongest and most philosophical opponent of Christianity I know is a man who formerly became a Greek Church Christian and then turned a Buddhist priest. This man has truly "the gift of the gab." When he is about, no one else has a chance to speak. He is unable to bridle himself. The strongest opponent I have met among the Ainu was a man who became a Christian and then turned shaman. He was very fond of referring to the Christian Ainu as *inau sak guru*, "infidels." He, too, was a good speaker. But, strange to say, he would always flee when he saw me coming along, and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

798 this made the people laugh and injured his influence and reputation materially.

771 Chief Penri told me that sometimes angry Ainu women would steal and hide away or burn their husband's fetishes, and this was a bad kind of sacrilege, for the gods, missing these offerings, think they have been neglected and so, instead of bestowing their favour, send evil upon them. With such a deeply religious people as the Ainu—a people so full of that disease of religion we call superstition—this meant much, and it was not pleasant to them to be called "infidel" or "godless one."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged 175
by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve 339
fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

*Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

778

782 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
776 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
[825] in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[796] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[791] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
[801] has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-
824 bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village
171 somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *susa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

A F 437 439 457 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [203] [206]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [577] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A ● [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect 153
blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas 805
of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme 802
difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, 153
and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their atten- 152
tion, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects 181
have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi 157
River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then 101
became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 804

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver): 804 436

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of 121
colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value. [804] [436]

[P. 6(B)]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 789 [195] prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated [611] respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite [283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are [428] supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking [869] of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's [182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women [804] independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. [428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

A F *175 *648 574 576 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

A F [183] [273] [276] When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

A F *175 *648 439 431 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

A F *175 *648 439 527 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

A [221] In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over.

A [865] A [273] A [178] "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come
628 and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

[801 805] *Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their attention, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toctanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup;* however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 221 136 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawning in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO, 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). [127] A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were 136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

filled. It seems as if there will be a fulness of grain, 825
for the divine snake's beautiful garments are here.' Then, taking the skin, they make walnut fetishes for it and put it away as a charm. This is the woman's personal talisman and is therefore placed in the granary.

"But the snake is not a very good deity. Its purpose in getting among the grain in the granary is not a good one. It goes for evil purposes. But the true reason for esteeming it and making a charm of it is to deceive it by flattery and so misdirect its mind and purpose. Once more. As regards snakes, when the people burn off the scrub and weeds from their land in order to make their garden plots, although snakes then sometimes get burnt up and so die, they may not get angry." Such is part of the Ainu lore, respecting snakes, and a wonderfully curious piece of lore it is.

In the chapter on Ainu women and tattoo I mentioned a legend dealing with the marks found on the forefeet of frogs, which the Ainu take as a remnant of tattoo, left by a woman who was transformed into a frog by a curse for evil done. In Ainu religious thought there is always a strong flavour of dualism [812] present, and the following legend shows one phase of this doctrine. It runs thus:

"As snakes have never been liked, the ancient Ainu 539
once met together and asked God to take them away. He heard their prayer and determined to get rid of them by starving them out. But when they were about to leave Ainu-land in search of food, a frog stepped forth and told them that if they would held its legs in their mouths they would not starve. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so nice that it gradually swallowed the whole body. From that time to this, frogs have been food for these reptiles. It was the evil one in the frog who thus frustrated the good purposes of the gods."

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

184 formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may 302 announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her [912] hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." 772
Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is 773
all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a 000
previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account 82
for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

[172]

A STONE AXE

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 70 The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

F
*648
185
A
[177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

B
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[20]
[173]
[176]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[82]
[176]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū [b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
● 821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB 1

J
789

blankets to raise a wind and the sailors whistling for it.

A
821

In the year 1887 I heard there was to be a partial eclipse of the sun, which might be seen well from our place in Hokkaidō. This being so, we made preparations beforehand to get a view of it, by blackening pieces of glass for ourselves and some Ainu friends to look through. At the proper time we went outside the house and then called on the Ainu to join us in looking at the sun through the glass. The effect on them was instantaneous. They looked scared and intensely surprised. Some of them called out, "Hū-ūm, the sun dies! the sun dies!" and others exclaimed, "Oh, the sun is fainting, it is fainting away!" That was all, and they became still. Awe had laid hold of them. They told me afterwards that they were afraid the eclipse was going to be total, which would be very calamitous. I wondered why my friends did not begin to howl, as in their wakes, or at least fall to worshipping the sun at that time. But they did neither.

In conversation afterwards, I found out several things connected with this orb. I was told, for example, that the sun itself is regarded but as the vehicle of a goddess who rides in and shines through it, and that she is often worshipped. And so, as the sun is of the feminine gender, the moon is of the masculine gender. They each have a distinct and separate personality, and are husband and wife. If the light departs from either of them, it is the same as the life going out of a human body, only to leave a cold corpse behind.

This people is very consistent in sticking to the fundamental principles of their religion, and the effect is sometimes quite astonishing. When a person is dying, I have seen some of the friends fill their mouths with cool, fresh water and blow it over the sufferer's face and bosom. Some I have seen bring water in vessels and sprinkle the sick with the hands or bunches of spray wood, thereby attempting to revive them.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *saké* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

538 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones." 821 539

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good 773

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 cause for being so bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures."

Another legend tells us that it was not only one crow which flew down Satan's throat, but many, and that it was while he was busy getting rid of the feathers from his mouth that the sun rose and it became daylight.

The moon does not enter so much into Ainu lore as the sun, yet the following story of the man in the moon is of interest.

"In ancient time there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed."

In explaining this to their children, the mothers say as follows:

"There was a lad who, though told to draw water, still sat idle and, with a big knife, remained by the hearth and chopped at the wooden frame. Presently he dawdled out and, striking the doorpost as he passed, said, 'Ah me! you are but a doorpost, yet you do not have to draw water!' Then, carrying the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river. Soon he saw a little fish coming up stream to which he said, 'Ah me! because you are a fish, you dreadfully bony creature, you do not have to draw water.' Proceeding farther along he saw a fine big salmon, to which he said, 'How do you do, Mr. Salmon!'

"But Mr. Salmon took hold of him at once and carried him off to the moon and placed him in it. Thus did the angry god to him who was disobedient and refused to draw water at once, but tardily dawdled off grumbling."

821 I have heard very little said about the stars. They are indeed called gods at times, but they are not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

generally worshipped. Comets are known by the name of "Broom-stars," and the Milky Way goes by the name of "Image of the Crooked River." It is said to be the river of the gods, and the various deities are supposed to spend much time on this river catching fish. I was told that the people did not like the appearance of comets, because they were considered as sure forerunners of some dreadful calamity such as war, disease, famine or death. The "herd-boy star" of the Japanese (Altair in Aquila) goes by a name which means "Ferryman," and a halo round the moon is said to be a "wind passage." The morning star is called "the elder sister of the world," and the Polar star is named "the seer," or one might say (from the Ainu point of view), "the guardian." The name in full is *chi-nukara-guru*, which means in some connections, "the one seen," and in others, "the one who sees" or "watches over."

821

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

●821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea, they were very loth to speak about previous journeys or of any sea adventure. When the women went to work in the harvest time, they would never tell stories of the sun, moon or stars, for fear these luminaries should be offended and cause it to become so dark that they might lose their way home. So superstitious were they all. 821

Pine-martens were caught by snares very like those set up in England at times to take rabbits and hares. They were placed on the trunks of trees which had fallen across streams, and at the holes in which these animals lived. The spring bows which were used for killing the larger animals stood first in importance, and after them came the traps for catching foxes, racoons and otters. They were all made of wood and were very simple. 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay 755
hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them 757
raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *nitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *nitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great 821
efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for 755
example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his 756
malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereka Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [821]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

828 "Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so and I now reside in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went to the underground world and there I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they, too, be punished when they join me."

●821 While walking under some very large trees one day, there came a mighty clap of thunder accompanied by a very bright flash of lightning and a sudden crash. It was all so sudden and the noise was so great that I was stupefied for the moment. I felt a puff as of a cool wind or electric current fall upon my cheek, and even saw my coat go to one side as the breath passed by. The flash left a smell like burning brimstone in the air around. When I came to myself, I looked about me and saw that a big tree close by had been struck, so that a branch was much splintered and the trunk riven through. I must surely have been unconscious for a time. Chief Penri believed that this was an attack by an evil genius of thunder and lightning. He told me that these demons lived in the clouds above and were so bad at times that they sent metal-like balls into the earth. They fell with such mighty force that they went right down to the lowest world. He also added "As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This is in part why there is so much evil in the world." The names of some of them are very long, such as these, "He who passes through the highest skies," and his wife;" He who comes down from the stars," and his wife, with others. All these things point, it will be observed, to naturism and general animism. The people used to be very much afraid of thunderstorms. When one was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

going on, I have seen them squat round their hearths, shut their eyes, and hang their heads as low down as their knees, not a word being spoken till the near thunder ceased.

371

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground. 773

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos. 821 776

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton." 776 777

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast. 778

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tô (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*). 396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description. 534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur. 825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it 304 789

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu (a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event [562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement." [782] INUKAI, 1951, p. 81. "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued a weir fishing group (p. 41), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual. The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Sa[illegible] area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, 796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-* 789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant
825 Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ether. So when the Creator produced the earth, He 823
caused this creature to become its foundation. There lies the living trout underneath the world, regularly taking in and sending out the waters of the sea through his mouth. When he sucks the water in, the tide ebbs, and when he expels it, the tide flows."

The chief used often to wander from the point 000
under consideration, and I found it much the best way to wander with him on such occasions and pull him up later. We had got thus far with the matter in hand, when he quite forgot the earthquake and stuck by the trout. The following is the legend he gave me:

"At the source of the Saru River there is a large 539
lake, in which there used to live a monster trout. He was so big that he waved his pectoral fins at one end of the lake and flapped his tail at the other. Once upon a time the honourable ancestors met together and went to kill this fish. Though they tried to do so many times, they could not accomplish their end. The gods, who had a special regard for the Ainu, sent help from Heaven. The Heavenly Beings came down and seized the great trout with their hands. He thereupon plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force. Then the gods put forth all their might, and, dragging the creature to the surface again, brought him to the shore. The honourable ancestors then drew their swords and chopped him till he was quite dead."

The chief told me that "this trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing such animals as deer, foxes and bears which might venture near to drink, but would sometimes gobble up men, women and children; not only so, but he would devour whole boatloads of people, boats and all."

I pulled Penri up here and asked him to give me 823
more information about earthquakes. So he continued thus: "The trout upon whose back the world is found-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342
ways. When fights take place inside between demons [776]
and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of
the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And
when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their
children to accompany them to battle, they enter here
and then all go off together to wage the war, and many
fights take place in the air. There are many allusions
to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823]
the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place 342
where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 778
ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons
of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside
and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into
an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is
another door which leads into the open air. In the
ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and
so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231]
domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to
occupy this place. That part of the house extending
from the top of the east-end window is held in special
honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all
the treasures are kept, also a great number of family
charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these,
heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and
fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings
from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes
next to these are preserved the special ornaments and
clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things
may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folk-
lore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and
of great importance always. When the highest gods
are worshipped or when prayers are said to the an-
cestors, they should often be addressed through this
window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

But if the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [111]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 776 824 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 776 ●823 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges.

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 drown him. With regard to this matter my friend said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

776 "Should one see a very large red stone in a river, ●823 let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to the stone with libations of saké.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIX

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS

In travelling among the wilds of Hokkaidō with the Ainu, nothing has ever made a greater impression upon me than the unparalleled awe and deep respect in which the men held the rivers when going up and down them. I could not at first understand why this was so, but was gradually enlightened by chief Penri and others as the years went by. On my first trip up the Saru river and back again in an Ainu boat, which was merely the trunk of a large elm tree hollowed out, and had no seat in it, I was asked by the boatman to sit tightly on the bottom and not move more than I could possibly help, nor bend over the side to look into the water, nor reach out for anything on land or river, and to talk very quietly. All of which behests I promised faithfully to obey. I thought all this was for fear lest I should upset the boat, fall into the water, or disturb some wild animal or other. But in this surmise I was mistaken, as the sequel will show. 823

It was gradually borne in upon me that these people regarded rivers themselves as living creatures, and that each living thing was itself also inhabited by many other spirits, which in their turn also were the homes of others. I was assured that some of these were regarded as good and others as evil. The class-name for all of them, right from the head waters down to the river's mouth, was *Wakka-ush-kamui*, that is, "good and evil genii of the water." It was the firm belief of these people in such things that inspired the awe I saw settle down on the boatmen, one and all. 823 774

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

[778 782] The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called *Pet-etok-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-teke*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods. 823● 782

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous. 823 776

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were 103
taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river."

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that 823
the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way 776
out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tō (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

131 The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

000 The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in
135 Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

826 Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions.
000 The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and
[823] only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[78] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
● 823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 ● [782]

EFFIGIES

778 anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as
● 823 such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host
[769] or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly covered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399-400.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 [411] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives. 764 [481] [823]

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales. [765]

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman. [823]

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[158]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./
844 the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every
[757] family.
[873]

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of
[574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the
844 Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu
114 women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present
writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local
group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from
different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did
privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there
might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different
local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the abori- [776]
ginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the
river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities
that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [46]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823 ●

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, *zaza*, a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet[54]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui*-spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu koru or amba kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and *koru* or *amba* means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai koru kamui*, which lived in streams flowing into the river[55]. 823 776

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, includes fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix '*iworu*' to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in Chapter V and Note 45. 823 619

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the 823 776

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a. The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

[p. 138]

V

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Méto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1, [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an* (*Otopue*
619 *iworu* (*iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an* (*Otopuke*) *iworu* (*iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1. [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river 133
into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side 423
that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the 823
upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was 619
Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be 423
concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory rest- 823
ing upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

46 It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old 173
Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a 619
brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, [823]
like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1,[Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

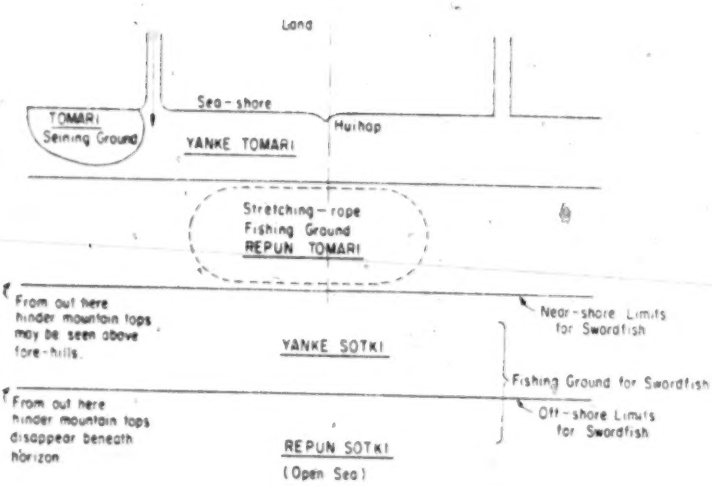
Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 ● *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

226



226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

kamui of water,
To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

776
823

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

[782]
[539]

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

823
193

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

776

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 192 [776] (58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 224 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

/571 cont./

000 K 177 192 174 325

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K 439 325 177 556 823 K 823 A 823 186 439

2: Schrenck--896 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

K
823
A
439
823
186

/572 cont./

their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

A
439
435

For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

G
A
K
439
17
325

A
[131]
[114]
[113]

1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior

G
A
K
194
325

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq*. This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIV

THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great im- 824
portance, for, as has already been pointed out, the 778
backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and ter- [844]
minated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born.

As soon as a child has come into the world, the 844
father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the 852
bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is
particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the
individual for whom it was made. The following is a
prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *susa*. These *susa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "legs." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 778
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. 301 Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They 778 are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or 824 summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon had gone away, Yairespo said to me, 'Boy, 539
flee towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, [778
go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and another of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and 824]
stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish out of the tree called *sita-ni* which is the particular magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be well. From the days of my early childhood thy grandfather and I have been very close friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee the great danger thou hast run into by coming here. When thou passest through the midst of the sea on the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest farther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above. When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long, being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted about thee. He has departed from his house and now, behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying, with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for thee.' So spake he.

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their way.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the earth, and the people should treat him with great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is because this plant had such a high origin, 539
having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a 824
beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in exis- 825
tence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished.

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a 825
grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly."

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the 539
gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

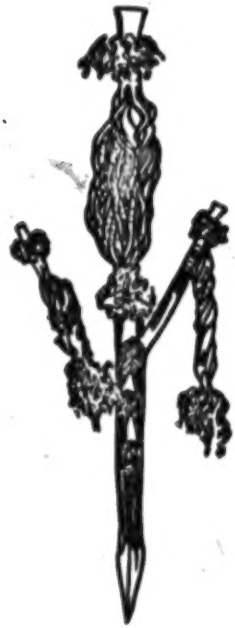
WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and then would come the owl-like cry *woši, woši, woši.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a ceremony they called *Niokcush rorumbe*, i.e., "making

[782
778]



A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

752 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm
776 from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the mul-
824 titude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of
776 the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages
823 near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIII

ON TREE WORSHIP

It will be seen by many things which have been written that the worship of trees is quite a strong feature in the religion of Ainu hunters. Their theory of causation being so thoroughly animistic, it is no wonder that we find them ascribing to every kind of tree and plant a life with powers of thought and action, possessing emotion and passions like their own. And in these things we discover a subtle relation to the tree genii of the Greeks and other people. Take for example, the sacred olive of Athene at Athens, the images of deities set on trees, the association of the laurel with Apollo, the connection of Dionysus with the ivy, the Ephesian Artemis dwelling in the stem of an oak, the mistletoe of the Druids, the 'Jack-in-the-Green,' the Maypole, the Scottish milkmaid with her switch of rowan, with which she protected her cattle from evil spirits; all these and similar things are brought to one's mind here. But the Ainu appear to have some ideas on the subject peculiar to themselves. They suppose that every tree has not only its own personal chief spirit, but that the roots, stems, rugged bark, inner bark or fibre, wood, heart, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, crown and flowers, with fruit also, each are themselves peopled with innumerable spirits, some of which are good and others evil. 824

The general name given to this tree cult by the hunters is *kim-o-chipaskuma*, and this means, 'doctrine of the mountains'; and the particular part of it now to be treated is named *chikuni akoshiratki oruskpe*, which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

824 "When those hunters who are acquainted with the
224 cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting
782 expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called
[137] good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

755 When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them." 824 224

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said, 776 771

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of 782

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Thus there is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes. 778

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII. 824 539

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was 778
the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them.

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all 731
these things, and he told me they were set about as a 778
defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death.

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this 824
kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and 778
poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons [777]
of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me 346
and struck me with the greatest wonder when I 778
visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird 774
and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats [824]
and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in gen- 782
eral, he said, "When our young men are gone away 778
to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *sakê*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

492 shoulders quite out of sight. My man glided like lightning off his horse and hurriedly pulled my pony over so as to allow him to free his neck. He told me that had he not done so at once, it would have been broken. Parapita went up in my estimation a hundred per cent, and I escaped with a live horse and but a few bruises for either of us. But I must admit that the poor beast looked as much astonished as I felt.

To give a full account of all the incidents I have met with on my journeyings among the Ainu would require a volume, but I only propose at present to touch on such as are concerned with this one outing.

824 137 The Ainu are great botanists and I found Parapita's knowledge of plant names quite extensive. On hearing some of them, I was much struck by their aptness. One day on passing through a place where hawthorn trees abounded and coming into close contact with some of their thorns, I asked him what these noxious bushes were called in his language. I spoke somewhat impatiently, I am afraid, for I did not like to get either my clothes torn or limbs scratched among them. He told me they were called *Abe-ni*. This means, he said, 'tree with harpoon bait" or "decoy." This puzzled me a bit till he explained that the pomes hanging from the branches at the end of the stems very closely resemble the "baits" or "decoys" the Ainu make to draw along the bottoms of rivers behind the fish-spears used for securing some kinds of fishes, particularly pike and trout. And truly the resemblance is remarkable. The botanical name of the hawthorn is *Crataegus jozana, C.K. Sch.* [262] The pomes are black, fat, and juicy. The people eat them with great relish.

Soon we passed through big patches of very tall plants having broad leaves on the ends of hollow stems. He told me these were called in Ainu *Koroko-ni*.. This turns out to be the *Petasites japonicus, Miq.* I asked my friend further about this plant and he told me that the hollow stems are called by a word which means a 'set-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

up-throat,' that is 'hollow. They are so named, he said, 137
because they resemble the human throat, being hollow. 824
Continuing our conversation, I got hold of a quite new and interesting phrase. It was, *iwan kut koro guru*, which, being interpreted, is "a person with six throats." When it is remembered that six is the perfect number among this race, one is not at all surprised to learn that the phrase is intended to designate "a perfect liar." I listened to this, wondered, and was much amused.

Having one evening reached a certain village, I lodged with the chief, an old friend with whom I had 117
stayed many times before. About midnight a cat began to caterwaul atrociously just outside the reed wall, close to my head. Sleep I could not. At last, in despair, I roared out to no one in particular, "Oh, do shoot that cat!" Shortly afterwards there came a terrific 'bang' not far from my ears, just outside the hut. The poor cat had met with an accident from which it never recovered. The chief had shot it! Thenceforth I was very careful as to what orders I gave the people.

I had a plate with three artificial teeth to it. Those [744]
teeth were resting in a cup of water by my side, as it happened, in the same hut as that in which the cat incident occurred. In the morning, when I awoke, both water and teeth were gone and neither I nor my man could find them. That same afternoon the chief came up to our stopping place a few villages away, mysteriously carrying something carefully in his hand, wrapped up in a leaf. Said he, "I think this must be yours, Sir." I took the leaf and there were the missing teeth nestling inside. "Where did you get these from?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I found them close to a rat hole near where you slept last night."

At a village in which we spent the night among 431
well-known friends, a little girl brought me a nice tray 262
of boiled chestnuts as a present from her mother. Their jackets had been taken off, so that we were able

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Ainu was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Ainu into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quicer and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quirer and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera*. Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 [BDA] The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
777 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?" 778 789

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls. 778 [774] [824]

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi* 778 196 194 [193]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta-
776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

II

THE KAMUI

776
774
824

IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

[114]

[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*uen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 ●824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

[1] See *inu*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

THE KAMUI

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

539
776
824

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

● 824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuha-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*hihi-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*tahusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yuini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalopanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one a- -hief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
[273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
[761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
• [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D, E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight,
[757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not
[789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later. 778 776 123 532

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west. 778 776 789 782 [184]

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble. [824]

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody. 778 532

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for 778 823 [782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
[791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

EXORCISM

755 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As per-
782 formed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but
●824 other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree
[778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass
783 and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women
[778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a
[824] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword which has been hanging there in readiness.

On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken
755 near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or
783 the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them
778 down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri woshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *et-ami-ni* (*cf.* Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796 782 [824] dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] [415] [778] [353] [411] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

796 825 782 [574] [824] [983] [533]

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage 757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/770 cont./

847 told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well ac-
[184] quainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed
[836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which
177 are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they
[648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that
[824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the
847 same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of
[842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.

227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[824] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.

349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[462] b It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*.
[824] The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest
227 and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was-set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the
[876] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working
[462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a
[592] net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same
[824] settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used
[476] by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished 224
from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunt- 224
ing was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear 221
hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a [417]
wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, [231]
which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After 222
each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by 824
the Ainu are given[38]. 137

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
[285] 21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
[285] 22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
[283] 23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
[278] 25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
[283] 26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
[283] 27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set 222
to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with 221
persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. [231]
Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important [251]
as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were
dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with [461]
hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for [433]
storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem [251]
to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax [433]
in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties [137]
of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during [314]
autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, [462]
when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were [182]
adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu 823
classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming 824
their main collecting grounds. 311
222

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided 222
the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found 314
flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a 311
few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains, in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[58]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[59].

1, [i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

G SS 276 197 /468 cont./

wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every G [554] [321] well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439 The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their A [824] own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [171] [127]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his A [113] "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

G 481 /474 cont./

As essential a service as the small ski performs, however, they are not very suitable for long trips over deep and loose snow on uneven forest terrain. For, because of their small size, they prevent sinking into the snow only in a very imperfect way, they are not very flexible, and, as a result of not having a fur cover, they are not very smooth; indeed, in wet weather, the clinging snow makes travel on them very difficult. For their hunting expeditions and other long trips, the Gilyak therefore do not use the small ski, but the large ones -- enj (Pl. XXXV, Figs. 4-6 /see p.1015/). G [824] Like the small ski, they are usually made of larch wood (Gilyak koi), which the Gilyak therefore designate as lakk-tschchar, i.e., ski wood (3), but are considerably longer and wider and provided

A 481 ●824 113

3. The Ainu on Sakhalin prefer to make their ski out of the wood of Sorbus aucuparia (Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/." -- Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99; Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, p. 33), the Goldi out of ash wood (Budishchev", "Opis. lies. chasti Primorsk. obl. /Description of the Forests of Parts of the Maritime Oblast/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Books IX, X, p. 128).

G 481 [824] with a fur cover, although otherwise they have about the same shape as the former, in particular being likewise flat and level up to the front end gently curving upward. The cover is made of G [237] sealskin, which, with the hair pointing toward the rear, is pasted as smoothly as possible over the whole underside of the ski by means of isinglass and is turned up along the two edges. In addition, for fastening it, there are two long strips of whalebone or carefully polished wood running like rails along the edges of the ski and fastened by wooden pegs to the ski board. The straps for

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 her into a frog and casting her far away into a marsh.
539 At the same time He said to her, 'O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominably iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother but thy husband besides and several others. I am therefore now turning thee into a frog. Thou shalt henceforth live in marshes and on the edges of lakes and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs and hop about in the slime of the most filthy places. If thou shouldst venture into the dwellings of men, they will without more ado knock thee on the head and throw thy carcase away.' So spake God.

825 "This, then," said my chief, "is the true account of
304 the origin of frogs. It is because a woman was the
539 ancestor of these creatures that they have the tattoo marks on their hands. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality. They are demons. Yet as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Main Island of Japan every winter to market. When they return they eat, drink and make merry in their dwelling places. This is the noise one hears in the spring time—*Oat, oat, oat.*"

In continuing his lecture the old man said, "Frogs are called by three names which are: 'Dwellers among reeds,' 'Dwellers in lakes' and 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' As a whole class they are called 'Hoppers' and 'Hop-and-eaters.' They are given the last name because when they see flies or other insects upon which they feed, they open their mouths, blink their eyes, hop forward and suck in their prey. It is because they go to Japan in the winter that they are named 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' Those we have just heard in the marsh have now returned and are making merry."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was just one empty whisky (*sake*) barrel which I used for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

A long time after this, when I was talking to another friend about these creatures, he told me they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above
and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?"
I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story
about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and
as the body of this god itched very much one day, he
scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas
dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And
so it always happens that whenever it thunders these
insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 000
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up
a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that
some local authority in the south of Japan would pay
two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the
proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for
five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder,
surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice),
potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure
with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the
village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not
procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon,
but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people
were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once
I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough
that I could only make soup of it. But it was very
good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the
sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple
of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to
his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end,
and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth.
After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[825] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

48 you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

000 The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

136 I know of one district by the sea where the people
262 are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The
[825 Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings
778] before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

137 Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are
262 raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

773 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant
825 Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king over all his tribe." 773

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings. 825

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; moreover, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many 539 [753]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fetishes and offered apologies; nevertheless, the man got no better at all. Later on the sick man had the following dream.

"In his dream a snake was seen, which said, 'O man! listen well to me. When you were getting firewood, you cut and killed a snake, and I am his brother. We are angry for our brother, and so have sent you this illness. And, although you have made fetishes and prayed, you have not recovered your health. For what we desire to have offered us are fetishes made from walnut wood; therefore make some of this tree and offer them to us; if you do so, we will make you well.' So spake he. After that the man woke up and told others about his dream. And so the men made fetishes out of walnut, and, offering them to the snake, made prayers. And then the man got well. This is how it came to be known to the Ainu that snakes like walnut fetishes. The reason why these creatures are called 'grass root' is because they move about among the roots of grass." Snakes are called "rope" by some.

●825 "When the summertime has come and while it is very hot, the skins of the snakes peel off, and then the people say, 'Inasmuch as it is now very hot, the divine snakes have taken off their clothes; their skins have peeled off.' So they say.

[757] "Should there be a wart upon the foot or hand of anyone, if he will take the skin of a snake and rub the place with it, a cure is certain to follow. Or, should the insteps or back of the hands crack, then, if the skin of a snake be burnt to powder and rubbed into the places, they will be healed immediately.

"Snake skin is a woman's charm. Sometimes snakes come to the granaries and stay in them for a long time and leave their skins among the grain. When a skin is found there, it is treated with great care and respect. The men seeing it say, 'From now on, the year will be fruitful and this granary will be

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

filled. It seems as if there will be a fulness of grain, 825
for the divine snake's beautiful garments are here.' Then, taking the skin, they make walnut fetishes for it and put it away as a charm. This is the woman's personal talisman and is therefore placed in the granary.

"But the snake is not a very good deity. Its purpose in getting among the grain in the granary is not a good one. It goes for evil purposes. But the true reason for esteeming it and making a charm of it is to deceive it by flattery and so misdirect its mind and purpose. Once more. As regards snakes, when the people burn off the scrub and weeds from their land in order to make their garden plots, although snakes then sometimes get burnt up and so die, they may not get angry." Such is part of the Ainu lore, respecting snakes, and a wonderfully curious piece of lore it is.

In the chapter on Ainu women and tattoo I mentioned a legend dealing with the marks found on the forefeet of frogs, which the Ainu take as a remnant of tattoo, left by a woman who was transformed into a frog by a curse for evil done. In Ainu religious thought there is always a strong flavour of dualism [812] present, and the following legend shows one phase of this doctrine. It runs thus:

"As snakes have never been liked, the ancient Ainu 539
once met together and asked God to take them away. He heard their prayer and determined to get rid of them by starving them out. But when they were about to leave Ainu-land in search of food, a frog stepped forth and told them that if they would held its legs in their mouths they would not starve. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so nice that it gradually swallowed the whole body. From that time to this, frogs have been food for these reptiles. It was the evil one in the frog who thus frustrated the good purposes of the gods."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of 776] the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

loose in the hut, playing daily with the children. It 231
was so small that the wife had to bring it up like one of her own babies. At night it went and curled itself up in the bosom of the master. Being a stranger, it did not at first care to come near me, but with a little coaxing, he and I soon became the best of friends. I watched him carefully and a more cunning little beast I think I have never seen.

One day as I was sitting quietly writing at the head of the hearth, I saw little Bruin come stealthily into the hut, walk quietly up to a pot which was hanging at the lower end of the fireplace with cold cooked millet in it, stand up on his hind legs, place one forepaw on the edge of the pot to keep it steady, lift the lid partly off with the other and put it on one side, and then scoop handfuls out and eat as fast as he could. I gazed at him for a few minutes with admiration and astonishment. Presently I roared out, "Oh, you thieving scoundrel!" The rogue immediately dropped to his feet, gave one swift glance at me, smirked, and rushed out of the hut as much like a streak of lightning as it is possible for a bear to be. I was intensely amused and I sat still for a time to see what would happen next.

In about half an hour I saw the creature place one forepaw on the door post, slowly lift up the mat hanging in the doorway with the other, and then pop his head round the corner, look at me, twinkle his eyes, slap the mat down in its place, and forthwith rush off again post-haste. He evidently thought there was not enough room in that hut for the two of us. He got no more to eat till supper time. When the mistress came home from her garden, I told her about it, but 825
she did not seem to be at all surprised, for she simply smiled and said, "The young scamp! At it again!" The husband laughed when he heard of it, nodded at the tale, and said, "The little demon! All bear cubs are very cunning and their parents exceedingly wise and clever."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was 797
nothing if not sincere.

Self. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be- 614
lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, 774
and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 The prayer said at the time of the "sending away festival" for the eaglet runs thus:

"O divine beloved one, I have brought thee up till 782 now because I loved thee; and now I send thee to thy father. I also present thee with food, fetishes, whisky and cakes. If thou wilt take them to thy father, he will greatly rejoice. And do thou speak to him on this wise, I ask thee: 'I have dwelt for a long time in Ainu-land; there an Ainu father and mother brought me up. And now I come to thee. Moreover, listen. I have brought thee a great variety of good things. Now, I saw in Ainu-land many kinds of trouble. They were such as these. Some were possessed by devils; some met with accidents from wild animals; some also met with landslides; some met with accidents from the waves of the sea; and I saw many kinds of sickness. Ainu-land is in a very difficult and parlous condition. Hear, my father, and hasten to turn toward that land and send help.' If you speak thus before your father and mother, he will succour."

825 This man was 17 years of age when I first met him. When I was in his district, his house being near he used to come to me of an evening to be taught. One evening he told me that it was very difficult for him to believe that all men are descended from the same original ancestors. His own family relations, he said, considered themselves to have come from eagles in the beginning. What did I think of it? So we sat down and talked the matter over.

Ari. My people were of the eagle clan and I have been told that my real ancestor was descended from an eagle.

Self. Oh, indeed, that is very interesting. Tell me all about it, please, and let us talk the matter well over.

I then said: "Do you mean to say that you think an eagle laid some eggs and then sat on them and hatched out your original ancestors?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Ari. That I cannot tell. 825

Self. If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

Ari. I do not know. My people have not told me.

Self. Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584
to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304
excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. 597]
It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825
times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven.
825 It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Halioetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

1 539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
●825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some philodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be." 539 825

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.' "

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now. 551

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825
527

During my sojourn in this land I have witnessed many peculiar customs, but among them all I think the one I saw at a festive scene was the most comical, peculiar and ridiculous. As I was passing by a certain hut one day, I heard a very merry chattering, accompanied with much loud laughter, going on inside. This greatly puzzled me, for I had not heard the like before. As it was the home of an old friend, I took the liberty of slipping quietly through the door, without giving the customary coughs before entering.

There sat the family with a few friends round the hearth, partaking of stewed meat, vegetables and millet. They were taking it directly out of the pot which was hanging over the fire, and so they got it hot. They were much astonished at my sudden appearing, and all turned to stare at me. They stopped their eating and for a second or two seemed to hold their breath, and then suddenly burst out into roars of laughter, their merry eyes sparkling with delight. They made room for me and invited me to join them. But it was all so funny and I so ignorant as to what was in the pot that I declined with thanks.

I was greatly surprised to see the people, big and little, each with his or her personal belongings tied up in bundles as if in readiness to migrate to some other land, and it reminded me of the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Some of them actually had bundles slung on to their backs with the tying cord round their foreheads. Beside others were clothing, ornaments, spoons, moustache-lifters, pots, kettles, axes, bows and arrows, knives and other articles, all ready at hand. When the Ainu men are greatly surprised they sometimes say, "*Etukishma*"! This means: "I seize my nose!" All I could do was simply to say "*Etukishma*" and laugh with them. I did not know what to make of it all, for it was such a peculiar scene. Nor have I seen it since. I was indeed fortunate to have caught them in the act at that time. I did not think it would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

he wise to pass remarks then or ask any questions, so 825
I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527
appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753
about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262
for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isho-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to
touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for
others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them
would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really
in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among
these people, and I found it always necessary to walk
warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in
divination. And although they are said to have a
special spite against women, and are ever seeking to
possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some
women who actually keep snake skins as special charms
and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman,
and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the
image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in
divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would,
upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith
enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells
there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent
for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got
into his granary, an account of which has already been
given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond
being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great
compliment and killed many of these creatures for
them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a
woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all
troubles connected with childbirth, and the only cer-
tain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was un-
doubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 755 783 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

but if the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [777]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is a very important little animal, is thought to have had his origin in Heaven. 137 824 [136 825]

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 539 824 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

538 of the earth, and the people should treat him with
824 great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there
825 has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"It is because this plant had such a high origin, having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in existence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished. 539 824 825

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly." 825

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 539 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 there. Shouldst thou rise above the earth with the
825 intention of entering Heaven again, thou wilt find that thou will not be able to go up more than from 120 to 240 feet from the ground.' So spake the God.

"The skylark was very angry and commenced to argue and storm, saying,

"'O thou true God, it was because Thou didst make the world so beautiful that I stayed a little too long looking at it, and dost Thou punish me for that? Even so, I will return to my home in Heaven.' So saying, he argued much and long. But God would not assent. Therefore when these little birds fly daily up toward Heaven in anger, they can not go higher than 240 feet at the most. So they stay there and storm. Yet God will not allow them to enter. So they return to the earth, making a great noise. Again and again they ascend and storm away at God, but He will not allow them to go nearer. Even at the present time, when the summer comes round, they often go up to the limit of 240 feet and abide there a very long time storming. Then they return to earth and amuse themselves. It is on account of their storming so much that skylarks are called 'arguing birds,' or 'answering back birds.'"*

*Here is an amusing cutting I one day took out of the "Japan Advertiser," and which I think well worth quoting at this place.

A little daughter of the slums, on her first day in the country, saw a lark motionless, high in air, pouring forth its lovely music. She listened a moment, then she ran to the matron.

"Oh, Miss May," she said, "there's a sparrow up there, and he can't git up and he can't git down, and he aint doin' nothing but holler about it."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.**

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] *The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] **It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 One morning we found the cupboard was as bare as that of the famous Mother Hubbard. In alarm, my friend asked what we were going to do about breakfast and dinner. "Ah," I returned, "that's the question. What shall we do? There is a little rice, but plenty of millet and vegetables to be got." The gentleman was not too well pleased. So I went into my room and fished my gun out from among my clothes, where I had hidden it, and passed out before him. He was, in fact, busy writing at a table. "Surely," thought I, "I have you on toast this time."

Within forty yards of our rooms, a quail got up at my feet. He rose with a startling whirl from under my very nose. "Bang"! went my gun and I forthwith picked up my breakfast. I had no sooner secured my bird than I heard a loud voice coming from the window, "There goes another! Look! Quick!" The poor man saw his breakfast flying away and was evidently afraid of losing it! "Bang"! sounded my gun again and down came my friend's breakfast also. And he was very much pleased. Out he rushed and said, "Ah, I think it is all right to shoot for food, but I do not like shooting for mere sport." "Come along," said I, "let us go and pick up a few dinners if we can." Away we went and returned with a bag of seven or eight fine, fat tree-grouse and a few quails. These lasted us for some time, and when they were eaten up we went and got more, and a few duck as well. So my companion saw that whether clergy or laymen, "a man's a man for a' that," and must be fed.

[825] It is supposed among ourselves that the fox is the most wily animal of the forests, but the Ainu say "No, not so. The bear is the most artful of all." That may be true, but I think all animals have their little tricks, which they play when hard pressed. One day an Ainu friend and I went out to try and shoot something to eat, for I was very tired of nothing but millet and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "if you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news. 117 [224 825]

Another incident happened very near our home in Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave
825 me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour,
783 for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-deer,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now
539 measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who
825 at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is
825 of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and swallowed. This must surely be done before it gets cold. If a man swallows it at once, he will become very fluent and wise, and will be able to overcome all opponents in argument. But this divine bird has power in another way. For, not only does he make people eloquent, but he also makes all who swallow his heart prosper and become wealthier than all others. The person who is fortunate enough to swallow one is called 'the one who has gained a charm.' For this reason the water-ousel should be worshipped and have fetishes offered him."

539
825

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
●825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said, 539 825 776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will reascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
825
776

this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that many people offer libations to bats. After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let us measure our strength."

"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

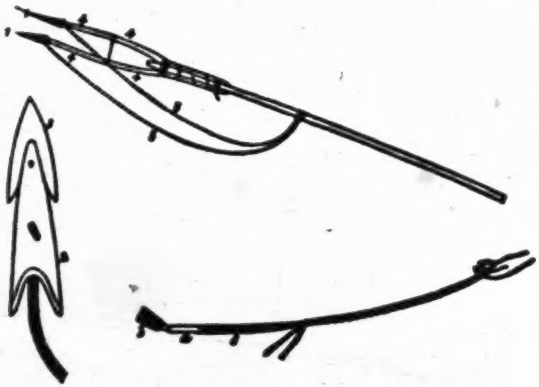
"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry. 226 227

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again. [225]

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

barking "*pen, pen,*" like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787
and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754
are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825
this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539
this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825
upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Heaven. Now, very far away, right at the other end of the world, there lives a great dreadful demon whose name is Sam (really "over the edge of the world"). He was not created, but existed long before this world was brought into existence. He had no beginning. He is of such an evil disposition that when God created the world, He could not allow him to dwell in any place where men and women had their habitation. This is the reason why he has been made to dwell over the edge of the world.

"Long, long ago, Sam determined to try his strength with Marten, and so came forth out of his haunts and paid him a visit. On entering Marten's house, he sat down with a heavy thud and said, "I hear it rumoured that you consider yourself to be a great and mighty one. Come, now, let us measure our strength in contest, and so see who is the greater, you or I." Marten readily consented, knowing full well that an evil demon can be no match for a good god. No sooner had the divine Marten agreed to his request than the demon suddenly jumped up, seized him, knocked him down, banged him about, kicked him and then cast him into the fire upon the hearth. Here he supposed he had burnt him clean up. He was beyond measure pleased with himself when he saw what he had done, and plumed himself on his mighty power and easy victory.

"After a little rest he got up, with the intention of returning to his far-away home. But lo, a very remarkable thing now occurred. As he was going out of the door, the owner, whom he thought he had destroyed by fire, met him very much alive and in perfect trim. Sam was intensely taken aback at this and felt a little afraid. But before he could place himself in an attitude of defense, Mr. Marten seized him and in his turn knocked him down by the fireside. He rolled him over and over into the very heart of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the mistress placed herself by my side. I listened carefully all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen.

539
825
789

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 825 789 then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of men waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

power of speech and the other with powers of a madman's chatter, who imitates what others may be saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view. 539 825 789

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me 539 825 776 782 778

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
782 strong and well, and big. And I have become his
778 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come. 539 825

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening. [754]

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain gentleman who resided not far away was famous [754 789]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
789 the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like servingmen. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle, [825 787]

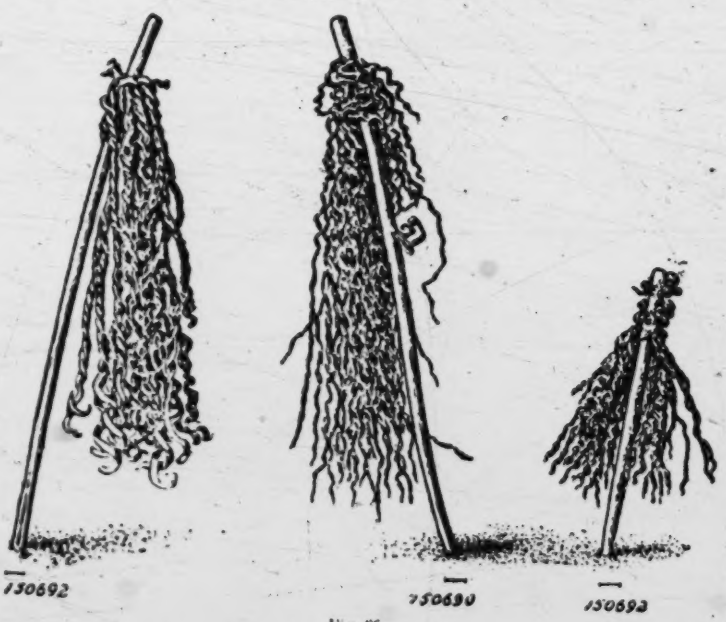


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, [885] but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted. 796

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it. 343

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience. 778

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance. 114

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 825 776

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

825
778

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776]

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 805 520

[p.281]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
●825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the 774 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or 776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some 824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant 114 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta- 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g 104 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa sho hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sitam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* (Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [794] [789]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [798] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1933
AB6 Ainu AB6

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
825

spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other [796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am [182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave [787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] [413] [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776 778 825 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *teremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns [774] to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 789 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUI

776 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable
825 horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have
[186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

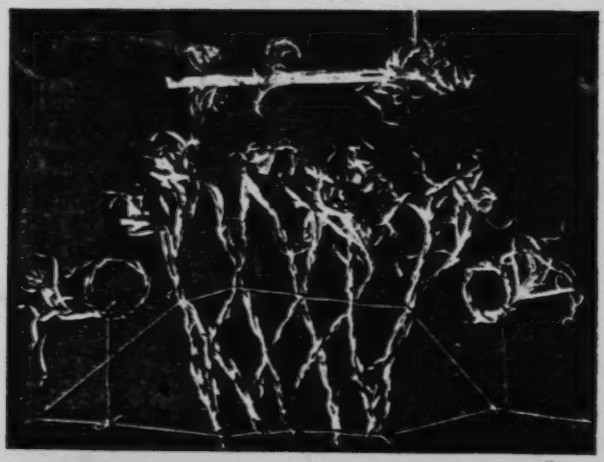
539 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr
776 Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu*
824 *Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

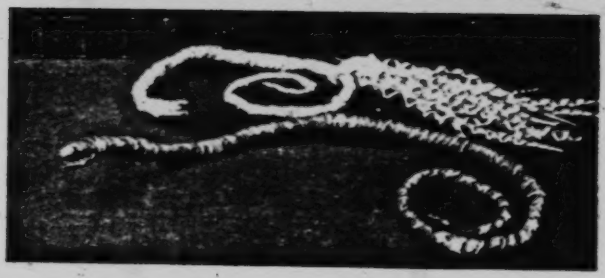
[1] See *imu*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
825
301



825
789



778
789
825

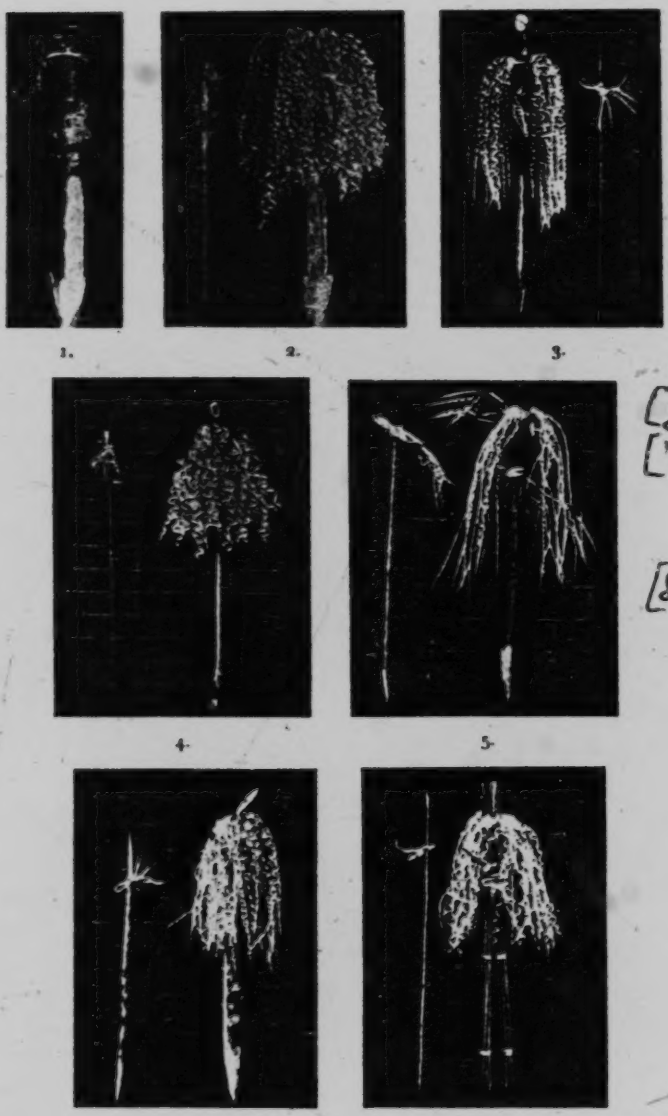
Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ek-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
778
532



1. 2. 3.

[825]
[796]

[844]

4. 5.

6. 7.

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

824 778 782 [532] [184]

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*kutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

778 782 776 [825] [796]

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-hara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

[114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[176]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau* is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikatuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

778 823 [769] anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399-400.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops. Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears ●825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui* [262] *haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died. 775 753

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*. [158] [776] [825] [787] 755 [782]

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river. 755 782

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification. 755 783 778

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described. 755 752 [158] [783] 755

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also. [787] [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort. [753] [754]

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised, 158 755 [178]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pachi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
[778] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

755 EXORCISM

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755 844 [354] [782] [825] [237]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

789 224 226 [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing [825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

411 789 774 224 [422] [211] The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

825 782 224 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

[754]

[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-A. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
192

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

396 782 [778]

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

534 789 [821] [224] [531]

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

825 789

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304 789

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S.

127
796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

825
782
[231]
[622]

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

252
796

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

796
782
[342]

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
822 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage [757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a [825] dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [782] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer [769] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
•825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out

A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3; a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
•825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
178

5. See L. Y. Shternberg.
[113] Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

532
.825
178

/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

[113] under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532
825

Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

[171] [114]

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

[171]

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

[171]

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

[113]

6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

532 /38 cont./
[113]

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Ainskaia problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation developed on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

[829]

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532
171

/39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

Gilyak RX2

A /39 cont./

532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

G
171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
532
825

Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

A
172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.
532
825

A
532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
825

Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

/39 cont./

532
.825

heads, wound by cords made of bark.

Figure 6, page 39.

Ainu sticks ikunisi: a) high relief carving (swallow and bear head); b) high relief carving (swallow chasing a whale, and swallow in enclosure); v) stick wound with cords made of bark; g) and d) carving imitating intertwining of cord. Reproductions from various sources.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1954-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 221 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished, in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting; [825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of [362] [237] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were [439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting. This phase started in *U'repok chup* or around October, when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[1] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *rekiep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[2]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting. When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con- [133] [361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya* [illegible] by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensis.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 bear[15]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted
[136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped
[278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the
[231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting.
[237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Jap-
[439] anese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so import-
[433] ant as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food
[137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[16].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[17]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

[825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds
[342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas, if found, they might be caught

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of
825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

1. [i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[82].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 116
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.
782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.
776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[69]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the 825
centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large 716
house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, [778]
the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hok- 224
kaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more [231]
upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were 231
either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

226 221 (29) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months: *urepok chup*, *shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers [136] "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioned and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(30) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month 136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep* [825] in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chēp* referred to by him shows every indication of

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Har-
pooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constituted a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri-noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIKI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIKI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories. KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154, pp. 176-177. 825 796 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area. [182]

66 Season for the bear ceremony. - Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121; mostly between late November and January to February INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 259; in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126. The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rinkoushi in Shikot NATORI, 1941, p. 68; 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. [illegible]; 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place NATORI, 1941, p. 68. It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. [illegible] showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi HAGIHARA, ed., 1937 records an invitation he received to a bear ceremony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 ibid., p. 111 and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 ibid., p. 160. SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67. Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *sinot-kotan* group. 796 [461]

67 Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796 178

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs.

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again.

A-2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
149 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
● 826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[165] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it 302
be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; 765
either he himself or some of his near relations will 826
die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all 776
therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when 539
the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to [587]
grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although 178
superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to 171
remark that it is reported how Satan himself once 302
preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the 144
general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way [597]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows:

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored.

It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu katu ekange*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

826 215 "One day, when several men were in the hut with the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is *'ichashkara,'* i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called *'imosh.'* When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called *"tolpuk-un-chiri,"* i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

164
753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men
should meet together and go to the villages up and
down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

626
787 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
755 volunteered the following lore. "When one has palpitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand! 164 755

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 757 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

492

AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

[p.106]

[p.106]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of the embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
• [826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:
(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
(*c*) Dogwood (*utuka-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
(*d*) *Push-ni*.
(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.
(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shiherebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maachia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalopanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
822 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
896 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[756] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776
powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775
present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828 ●
mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775
need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114
when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

land and as full of light as our world is." And then he 772
added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land 539
and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of [775]
this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appear- 828 ●
ed to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

So-and-So and now have my home in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went directly to the underground world where I am now undergoing punishment. But the punishment I suffer is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my care were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all repent at once of their evil deeds, lest they also are punished when they join me.' "

This man and I had a good long talk together and he told me the dream because he wanted my advice and help. At last he said, "When a man has had a bad dream, he should call the village elders together, tell them about it, get them to make fetishes, and then pray that the evil indicated in the dream may pass away." The poor fellow did me the honour of coming to me privately to consult me first. And I think he went away in a happier frame of mind.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [827]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here.
Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so and I now reside in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went to the underground world and there I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they, too, be punished when they join me."

While walking under some very large trees one day, there came a mighty clap of thunder accompanied by a very bright flash of lightning and a sudden crash. It was all so sudden and the noise was so great that I was stupefied for the moment. I felt a puff as of a cool wind or electric current fall upon my cheek, and even saw my coat go to one side as the breath passed by. The flash left a smell like burning brimstone in the air around. When I came to myself, I looked about me and saw that a big tree close by had been struck, so that a branch was much splintered and the trunk riven through. I must surely have been unconscious for a time. Chief Penri believed that this was an attack by an evil genius of thunder and lightning. He told me that these demons lived in the clouds above and were so bad at times that they sent metal-like balls into the earth. They fell with such mighty force that they went right down to the lowest world. He also added "As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This is in part why there is so much evil in the world." The names of some of them are very long, such as these, "He who passes through the highest skies," and his wife;" He who comes down from the stars," and his wife, with others. All these things point, it will be observed, to naturism and general animism. The people used to be very much afraid of thunderstorms. When one was

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-
192 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
● [828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, 117
my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had per- 512
haps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to 221
take up their time. There was the weeding to be at- 562
tended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manu- 462
facturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quick- 242
ly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be 243
pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of 244
reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are 222
used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. 262
About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium* 251
Glenni). After washing and boiling well, the arrow- 252
root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to 242
speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We 829
once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which
829 followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to
[178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 In the winter time, particularly during the latter
562 part of November and the early part of December, the
462 women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so,
[461 for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especial-
177] ly after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 decomposing, turned into marshes, swamps and bad water, among other things.

I have a further legend by me which refers to the water-wagtail and his help in creation. It is very short and runs thus:

"In very olden times, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of Heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was like this: God made him fly down from above and settle on the rough places He Himself had already cast up with His mattocks and axes, and, in order to make the ground level, ordered him to hop and jump about on it, scratch it with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day whenever this bird is seen he is certain to be found beating the earth with his tail."

●829 It would appear that the Creator was not always infallible in His choice of localities in which to place the creatures He made. The following story will show what I mean. It has reference to the race of the bears and sea lions.

One day, as I and a native companion came riding over a high spur of a mountain down toward the sea-coast, we heard a great bellowing out at sea. It sounded like some monsters fighting. It was not far from my friend's home and I asked him what it was. He at once pointed to a flat rock about a mile out and told me the noise came from there. He said it was made by [134] a big school of sea-lions which had come there, as they did every year at that season, for breeding. The bellowing was a challenge to the mountain gods, i.e. bears, to come down to fight. I told him I would like to hear all about this when we reached his house, where I was to stay. The following is his story.

773 "Many of the larger of the wild animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as the demons

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

● 829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *epto-ashte guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do.

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed.

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow."

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

/326 cont'd/

173 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as com-
223 munication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting
[237] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the
[829] Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to
[769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly-
[769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and
123 at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 When writing of earthquakes and their cause,* I mentioned a place called *Chirama Moshiri*, which means
●831 "The lowest world." About the time that myth was told me, old Mr. Kanturuka, whom I have mentioned in another chapter, gave me a splendid legend of love and war, in which that country is mentioned again, and in which great battles between the thunder gods are said to have taken place. As the legend is so very interesting and makes so many allusions to quite unexpected matters, I propose now to give a translation of it.

"There was a person who was brought up as a slave at a place called the 'Great Plain.' Once upon a time he heard it noised abroad that there was a Lady living at Black River, who was famous for her beauty. So one day, after he had cooked and eaten some food, this slave buckled on his belt, stuck a trusty sword into his girdle, and fastened on his helmet. Then he was taken up by the winds which arose from the head of the fire-place and swiftly carried through the roof opening. Here his guardian angels came down upon him with a mighty sound, and he went before the great winds till he arrived at the village of Black River.

"Thus he came to my Lady of Black River. When he looked at her, he found that she was weeping exceedingly. Shedding tears profusely, she said to him, 'The Gods of Thunder who have their dwelling-places in the heavens above are two in number, and the youngest of them persistently makes advances to me and is about to take me to wife. This being so, my dear Yaumbe, we cannot marry, though you have come for me. Nevertheless, I will cook some food that you may eat.'"

(The Lady said she would cook some food for her visitor. It would be considered a great breach of etiquette and very forward in a young woman to do such

*See Chapter XVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

a thing for a bachelor, unless she was commanded to do so by her parents or guardians. This is perfectly natural, because part of the Ainu marriage ceremony consists in the act of the bride cooking food and giving it to her betrothed.)

"After she had spoken thus, she swung a pretty little pot over the fire and put some of her choicest treasured-up food into it. She then dipped in her ladle and stirred up the delicious vianda. Then she took a very pretty eating-vessel, which she set on a most beautiful tray, and, heaping it high, carried it to him and bowed profusely.

"Just as he had commenced eating, flashes of lightning, white and glistening, came through the upper aperture and played round the beams in curious forms. Upon looking up, he saw a Lady even more beautiful than the Lady of Black River, reclining in a white chariot." (The word here translated by "chariot" is the common word for cradle, but in this legend "chariot" suits the sense better. The chariot is conceived of as being suspended from above by means of strings and cords, in the same way as the Ainu women suspend their cradles from the roof of their huts.)

"Showing great anger on her countenance, she said with a wrathful voice, 'O dear Yaumbe, listen to me, for I have something to say to you. I am the younger sister of the Wolf God and the benefactress of my Lady of Black River, and you are being watched over by my elder brother. This being so, I am here to tell you that the Thunder God is angry with you for coming to visit this Lady and has determined to make grievous war against you. The war is near at hand. Although I am but a woman, I have come to help you. Get into my white chariot.' So spake the younger sister of the Wolf God.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

"So he got into the chariot, and they immediately flew out of the opening above. The trappings of the chariot whistled and rattled. As they went on their way they skirted the mountains toward the source of the river, and proceeding along, saw white and black lightning playing about the clouds in the lower skies. As he was looking at it, he saw the aforesaid thunder god sitting in a black chariot. He was a remarkably small man. There, too, sat a little woman, who, without doubt, was his younger sister. She held a wand in her hand with which she continually struck first one end of the chariot and then the other, as they hung and swayed about over the mountain tops. The thunder god, having wrath expressed on his countenance, said, 'Look here, dear Yaumbe, listen well to me, for I have something to say to you. You have been making love to and flirting with the Lady of Black River, whom I have determined to marry myself. I take this as a cause for war. Be very careful, my fine fellow, for I will bring down your haughty looks. When he had so spoken, he attacked him vehemently with his sword, so that his blows rattled upon the sides of the white chariot. Thereupon Yaumbe also drew his sword and set upon the thunder god as fiercely as he was attacked himself. They fought with might and main. The black and white chariots rose and fell to meet the attack, so that the blows from the swords fell upon their sides and bottoms, sending forth clashing sounds.

"And now there was a tremendous roaring sound of thunder over the land and a mighty wind began to blow. They continued to fight with all their might both by day and by night. After the battle had lasted twice ten months, the God of Thunder said,

" 'I observe that as we fight upon this land on which men dwell, we are wasting and wearing out the country, for, as you know, its backbone (foundation) consists of rocks only; we ought therefore to be more

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
831

careful of the world. Now then, come, the foundations (backbone) of the world above us are made of iron, let us go up there and fight. We may wage war there without any fear of spoiling the place.' So spake he.

"He then withdrew into the air and Yaumbe followed behind him. The younger sister of the Wolf God, holding the wand in her hand, continued to strike first one end and then the other of the chariot. The thin trappings whistled and the thick trappings rattled as the white chariot followed close upon the black one. The gates of heaven opened with a great noise, and after they had passed through were shut upon them with a mighty bang. Now, they saw things on this wise. A splendid country lay before them and a very beautiful waterway opened up to their view. On the banks of the river were forests of magnificent oaks, and the clouds upon the horizon were floating gently along. The Thunder God said,

"'This country is in truth the high heaven. Its foundations are of iron, so that even if we fight here for many years, we need have no fear of damaging it. This is indeed a place in which we may unsparingly measure our strength. So said he.

"Having so said, he set upon Yaumbe mightily with his sword, who also turned upon him as fiercely. Nevertheless, the edge of the black chariot clashed against the sword and warded off the blows. There was therefore only the sound of clashing iron to be heard. In the same way, the white chariot, also rising up and fencing with its floor, sent forth a mighty clashing sound. And now, fighting fiercely, they chased each other from end to end of heaven and back again, till at length they passed by chance over a metal house which was covered with a peculiar lid, and directly over this they stayed and did battle, whilst there came forth a voice from the inside of the house, which said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 "'Look here, O dear Yaumbe, and thou Thunder
23 God, I have a word to say, so please pay attention. It is indeed true that the foundations of Ainu-land are rocks, and it is also true that the foundations of heaven above consist of metal. But as ye continue to carry on your battle here, heaven has grown weary and waxed very hot, for the very reason that its foundations are iron. Ye ought to be careful. Now, then, come. Underneath Ainu-land there are six countries, and beneath these again there is another most beautiful land. Its name is *Chirama moshiri* (Lower world), and its foundations are earth. Go ye to that land and fight, for unless ye do so, our country with its villages will be completely spoiled.' Thus was heard the voice of God.

"Upon this the Thunder God sheathed his sword and Yaumbe also sheathed his. Then, as they entered heaven before, so now they went out with a rush. They passed down through space head-first like snipes, and, piercing the earth, went clean through six worlds. Having done so, they came, as they were told they should, to a truly beautiful country; without doubt this was the Lowest world to which they had descended.

"And now they chased one another from one end of the land to the other, fighting as before with might and main. Nevertheless, whenever and howsoever they fought, the black chariot rising, falling and swinging to and fro, warded off Yaumbe's blows with its sides and bottom, so that the result was nothing but the sound of clashing metal. In the same way, the white chariot also rose up and fenced the blows with its sides and bottom, like a shield. However much Yaumbe strove, he could by no means touch the God of Thunder. He therefore aimed at nothing but to cut the trappings by which the black chariot was suspended. Fighting hard with this intent, he was able after a time and by the help of God to sever them. So too,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

all the trappings of his white chariot were cut asunder. They therefore all fell down to the ground. Then the Thunder God got out of his black chariot and came over to Yaumbe, walking by the help of his hands.

"Upon this the younger sister of the Thunder God wept and said, 'Oh my elder brother, you are a god; and if you would but marry a goddess, you would have no need to carry on this fierce combat with Yaumbe. Why do you set your affections on this lady of Black River as though she were the only woman? Now our charmed black chariot has been quite broken up and you are as one fighting without armour. Be careful or Yaumbe will slay you.' So spake she through her tears.

"After she had said this the sister of the Wolf god went out and fought against her. Then the Thunder God set upon Yaumbe most fiercely and he attacked him just as vehemently. Thus fighting together, Yaumbe managed with great difficulty to strike him now and then, so that his garments hung about him in rags. But he was not to be beaten; for he also in like manner cut Yaumbe's clothes into many pieces. Whilst things were going on so, a mighty sound, as if the very gods were coming, issued from the east of the Lower kingdom, and all at once the Lady of Black River, more beautiful than ever and shedding tears profusely, alighted and came to the side of the Wolf God. And now the sister of the Thunder God fought mightily, but after two or three mighty struggles she was cut down and slain. Her divine spirit roared loudly as it ascended into the skies. She went up to heaven a living goddess; and when she had departed the roaring ceased.

"After this, my Lady of Black River, in company with the sister of the Wolf God, came to Yaumbe's side, and the three fought together against the God of Thunder. After a time, and with great difficulty, he was smitten down and died. His spirit roared as it

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 went up; but, as it was impossible for him to go into
831 the western end of the Lower Kingdom (that is, to become extinct), his spirit ascended to the high heavens with a great noise. It went up a new god; then the sound died away and there was peace.

"When all was over, my Lady of Black River and the younger sister of the Wolf God saluted each other with their swords, and then after they had come to their own country and reached the village, the young Wolf Goddess said, 'As I am a goddess, I must take a husband from among the gods, but as you are a man it would be well for you to marry my Lady of Black River. Your guardian angel is the Wolf God. Henceforth fight no more, but when you have saké be careful to make fetishes and offer libations to the Wolf God.' So spake she.

"When she had finished speaking, she departed with a mighty sound. Then my Lady of Black River worked away with a willing heart and great pleasure, and, having prepared food for Yaumbe (made a wedding feast), heaped up a very pretty cup which she set on a lovely tray and brought it to Yaumbe, making many bows. After eating a little of it he pushed the remainder to her, and she, lifting it up with reverence, finished it. (This was the marriage ceremony.) Then, when the meal was over the Lady proceeded to set the house in order and they lived happily ever after."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LVI

A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY

Kutri of Crag-top was the most handsome man in his district and was highly regarded by all. He had lovely locks of fine wavy black hair and a delightful beard. He was as strong as a bear in his prime, and as bold, and he knew not what fear was. He was as swift of foot as a deer, as clever as a wily fox, as keen-sighted as a hawk, and as quick and sure in his movements as a weasel pursuing his prey. He never returned from the hunt empty-handed and was never known to miss a fish with his hook or spear. His club for killing salmon sounded three times to any other man's once. In shooting, his aim was so true that his arrows invariably hit the mark, and he, above all others, knew how to track animals in the forest. He could wind the instrument for decoying deer so well that when he blew it, the sound he made was so sharp and clear as to be indistinguishable from the call of a doe for its young, the cry of the young for its mother, or a signal of distress or alarm. He was wonderful! The man was like a demi-god among his fellows. He was also very eloquent of speech; he could roar like thunder when he was angry, and when at peace his voice was like the rippling of a gentle stream of water running among the pebbles in its course. No one could stand before him. He was the pride and hope of his race, and good-tempered and humble withal. The maidens delighted in him and all the young men envied him; for, did not everyone praise him? and did not the chiefs and elders of the people extol his virtues?

539 831 181

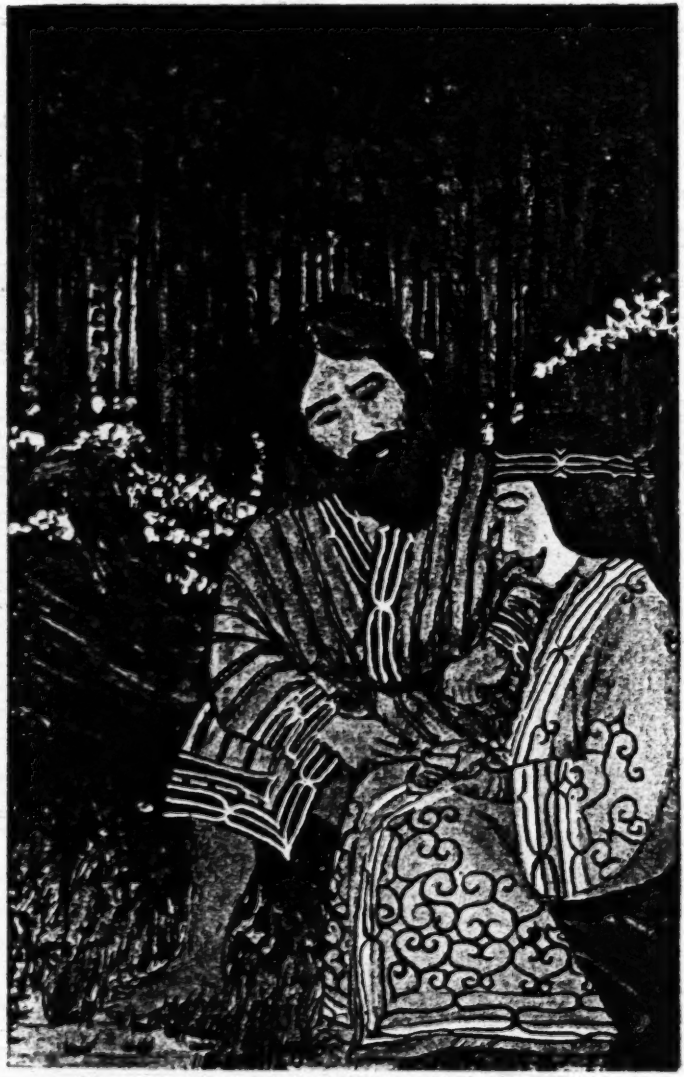
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful
●831 maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She
181 was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where
831 Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the
584 path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
291
●831
516
584



KUTRI AND YAI-MAII COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objections to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539
631
584

himself was just as obdurate. His aversion to that one-eyed, unlovable damsel was fixed and absolute. There was consequently much unhappiness in his home where bickerings and quarrels were the order of the day.

Yai-mah also had been betrothed when a baby to another child in a village some distance away, Wenku by name, and when she was told that the early betrothal could not be broken off, she wept bitterly and began to pine away. Her proposed husband was a very poor, ill-formed, and fiery-tempered man, and as jealous as jealous could be. He was greatly feared by all and not the least so by Yai-mah herself. This man could neither hunt nor fish, and the very dogs everywhere shunned him. Moreover, as he had a partly withered arm, he was unable to shoot with the bow. He was a worthless drag on his family and the people of the village scorned him. His scowl would shame the worst of demons. Yai-mah had not a particle of love for him and declared she would rather die than become his bride. When he heard this and also that she desired to wed Kutri, he became more jealous than ever, if that were possible, and as fierce as an enraged and hungry man-eater bear. And poor Yai-mah had much trouble and shed many bitter tears. It was indeed a very unhappy state of affairs.

Neither could forget their love for the other, nor, indeed, had they a wish to do so. And so they felt they must meet again. They came together one evening and settled to flee away secretly by night, and go to live by themselves among the mountains, far away from their people. They appointed a place to which each should by stealth carry some necessaries, a few at a time, so as to attract no attention from prying eyes, and hide them carefully away against the hour of departure. Yai-mah took her best embroidered dress, her waist-band, which was ornamented with

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 ment was delightful to hear. They were overjoyed to
● 331 find that when busy preparing to set off on their
533 journey together, each had been so filled with thought for the other in little things.

When all was ready and the night of departure had arrived, they came quietly to the rendezvous, each followed by a fine hunting dog as companion. These faithful creatures seemed quite to understand what was on foot, for when their master and mistress took up their bundles and silently moved off towards the mountains they placed themselves in front and trotted on a little ahead, as though to show them the way. Then came the man, with Yai-mah, being a woman, behind. On they went tramping along for twice six days, camping each night in some secluded nook near water. When they started each morning, Kutri's dog alone went ahead, while that of Yai-mah followed close behind its mistress as though to prevent a surprise from the rear. The dogs seemed to know that there might be danger. On the evening of the twelfth day they came to a beautiful glade, in the midst of which there was a lovely tarn, the clear blue waters of which rippled with the movements of trout as they sported on the surface. The land round the tarn was a plain covered with most luxuriant green grass, in which were two big companies of fat deer peacefully feeding. One was a herd of fine bucks, and the other consisted of does with their fawns. Not far off were other small lakes, on which could be seen many geese and wild ducks resting quietly. All appeared to be most gentle and tame. In the light of the setting sun it was like the kingdom of the gods. It was grand beyond description, and there, right under a big elm-tree, which would yield fine bast for weaving into cloth, they determined to build their house and make it their permanent abode.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

They laid themselves down under a tree and slept there the first night, in the open. The twinkling stars came out one by one, and the silver moon, climbing up into the heavens, made the shadows of the forest trees behind them move like living beings as it coursed its way across the skies.

Pau, pau, called the foxes in the distance, and the cries of the night birds, as they flitted overhead just above the trees, were loud and constant. Yet they heard them not. The pine-martens came out of their holes and watched the sleepers with their sparkling, saucy eyes, but they saw them not. A fine fat buck unsuspiciously approaching the place where they lay, soon scented them. He sniffed, stamped his foot on the ground, whistled, and bounded off to report to his family. But Kutri was quite unaware of it. A bear roared not far away but Yai-mah slept in peace. The winds whispered in the tree tops and made a rustling among the leaves of the elms. A moonbeam rested peacefully on Yai-mah's smiling upturned face and softened it by adding to its divine beauty, while Kutri lay with his head pillowed on his arm, snoring with a pleasing rhythmic measure. It was a heavenly sight!

The night passed and at early dawn they awoke to a new day amid the whistling of the striped and red squirrels as they scudded about the tree trunks and branches, and the whirring of the tree-grouse and quails as they rose and flew away. The insolent jay alone seemed to scream defiance. The drumming of woodcocks and the quack of the ducks, together with the song of the skylark, were delightful to hear. It was splendid!

They did not hear the hoot of the owl, and little did they dream of the tragedy which was to follow. And so they abode in a fancied security. But alas, a sad end was soon to come to this peace!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Now when the flight of the lovers became known, Wenku of the withered arm and Ara-shik of the weak eye raged like demons and vowed dire vengeance. Cunning as an evil, bewitching fox, Wenku called in the shamans and asked them to divine the whereabouts of the couple. Thus did they think to gain knowledge of them and so pursue and find them. But neither by their séances nor divinations could they prevail. The secret was well kept, for the guardian angels of Kutri and Yai-mah were too mighty for them and hid them from view. So after a time they ceased their incantations and let them go. It is true they nearly succeeded, for the two dogs showed much uneasiness and distress for a day or two. They felt the influence of the shamans. But soon they quieted down again and peace reigned around. Yet the enemy would not rest. Their anger burned like fire. The rage of Wenku resembled that of a big wounded she-bear just robbed of her cubs; his fury was like a mighty torrent rushing madly down a narrow gully, or like a roaring wind tearing over the high mountain ranges. Vengeance he would have, said he, even though it cost him his life. So mad, so jealous was he.

Now Wenku had two male friends who were his relations, and they were evil like himself. These, together with Ara-shik, the woman of the one weak eye, conspired together to find out and follow up the tracks of the pair to the very end, and there slay Kutri and bring back Yai-mah to her village. Here Wenku swore to marry her before them all, according to the promise made for him and her during their childhood. Out of a new-born hatred, Ara-shik agreed to the murder of her affianced Kutri. To such lengths did her jealousy carry her. They set out on their quest, and after three months' continual searching discovered their retreat. Oh, the fiends! They carefully hid themselves in the undergrowth by the glade and watched,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

waiting for an opportunity to accomplish their wicked end. The two faithful dogs scented danger and gave warning to their master and mistress. They kept close watch over them night and day. Thenceforth neither Kutri nor Yai-mah ever wandered far from the lake. Instead of wood, they burned dried grass and rushes for cooking their food. There was no need for them to go many yards from their tiny house, for at their very door they were able to catch all the trout they needed for themselves and their dogs. Moreover, deer could be shot at any time from their window, and the lake water was good for drinking purposes. So, too, there were plenty of tubers close to their walls. It was a lovely and ideal spot. They felt secure at home, for the enemy could not approach because of the dogs. Wenku and his companions were all great skulking cowards, while Kutri was brave as a bear and a fine shot with his bow. All knew that he never missed his mark. Yet their danger was very great. Several times did the fiends attempt to approach the lodge, but the brave dogs never once allowed them to come within bowshot of the place.

Meanwhile Wenku and his friends were all well hidden, waiting for a chance to wreak vengeance. One day Kutri wandered, quite unarmed, nearer to the forest than usual. He was thinking deeply and did not notice that he had gone so far from his home, and the dogs gave no warning. Then it was that one of the wicked men shot a poisoned arrow at him which struck him just above his shoulder. In haste he returned to his hut and told Yai-mah what had happened. Thereupon she fell upon his neck with tears in her eyes and a great catching of her breath. She also had a big lump in her throat. Bravely did she, at the bidding of her husband, draw her knife—the very knife he had given her when they first met—from its sheath, so beautifully carved by Kutri, and at his command cut

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

"We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

angered by the sight. There was no pity in their hearts. Wenku in his rage gave a fierce kick to Yai-mah's side, when, lo, the poisoned arrow-head she had drawn from his stricken neck, and which she had cast upon the floor, stuck into his foot. He did not at first notice what it was, for his fit of passion had partially numbed his senses. Soon a tingling sensation was felt by him, and then pain like burning. He looked down and found the arrow-head sticking into his foot. He began to fear, and all worked to save him. But he quickly died, so that his fiendlike spirit went off with a roar to Gehenna. The groan he gave when he died was like that of a mighty dying bear in his death struggles. Long did it echo among the hills.

539
831
578

Ara-shik, the weak-eyed woman, then suggested that the hut be burnt down as it stood, to destroy the dead bodies completely. Her male companions agreed at once and did so. All was entirely consumed. But what of the dogs? They were nowhere to be seen. They had escaped. Having burnt all up, Ara-shik and her friends set off towards their distant homes. They had not gone far, however, before those two faithful dogs, which had been lying in wait for them, pounced out from behind a tree and severely bit them about the legs and arms. Soon the wounds began to swell and become inflamed. They burned like fire so that they could hardly walk. A fever began to consume their whole bodies. Day after day as they struggled on they got worse and worse and quarrelled with one another. They snarled, and scratched, and even began to bite one another. Long before they could reach their homes they died in agonies, foaming at the mouth and barking like dogs. They had been visited by "dog-punishment." They went off one after the other to Gehenna, whining like curs. There they must abide with the demons for ever and ever, in raging jealousy and madness. Their bodies were left to the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

foxes and to rot in the forest, for there was no one to bury them. But in the place of the dead they will always see, far away, Kutri and Yai-mah living in joy and peace, and this will add greatly to their punishment.

When all was over the two faithful dogs returned to their old homes, and thus did the people learn that Kutri and Yai-mah were no more, and that their enemies had met with the punishment they deserved.

THE END

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another: and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kokaes* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontaes* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine nokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 18 The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 39), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 19 Concerning the *Ha-ki Ikoru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine hacu-ikoru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine hacu-ikoru* within a depth of six generations (SEGURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 29 living female relatives of her *hacu-ikoru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 271).

611 292 [331] It is assumed by SEGURA that a *hacu-ikoru* group was symbolized by one and the same form of the *ashiri-kor kor*, chastity belt (SEGURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21). Doubt may be raised however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have had wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case a *hacu-ikoru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *ashiri-kor kor* and their relation with the *hacu-ikoru*. SEGAWA, in his studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, writes as follows:

"It is reported [illegible] Ainu [illegible] there was slight difference in the braids [illegible] *kor* or in their number according to [illegible] *hacu-ikoru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of [illegible] would have existed. Some information has been

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows, which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few "bites" my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
836 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[156] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
● 834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[156] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

A [611] [614]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog. 576

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey. 576 593

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage. 582 595 836

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents. 584 585 [591]

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age. 163 853

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent. 586

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin, 764

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual [836] relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the [928] son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She [562] could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there [621] seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan sūru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* [a Japanese], keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

HEARTH AND HOME

Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[056] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[056] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

/773 cont./

886 145 However, I believe that this figure is entirely arbitrary and based on the statements of only a few persons. My Ainu friends showed me a woman who must have been from 56 to 60 years old since her son was already 34. She had stopped menstruating scarcely three years before and was certainly not to be regarded as an exception, according to my acquaintances. From the statistical data that I collected among the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, it appears that 12 persons were [163] born to women of over 40 years of age. Of these women five bore children between the ages of 41 and 45, seven between the ages of 46 and 53. This constitutes 20 percent of all the women over 40 on the eastern shore of the island. It should be noted, however, that I only registered cases in which the children had remained alive, that is to say, the actual number of births is much greater. It may therefore be justly assumed that there are many women among the Ainu who menstruate beyond the age of 40 and whose menopause does not take place before 50.

• 841 145 Menstruation is not always regular among Ainu women. I knew for instance a young woman who later died of influenza at the age of 25, and who, according to her husband, lost so little blood that he would jokingly call her a man. This circumstance the young Ainu considered the cause of her sterility, and he sorrowfully confessed to me, that he would have to look for another wife in order to obtain offspring. She frequently complained of pains and said she had the feeling as though something moved in her entrails that caused these pains. Sometimes she also experienced difficulty in breathing at the same time.

It sometimes happens, though rather rarely, that Ainu women have their menstruation not every month, but every sixth week, which is called kiem o-utur tuima, that is, a great interruption of the blood.

Ordinarily menstruation lasts two to three days, and with some women it last four days. In the latter case it is always painful.

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
224 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese them-
[144 selves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *kon-o-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yainunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-o-inonna-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.**

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] *The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] **It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[842] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825 [782] [789]

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 [794] [789]

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. [782] [798] [842]

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
[372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[769] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
776 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. 775 [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. 763 [782]

[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the
789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old
769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [875] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many
778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the
782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little
789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
781 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

• 842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childless-
ness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned
above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[056] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse
to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens
that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and
who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and
exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful
(we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the
weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

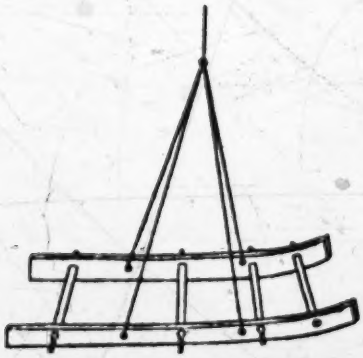
841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are
strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since
they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my
arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
[056] innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be
deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous
system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found
women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women
are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was
pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old
man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the
above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many
years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no
longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, un-
able to give me the average age at which this occurs. The
Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."



AN AINU CRADLE

"But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

birth takes place, while the spirit-life is supposed to come by degrees in some mysterious way from the father during the six days immediately following its birth, and go on growing and being augmented for another six days after he has returned to his own home. At the end of the last six days, which complete the perfect number, the infant may be regarded as a unit in itself, but while the spirit is being derived from the father it is not yet one; therefore, unless the father is very quiet and careful during these twice six days, the life of his offspring will take harm, and in injuring his child he will in return also receive harm.

846
843

I asked the Chief, "But supposing the father is away among the mountains when the child is to be born, what happens then? He knows nothing about it and can not take the rest?"

"That is so," he replied, "yet the birth goes on just the same. The *iuren kamui*, i.e., "Divine Guardians," attend to the matter. Willow fetishes and totems are made by the near relations for the child, the goddess of fire is duly worshipped, and many libations drunk. And then all is well."

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only [262] under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

843 [184]

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

[789] [783]

764 778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

[184] [532]

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 562 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 844 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 562 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated - Analyst]

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
[illegible] because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
789 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[278] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
153 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (ŝwembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIV

THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born. 824 778 [844]

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby. 844 852

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new 846
baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?"

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to 842
be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and 846
parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *kon-o-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth 844
has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon 846
to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yainunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it.

"When a child is six days old," said the chief, 852
"there is a function held called *po-o-inonno-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever [784
may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a 844]
house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. 627
Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical 621
and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among [582]
themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations 621
are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for 143
instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities 732
two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children
are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not [844]
treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not 143
know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos 732
are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another: and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from
424 mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
614 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony.
769 At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1363
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some
[372] protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
[78] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
[782] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

776 825 844 776 825

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

776 778 825 [787]

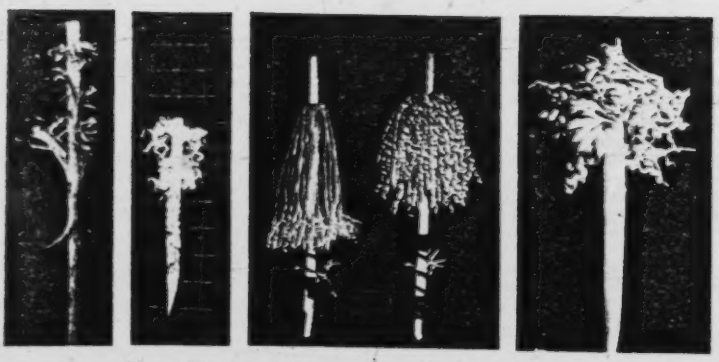
For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

[782] (413) [774]

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

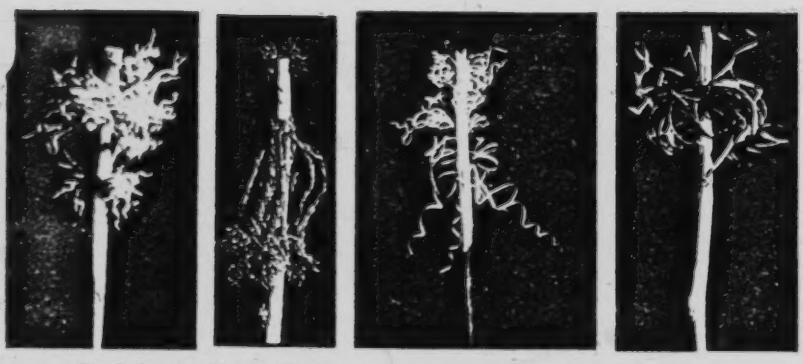
[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



778
782

Fig. 1. *Shian shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shutu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.



[844]

Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth, seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau*
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau*

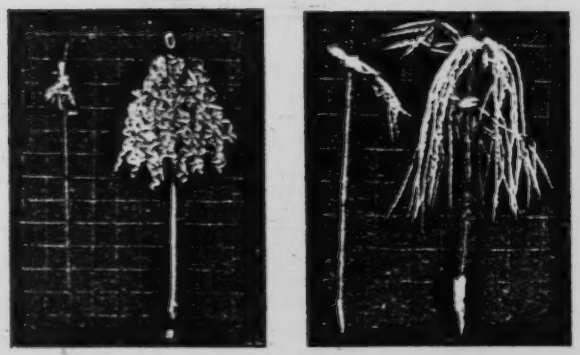
PLATE III. *INAU.*

[p. 30, (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

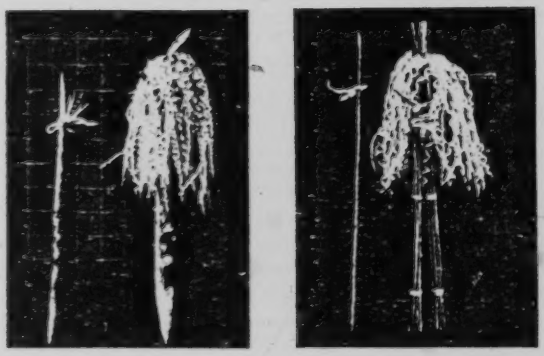
1. 2. 3.

776
778
532



4. 5.

[825]
[796]
[844]



6. 7.

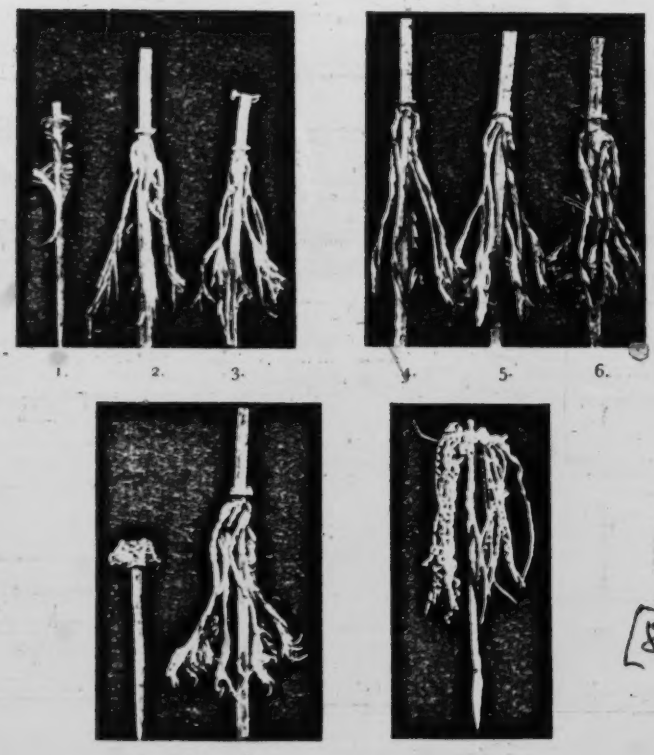
Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by U'esanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
776



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

7 8. 9.

[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*, the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 [789] [171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778 782 [783] [844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 771 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

354 776 774 [462] sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 776 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 554 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 523 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained [439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. [177] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 776 825 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

[778] The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

755 782 825

[783]

787 825 776 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 776 782 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

755

● 844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755 844 [354] [782] [825] [237]

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

[412] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn [844] from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

611

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters [844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] [576] [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[142] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

/763 cont./

843 562 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

842 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 843 826 825 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 784 283 286 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails of the child might then get entangled like string. The same can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another [604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw [602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage 757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant [824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with [237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, [824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of [782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole [769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand- [539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the 789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old 769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [975] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./
844 the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every
[957] family.
[823]

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of
[574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the
844 Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu
114 women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child
[753] will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[278] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

Z: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to
touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for
others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them
would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really
in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among
these people, and I found it always necessary to walk
warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [781]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in
divination. And although they are said to have a
special spite against women, and are ever seeking to
possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some
women who actually keep snake skins as special charms
and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman,
and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the
image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in
divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would,
upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith
enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells
there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent
for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got
into his granary, an account of which has already been
given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond
being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great
compliment and killed many of these creatures for
them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a
woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all
troubles connected with childbirth, and the only cer-
tain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was un-
doubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shumat*), and to almost any object of value. 778 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and carrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection. [796] [796] [301] [396]

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition. [301] [755] [845] [844]

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head. [513] [774] [411] [278] [762] [776] [787] [825] [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male 778 532 212 [796] [776]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu A

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
291
133

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.

263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult. 795 769 614 782 845 [184]

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission. 622 182 [681] [621] 621 423 [224] [428]

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. 621 423 182 [657] [114] [776] [769]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782
845
776
755

This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782
845
539
755
776

1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

782
845
539
755
776

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [875] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/766 cont./
844 the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every
[957] family.
[823]

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of
[574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the
844 Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu
114 women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-born children who have so much white slime in their mouth
[845] which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

● 845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their [842] opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from [171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has [595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
896 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *kon-e-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yaimunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

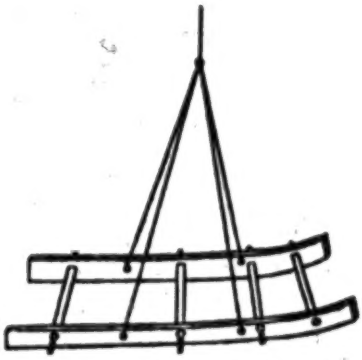
"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-o-inonno-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of 846 the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *saké* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

[352 855]



AN AINU CRADLE

846 843 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

birth takes place, while the spirit-life is supposed to come by degrees in some mysterious way from the father during the six days immediately following its birth, and go on growing and being augmented for another six days after he has returned to his own home. At the end of the last six days, which complete the perfect number, the infant may be regarded as a unit in itself, but while the spirit is being derived from the father it is not yet one; therefore, unless the father is very quiet and careful during these twice six days, the life of his offspring will take harm, and in injuring his child he will in return also receive harm.

I asked the Chief, "But supposing the father is away among the mountains when the child is to be born, what happens then? He knows nothing about it and can not take the rest?"

"That is so," he replied, "yet the birth goes on just the same. The *iturcu kamui*, i.e., "Divine Guardians," attend to the matter. Willow fetishes and totems are made by the near relations for the child, the goddess of fire is duly worshipped, and many libations drunk. And then all is well."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

846 This private ceremony is called *Rere-eshiraye* and means, "Moving back to the hearth." And this is just what it is, for she now resumes her household duties.

271 783 Water is a great symbol of purification with them and is much used. A short time ago I came across an instance of it, in which I had to participate. It was this. As I was riding along a road quite near the sea, I came to a small fishing station. Just a little way back, I saw that the Ainu had put up a small temporary lodge and that some kind of function was going on. I dismounted and went to see what it could be, for I knew all the people about the place. On coming near, [766] I found that a young man I had known from infancy had been drowned, and the people had gathered together for a religious ceremony. Each person, as he or she drew near to the corpse, rinsed his or her mouth out and washed the hands. Having done likewise, I was escorted to the head of the dead man and asked to sit down. Upon sitting, I made my salutations to the deceased first and then to the assembly. That finished, we had a free and easy talk about the accident. When all was over I got up and departed, first once again washing out my mouth with fresh water, and then rinsing my hands. This was my purification.

846 Said I to the chief one day; "O Chief, whatever can be the matter with Mr. So and So. He looks extremely forlorn and miserable. As I was passing his house I took a peep inside, and there he was sitting by the fire wrapped up as though he were either sick or had the whole world resting upon his shoulders. He looked like misery personified. I went in and sat down for a minute or two and asked him what the trouble was, but he would not tell me."

"Ah, ha, ha," laughed the Chief. "His wife has had a baby!" "Dear, dear," replied I, "What a misfortune! And so he is miserable because another youngster has arrived, is he?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows: 775

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored. 775 826

It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again. 846

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
798 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.

[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

/766 cont./

844 [757] [825] the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-
[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

● 846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

/769 cont./

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.
753 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-born children who have so much white slime in their mouth
[845] which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason
[836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the
171 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have
[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two
[291] up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since
[184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/770 cont./

847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so [124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained [177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is [177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIV

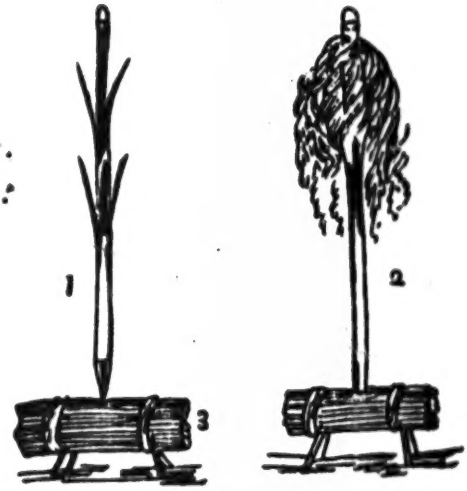
THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born. 824 778 [844]

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby. 844 852

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

●852 782 After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly pilled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

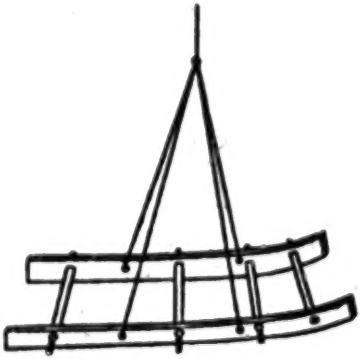
"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *hon-e-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yaimunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-e-inonno-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."



AN AINU CRADLE

"But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

428 868 789 424 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in- 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [614] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to 462 one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor- 769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [715] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
798 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman). I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
[842] special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[158]

The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
[825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their 576
hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form 576
of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, 593
also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. 582
Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the [595
unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such 836]
relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents 584
usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight 585
to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from [591]
henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than 163 853
girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her 586
parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following 764
day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

896 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[757] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease ~~of the eyes~~ if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[298] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
297 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462
288
516
413
285
292
● 854

WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *han-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

The bark of the Linden (*Tilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

> My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

> The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable among them, but not among the men. Children are carried on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs. A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.

THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

Amid all her work the mother's love for her offspring is very great among this people, so that, according to their lights and material ability they look after them well. I have now before me a story of a goat-sucker which owes its origin to the carelessness of a woman in nursing her child, and will be in point to quote in this place. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird. Pliny and Aristotle call it by the names Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which mean "goat-sucker." These names were given it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu knew nothing about goats and gave quite a different version of the origin of the name by which the bird now to be discussed is known to them.

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once a human child, and that, out of sheer mischief, a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is meant to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. The being who stole the child and did all the mischief was the evil genius of swamps. Now, although the child once managed to escape from her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a bird, and possessed its nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babies when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women and that the sound of its note is looked upon as of evil omen.

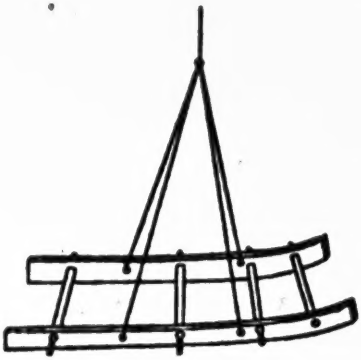
"Once upon a time, in far away bygone days, a certain woman took her dear little baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of 846 the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutara*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

[352
855]



AN AINU CRADLE

846 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so 843 particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

855
482
291

SAMARIA AND HER GRANDCHILD

[P.228]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take 855 care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, edu-
[164] cating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage
[165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
789

1, 7. IKAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5. CHISEI-KARA-IKAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
● 856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atsis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu men are indolent, save under excite- 147
ment. They will cover a long distance—say forty miles—in one 484
day, bear-hunting, and not suffer from great fatigue, while they will not be able to walk half that distance under less exciting conditions. The average distance which an Ainu can walk in one day on a fairly level track does not exceed twenty-five miles at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. The distance he can run would not go beyond ten English miles, and this is partly from want of training, as he never runs if he can help it. If, however, the walk of twenty-five miles, or the run of ten miles, had to be kept up for several days in succession at the same pace, few Ainu could manage to hold out for more than three days at most; while a walking average of fifteen miles and a running average of six miles each day could be kept up for a week. In walking and running women are as good as men in one day's distances; but, contrary to what they are in manual labour, they lack endurance in locomotion, and break down after the second or third day. Men regard [481] running as unbecoming after childhood. "If we must go quick, why not go on horseback?" says the practical Ainu, who is as perfect a horseman as the Indian.

When riding, he is able to cover a distance of fifty-five miles 492
easily in one day on a good pony, and about seventy miles if [484]
he changes his quadruped four times. Both men and women ride in the same fashion, astride, and nearly always on bare-back, or with simply a bear-skin thrown over the horse. Pack-saddles are only used when carrying wood, fish, sea-weed, or other heavy articles; and though the Japanese of Yezo designate these by the name of *Ainu kurah* (Ainu saddles), they are only in reality rough imitations of their own pack-saddles. Though women do ride on occasions, it is the men 492
who are the true equestrians. From their infancy they spend 857
a great deal of their time on horseback, while women ride only when obliged. Being, therefore, accustomed from their earliest days to ride pretty nearly from morning to night, men can stand many days of hard riding, and are not so easily exhausted as by walking or running. The Ainu are good at horse-racing, as we have seen at the Piratori festival, but 526
foot-racing, even when the distance was short, gave but poor results.

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women, and 080

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus causing a flow of saliva, which to a certain extent quenches their thirst. However, the reason given by the Ainu is not this. According to them, certain stones and some kinds of grass contain a great amount of water. 261

More interesting to me than their physical characteristics were their movements and attitudes, which I was able to study and note correctly without their observation. For instance when Ainu try to move some heavy object they pull it towards them. Thus, when they drag their "dug-outs" and canoes on shore, and again when they launch them, they never push from them, but always pull towards them. If an Ainu has to break a stick planted in the ground he does it by pulling it; whereas a Japanese will push it. Again, in pulling a rope the Ainu pull; the Japanese push by placing the rope over one shoulder and walking in the direction wanted. In a crowd where a Japanese would push his way through by extending his arms and thus separating people, the Ainu seizes a man on each side, pulling one to the right and the other to the left till space for him to pass is made. 483

As muscles are only strengthened by exercise, it is not astonishing that we never find well-developed arms among the hairy people, who so seldom make vigorous use of them. Children are as fond of climbing trees as the average English boy; and sometimes this is done in our way, by putting the legs and arms round the trunk and gradually "swarming" up; but with trees of a small diameter the ways of monkeys are adopted. The arms are stretched, and one hand is placed on each side of the tree. Both feet are then pushed against the trunk, keeping the leg slightly bent, but stiff. One hand goes rapidly over the other, one foot above the other, and so on; and the more rapid the movement the easier the climb, if care be taken to plant the feet firmly so as not to slip. Ainu boys are dexterous at this; but I have never seen full-grown men attempt it, though I am sure they could if they chose. Elderly people are very sedate in Ainuland, and violent movements are generally avoided. 481 857 142

Where the Ainu are indeed great is at making grimaces. The Ainu resemble monkeys in many ways, but in this special accomplishment they beat monkeys hollow. It would take volumes to describe all the different grimaces which I saw them 201

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[457] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest from,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

of sake. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms 582
were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and 585
beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted be- [431]
cause I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a
wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been 561
mentioned in another place, the wife never took the 562
husband's name, but retained her old one. When
not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a 431
knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, 585
which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing 539
to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes 858
to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so 582

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when
582 the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime
[591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 When children were betrothed quite young, the
562 bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

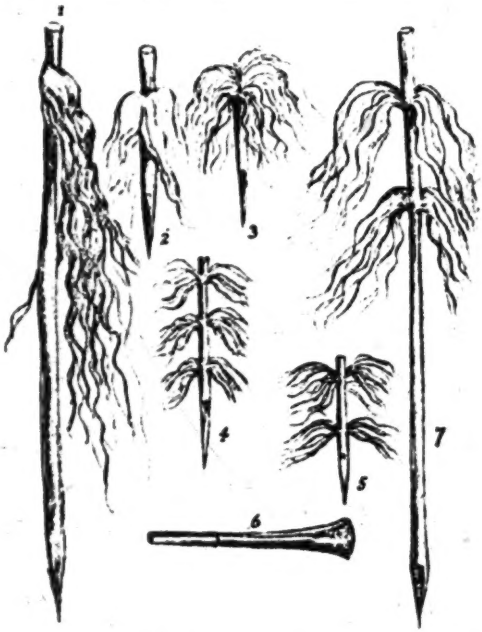
The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked [183]
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

855 [164] [165]

798 789



1, 7. INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISKI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names. 184 182

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river. 778 776 184 354 [562] [858]

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut 778 782 184 [114] [755] [243]

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

It will be seen in the next chapter how a certain 562
haunted man professed to despise his departed spouse and how he said that now she was dead and buried he never wished to see her again. But it must not be supposed from this example and one or two more I might cite if necessary, that the Ainu men are misogynists, for they are not so. However, they sometimes tell a remarkable story of the creation of Hokkaidō (Yezo), which hits very hard at any talkative woman's capacity for chattering. It is also sometimes quoted by the hearth to children, in order to inculcate the [861] principle of working rather than talking. Hokkaidō, we may remind ourselves, is a fine island about the size of Ireland. It has good, rich soil, great abundance of wood, and much coal and other minerals. It has also extensive plains and is well watered. But the western coasts of the island are much more rugged and precipitous than the eastern, and the legend now about to be cited has to do with this fact. It is as follows.

"The island of Yezo was made by two deities, one 539
of whom was a male, and the other a female, and they 562
were sent by the Creator of the world. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, while to the male deity were assigned the south and eastern parts. For a time they vied with each other in their tasks to see which would get through first. But as the female was proceeding with her work she happened to meet with the sister of Aeoina, and in-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The hairy people are fond, not only of their own, but of all 533
music, and their ear is acute enough to hit a tone or note when sung to them, and even to remember with more or less accuracy a short air after they have heard it two or three times. Many who have come in contact with the Japanese have learned from them songs of a totally different character from their own. Of my personal experience I can speak of a boy who, while I was sketching, heard me sing a few bars of the *Trovatore*. An hour or two later I heard him repeat this passage, certainly with an Ainu *libretto*, and somewhat Ainuized; but for all that he had managed to catch the melody, which showed that the lad must have had some musical instinct as well as a good musical memory.

The Ainu are remarkably quick at reproducing sounds 151
which are direct imitations of noises, cries of animals, &c., and it is instinctive in them, as when children they are not taught or trained to do so. The education of Ainu children is indeed 861
a thing far to seek in every way, and what they know is self-taught. Nature is their only school. The Ainu voice is pleasant, flexible, and very soft in quality. The men are 533
mostly baritone and bass, the women alto; but when singing, a falsetto is preferred to the natural voice, especially by the women, and this always without an instrumental accompaniment. Musical instruments are more than rare among the 534
Ainu; indeed, I saw only one, which is now in my own possession. It is a black-stained wooden instrument, fifty-one inches in length and three wide. The upper part is flat, the under is half a cylinder scooped out by a knife, while five keys are fixed in the short neck, in which a cavity is cut, leaving a space for the strings to be tied to each key. The top is circular, and flattened on each side. One very small hole is bored exactly in the middle of the instrument and another is at the lower end, where the point of a triangular piece of leather, seven inches long, is passed through and fastened by a knot tied in the leather on the opposite side. The five strings, which are of *Ulmus campestris* fibre, are fastened to this leather piece and then to each key. A peculiarity of this instrument is, that it has two prism-shaped bridges, and they are placed at each end of the harmonic case. The Ainu call it *mukko*, which word, however, means only a musical instru-

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the 789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old 769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [875] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many 778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the 782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little 789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather
868 than learned.
789 (3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from
424 mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the
[614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village.
582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in-
614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at
[76A] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in
467 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in
849 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While
614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving
[852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband wor-
769 shipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld.
[915] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the
789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
[195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
[611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
[283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
[428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
[869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
[182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women
[804] independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
[428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

[P. 71(B)]

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU ABL

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

A
208
691
871

Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

208
191

Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

T
634
101
131
K
634
101
131

In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

T
K
[167]
T
K
[162]

T
634
101
131
161
K
634
101
131
161

The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

T
433
634
K
433
634

The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within [773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces [386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either [554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

/772 cont./

842 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
[156] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[156] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

● 886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.

/773 cont./

886 145 However, I believe that this figure is entirely arbitrary and based on the statements of only a few persons. My Ainu friends showed me a woman who must have been from 56 to 60 years old since her son was already 34. She had stopped menstruating scarcely three years before and was certainly not to be regarded as an exception, according to my acquaintances. From the statistical data that I collected among the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, it appears that 12 persons were born to women of over 40 years of age. Of these women five [163] bore children between the ages of 41 and 45, seven between the ages of 46 and 53. This constitutes 20 percent of all the women over 40 on the eastern shore of the island. It should be noted, however, that I only registered cases in which the children had remained alive, that is to say, the actual number of births is much greater. It may therefore be justly assumed that there are many women among the Ainu who menstruate beyond the age of 40 and whose menopause does not take place before 50.

841 145 Menstruation is not always regular among Ainu women. I knew for instance a young woman who later died of influenza at the age of 25, and who, according to her husband, lost so little blood that he would jokingly call her a man. This circumstance the young Ainu considered the cause of her sterility, and he sorrowfully confessed to me, that he would have to look for another wife in order to obtain offspring. She frequently complained of pains and said she had the feeling as though something moved in her entrails that caused these pains. Sometimes she also experienced difficulty in breathing at the same time.

It sometimes happens, though rather rarely, that Ainu women have their menstruation not every month, but every sixth week, which is called kiem o-utur tuima, that is, a great interruption of the blood.

Ordinarily menstruation lasts two to three days, and with some women it last four days. In the latter case it is always painful.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side. 441

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; 224 hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If 441 the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people 278 as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of pre- 441 paring the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is un- [387] known to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation.

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs [204] at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

With the completion of the worship the scene changes from almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui Fuchi, and all present do the same.

The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

574 769 273 [782] drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 574 769 535 887 [533] Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the 535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre. 273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and 574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

7:Munro & Seligman_D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

535 273 574 769 [533]

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 769 574 273 887

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[782]

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka cren, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations, are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
224 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
[602] two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that
423 extended over the area of several villages judging from
226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have
[906] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwu* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

---

[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

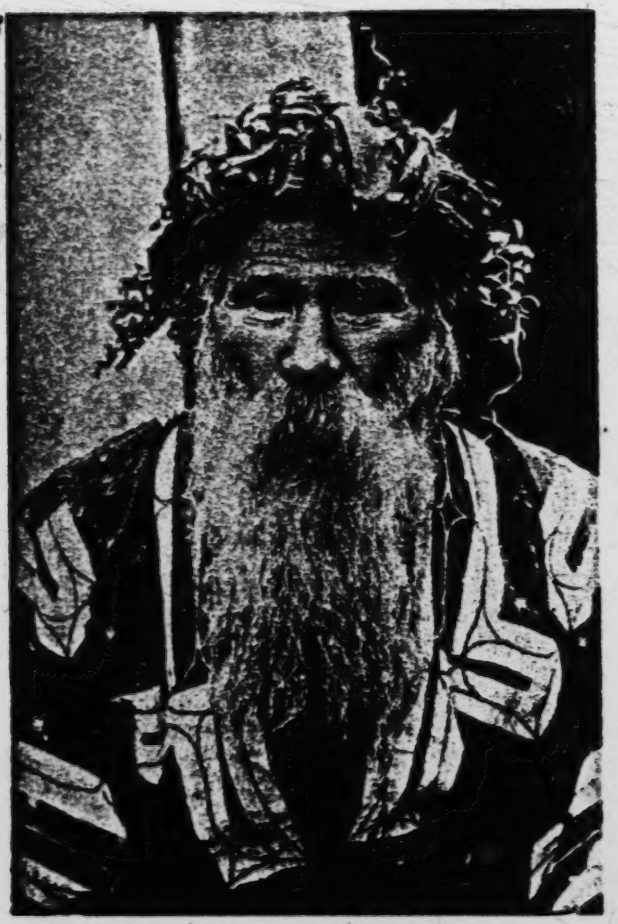
[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a
[888] kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER III

THE HAUNTED MAN

Anra, which being interpreted means "Black Lily," 888 is a tall, well built, full-bearded, shaggy-headed, bright-eyed, and remarkably dignified old man. He is a pure Ainu, whose untamed nature leads him to dwell much in the free and easy ages of the past and long for their return. His thoughts are constantly dwelling upon his nature gods and his rough yet kindly, uncivilized departed forebears. He is a lovable old man, full of quaint ideas.

Though seventy years of age when I first came to be at all intimately acquainted with him, now more than a decade ago, he still walks with a quick, firm step and carries himself as straight as an arrow. When not in drink, which, I am sorry to say is only when he can get no *saké*, and especially when he thinks he is quite unobserved, he wears a depressed, far-away, anxious look on his face. However, when he is kindly spoken to, his fine brown eyes sparkle and twinkle with animation and delight, and his wrinkled brows smooth themselves out with pleasure. He then looks as though he feared neither gods nor men.

Like his parents and grand-parents before him, Anra has his home on the top of a high hill overlooking the sea, so that what with the rushing river below him, the whistling of the winds among the trees above him, and the roaring of the mighty ocean beyond him, the noise about his dwelling is at times loud and weird beyond description.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 288 Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

787 888 158 Once when I was in this man's district, he came to see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, 787
wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made 888
of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. 158
One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with 158
visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
888
516

AN AINU CHIEF

[P. 22]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired 621
and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead [388]
and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no 622
large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly 344
rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the 622
chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is 439

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

304 first touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

304 585 But we ask what is the real significance of the custom? Briefly I take it to be the wedding ring, but it is worn round the mouth instead of on the finger! I am quite convinced that it means taboo, though the Ainu seem to have lost that idea now, while in practice it is really so. I have on several occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have gone on satisfactorily, I have noticed that the bride goes and has her tattoo finished round her mouth, and this is never completed till one has been betrothed or married. When the tattoo has been finished, all know that she is a married woman. She is set apart. Her fingers and arms are then done. So henceforth her mouth must speak only for her husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must work now for him and her offspring. But I must say that this custom is not always safe, for I have seen many with very swollen and sore lips after the tattooing has been done.

●888 304 I was travelling a long time ago through the forest when far away in the interior I came across a tiny hut, standing quite by itself on the bank of a small stream. It was, as I thought it would be, a lodge set up there for an old person to die in. On going to look, I saw a very aged woman sitting by the hearth, stripping fibre from elm bark, with which to make cloth. She was quite blind but could do this very nicely. It was an old custom to place the very old people in little huts and feed them there till they died, on which event the place would be burnt down. The custom is dead now [178] and will not be revived, I hope. I thought it was a very cruel thing to do, but they did not seem to think so at all and quite expected it to happen to them if they lived too long. I entered the hut and sat down opposite her, as I wanted all the information I could get about olden times, which one could not hope to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I was seeking information about tattooing. So I said to her. 304 888 [115]

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *anchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom. [757]

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper 304 [177]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made
of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888 589]
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns.
The women were very proud of their fancy needle-
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cot-
tons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary
native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from
memory, and some of the women and girls were very
expert at this kind of work.

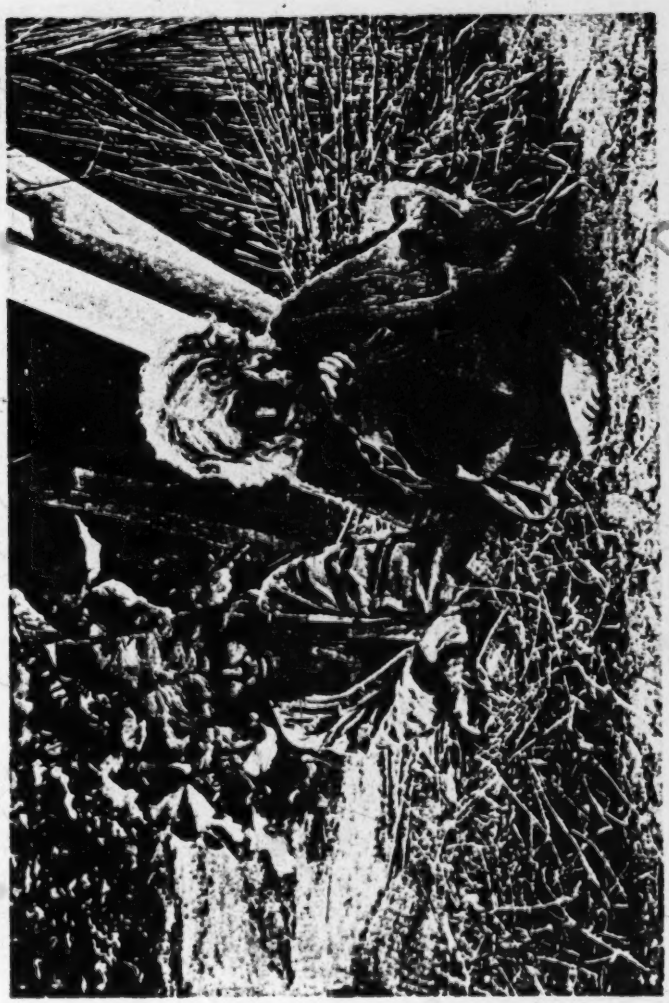
Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain
why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree;
but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—
demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes
called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly
called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now,
once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre.
They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a
good tree. At last they came to a place where there
stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people
came up to it—to this very king of elms—and com-
menced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near
the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off
the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself
right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for,
alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time
to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both
hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the
deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There
they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516



TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

regard for my skin, but great concern for his own also. 761
And naturally so, indeed. Knowing that I was bent on going to such a dangerous place as his mother's grave, he evidently gave notice of the fact to his relations and friends. And they forthwith prepared to meet the emergency. When we returned to the hut I found a man and several women gathered about the doorway, [783] all smiles and good will. They begged me to submit to an exorcising and purifying rite! They had bowls of water for us and asked us to wash our faces and hands. This was the purification part of the rite. While this was in progress, the women beat and brushed us down with fetishes and bunches of grass. This was to drive out any evil spirits or seeds of disease implanted within us by the deceased old woman for trespassing on her domain. That done, we were received once again among the people and allowed to enter the hut. I suppose the antidote worked all right, for neither of us seemed to get any harm from our little visit.

There was also, I found later, one other reason why 117
the Chief was so reluctant to take me to his mother's grave. A very few years before I came to Hokkaidō some people had come and secretly dug up a few Ainu skeletons from their resting places to use as specimens for scientific studies. As soon as this was known by them it caused a great uproar, for it touched them on a very tender spot. After that they were very much afraid of other like visitations, and so were particularly careful to keep the place of burial secret. It was really very wonderful that Penri should have taken me, and showed unbounded confidence in me.

In a previous chapter I mentioned finding an old 888
woman living in a little hut quite alone. I have seen 761
many such in my time here. These are built for the aged to die in, and, as soon as the inmate has passed away, are burned down. Penri's mother had her tiny hut and in it she died. It, too, was sent off in flames

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 as soon as she was buried. The purpose of the burning
761 was to send the place to heaven for her convenience!
[768] This may sound peculiar but it is an undoubted part of the Ainu animistic creed. One piece of lore concerning this custom, one which I find is not carried out at present, is this:

768 "When a man's wife dies, the husband must burn the house and send it off in that way with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the hut upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven when he there rejoins his spouse." This only refers to the principal wife, as the others have their own separate dwellings.

But here, I think, it will be well to explain what I mean by animism.

[771] The Ainu are a deeply religious race and their ani-
761 mistic philosophy has carried them to great lengths. They not only believe that beasts, birds, fishes and growing trees and all plants have their own individual lives, but they hold, too, that inorganic substances have life as well. The people not only infer that whatever has life can and does move, but also that whatever moves must have life. Hence the bubbling spring, the sparking, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena have, in their opinion, real lives abiding in them. So the hut of the old lady
[768] above mentioned was to them a real living being, the visible material parts of which, being burnt up, allowed the living spirit to ascend to heaven for her soul to reside in! In their idea no existing life can ever cease to be, whether it be good or evil, and immortality with them is as natural as nature itself. Life and living spirit are one and the same thing with them, and are never separated in thought or conception. To them life is the most intelligent, energetic and natural object in existence, and as regards its

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest 121
of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man 301
who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have 301
pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I 888 ●
am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In 301
no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888 301 778 824 *Old Man.* "Yes, indeed! That is just the point. Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is the reason I wear parts of these deities in my ears. They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you think they have done or are doing you any good now? Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now. Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these divine properties are being imparted to me through them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he was acting upon it.

"But," inturned I, "whatever makes you, my elder brother, think those vines are divine? I should like to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land, he found that God had made many things to grow out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One returned to Heaven and brought down one silver and one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine. The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 the wood pile, there is a small, tent-like structure made of poles covered with Japanese straw mats. There are several such tents in the village, and on venturing to peep into them, much to the evident distaste of the natives, I found them to be inhabited. They are scarcely large enough [888] for a human being to crawl into, but it would appear that the aged women of the village sleep in them and have dogs for companions. They crawl in somehow, curl up among filthy rags and tattered coverings, and smother themselves to keep warm.

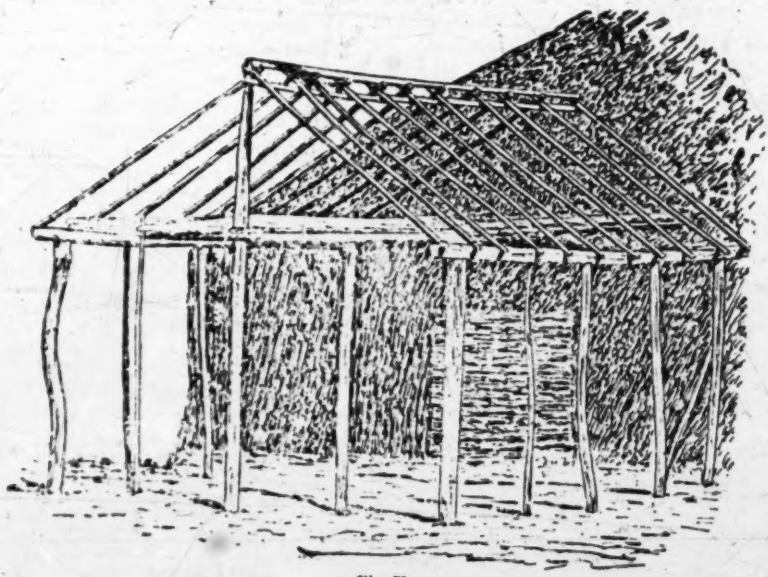


Fig. 71.
FRAME-WORK OF FRONT PART OF AN AINU HOUSE.
(From a photograph.)

The interior of a house at Bekkai, taken from a photograph made with magnesium light, is shown in Plate CIII. The camera was set up in the back window of the house. The main room is well shown, and the outside scenery is glimpsed through the long entrance passage-way.

Entering this house from the front, one must stoop to pass through the doorway which will perhaps have only a mat of straw or reeds to close it. The rectangular passage is used as a storeroom. It is high enough for one to stand in erect. The floor is the damp earth. At the back is a sliding door made of boards, inclining outward toward the bottom, through which, by stooping low, the main room about 18 by 20 feet square is entered. The door is 3 feet in width by 3½ in height. Just inside the door is a space, 3½ feet by 9 feet, where the sandals are left on the bare ground. The floor of this house is made of boards [609] raised about 9 inches above the ground, but they are covered with dirt. A visitor receives a clean mat, which is immediately spread on the floor for his accommodation.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a mass of white hair and two claws, almost like thin human feet with long hooked nails. A few fish-bones scattered on the ground and a lot of filth were massed together in that corner; and the disgusting odours these exhaled were beyond measure horrible.

"What the devil is that!" I said aloud in my own native tongue. I could hear someone breathing heavily under that mass of white hair, but I could not make out the shape of a human body. I touched the hair, I pulled it, and with a groan, and movements similar to those of a snake uncoiling itself, two thin bony arms suddenly stretched out and clasped my hand. As my eyes were getting accustomed to the dim light I thought I saw some almost worn-out tattoo marks on her arms. Yes, it was a woman in that corner, though her limbs were merely skin and bone, and her long hair and long nails gave her a ghastly appearance. Indeed, crouched as she was, doubled up, with her head on her knees, and the long hair falling over her face and shoulders, it was really difficult to make out what she was.

I asked her to come out, but she was apparently deaf and dumb. I dragged her out, and she made but little resistance; only she preferred crawling on her hands and knees to walking upright on her feet. There is no accounting for people's tastes, and I let her please herself in her manner of locomotion. When she was fairly out in the light I shivered as I looked at the miserable being before me. I lifted up her hair to see the face. Her eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and were joined over the nose. Her eyes were half closed, and dead-looking. The strong light seemed to affect her, and with her hands she was feeling the ground, probably in order to retrace her steps back to the dark spot. Nature could not have inflicted more evils on that wretched creature. She was nearly blind, deaf, and dumb; she apparently suffered from rheumatism, which had doubled up her body and stiffened her bony arms and legs; and, moreover, she showed many of the symptoms of leprosy. Altogether, she was painful, horrible, disgusting, and humiliating to contemplate.

I went back to my ponies to fetch my paint-box. During my absence there had collected round them half-a-dozen Ainu. They did not know what to think of the appearance of the two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

animals, and the few articles fastened to the pack-saddle were regarded with suspicion. When I appeared on the scene their astonishment was even greater, and it reached its climax when I saluted them in the Ainu fashion, and told them that I was a friend of the Ainu. I unfastened my paint-box and went back to the old woman. She was still where I had left her. All the Ainu present followed me, and when I squatted down they did the same in a semicircle round me. My wretched model attempted several times to crawl inside the hut, but as I was sitting close to her, I prevented her from doing so. There she sat in the most extraordinary position, with her head resting on her left hand, and the stiff fingers of her right hand pressed on the ground. One leg was bent up and the other was folded, resting on the ground and on the foot of the first. She was sniffing the wind, and making efforts to see with her half-blind eyes.

MADWOMAN OF YAMMAKKA.

It is hardly necessary to say that I did not keep my model longer than was strictly necessary, and when the sketch was finished I took her by the arm, brought her back into the hut, and led her to her favourite corner. There she crouched herself again, as I had found her; and there I left her, to bear the miseries of her life, till death, the cure of all woes, shall take away her soul, if not her body, from the filth she had lived in. She was neither ill-treated nor taken care of by the villagers or by her son, who lived in the same hut; but she was regarded as a worthless object, and treated accordingly. A fish was occasionally flung to her, as one would to a beast, and in such a condition this human being had lived, or rather existed, apparently for several years. Not a word was uttered by the villagers during the few minutes I took to paint the sketch. I turned round to inspect my new friends. Others had come up, and these men and women, hairy and partly naked, squatting down amidst filth, and driven half mad by the horse-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of 181
living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, 671
to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes 674
among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and re- 574
served, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous 181
with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. 888
Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of 571
pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked 183
on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted 681
by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished 680
by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among 691
tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the 697
Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we 858